A

JOURNAL

OR

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

Life, Travels, Sufferings, Chriſtian Experiences, and Labour of Love,

IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY,

OF THAT

Ancient, Eminent, and Faithful Servant of *JESUS CHRIST*,

GEORGE FOX.

The THIRD EDITION, Corrected.

And they that turn many to Righteouſneſs ſhall ſhine as the STARS for ever and ever. Dan. xii. 3.

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THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED

GEORGE FOX

AND THE

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

QUAKERISM.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE,

BEING A

SUMMARY ACCOUNT

OF THE

Divers Diſpenſations of GOD to Men,

FROM

The Beginning of the World, to That of our preſent Age, by the Miniſtry and Teſtimony of his Faithful Servant GEORGE FOX, as an Introduction to the enſuing JOURNAL.

DIVERS have been the diſpenſations of God ſince the creation of the world, unto the ſons of men; but the great end of all of them has been the renown of his own excellent name in the creation and reſtauration of man: Man, the emblem of himſelf, as a god on earth, and the glory of all his works. The world began with innocency: All was then good that the good God had made: And as he bleſſed the works of his hands, ſo their natures and harmony magnified him their Creator. Then the morning ſtars ſang together for joy, and all parts of his works ſaid Amen to his law. Not a jarr in the whole frame, but man in paradiſe, the beaſts in the field, the fowl in the air, the fiſh in the ſea, the lights in the heavens, the fruits of the earth; yea the air, the earth, the water and fire worſhipped, praiſed and exalted his power, wiſdom and goodneſs. O holy ſabbath, O holy day to the Lord!

But this happy ſtate laſted not long: For man, the crown and glory of the whole, being tempted to aſpire above his place, unhappily yielded againſt command and duty, as well as intereſt and felicity; and ſo fell below it, loſt the divine image, the wiſdom, power, and purity he was made in. By which, being no longer fit for paradiſe, he was expelled that garden of God, his proper dwelling and reſidence, and was driven out, as a poor vagabond, from the

preſence of the Lord, to wander in the earth, the habitation of beaſts.

Yet God, that made him, had pity on him; for he ſeeing he was deceived, and that it was not of malice, or an original preſumption in him, but through the ſubtilty of the ſerpent (that had firſt fallen from his own ſtate, and by the mediation of the woman, man's own nature and companion, whom the ſerpent had firſt deluded) in his infinite goodneſs and wiſdom found out a way to repair the breach, recover the loſs, and reſtore fallen man again by a nobler and more excellent Adam, promiſed to be born of a woman; that as by means of a woman the evil one had prevailed upon man, by a woman alſo He ſhould come into the world, who would prevail againſt him, and bruiſe his head, and deliver man from his power: And which, in a ſignal manner, by the diſpenſation of the Son of God in the fleſh, in the fulneſs of time, was perſonally and fully accompliſhed by him, and in him, as man's Saviour and Redeemer.

But his power was not limited, in the manifeſtation of it, to that time; for both before and ſince his bleſſed manifeſtation in the fleſh, he has been the light and life, the rock and ſtrength of all that ever feared God: Preſent with them in their temptations, followed them in their travels and afflictions, and ſupported and carried them thro' and over the difficulties that have attended them in their earthly pilgrimage. By this, Abel's heart excelled Cain's, and Seth obtained the Pre-eminence, and Enoch walked with God. It was this that ſtrove with the old world, and which they rebelled againſt, and which ſanctified and inſtructed Noah to Salvation.

But the outward diſpenſation that followed the benighted ſtate of man, after his fall, eſpecially among the patriarchs, was generally that of angels; as the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament do in many places expreſs, as to Abraham, Jacob, &c. The next was that of the law by Moſes, which was alſo delivered by angels, as the apoſtle tells us. This diſpenſation was much outward, and ſuited to a low and ſervile ſtate; called therefore that of a ſchoolmaſter, to point out and prepare that people to look and long for the Meſſiah, who would deliver them from the ſervitude of a ceremonious and imperfect diſpenſation, by knowing the realities of thoſe myſterious repreſentations in themſelves. In this time the law was written on ſtone, the temple built with hands, attended with an outward prieſthood and external rites and ceremonies, that were ſhadows of the good things that were to come, and were only to ſerve till the Seed came, or the more excellent and general manifeſtation of Chriſt, to whom was the promiſe, and to all men only in him, in whom it was Yea and Amen; even life from death, immortality and eternal life.

This the prophets foreſaw, and comforted the believing Jews in the certainty of it; which was the top of the Moſaical diſpenſation, and which ended in John's miniſtry, the forerunner of the Meſſiah, as John's was finiſhed in him, the fulneſs of all. And God, that at ſundry times and in divers manners had ſpoken to the fathers by his ſervants the prophets, ſpake then by his Son Chriſt Jeſus, "who "is heir of all things;" being the goſpel-day, which is the diſpenſation of ſonſhip: Bringing in thereby a nearer teſtament, and a better

hope,

hope, even the beginning of the glory of the latter days, and of the reſtitution of all things; yea, the reſtoration of the kingdom unto Iſrael.

Now the Spirit, that was more ſparingly communicated in former diſpenſations, began to be "poured forth upon all fleſh," according to the prophet Joel, and the light that ſhined in darkneſs, or but dimly before, the moſt gracious God cauſed to ſhine out of darkneſs, and the day-ſtar began to ariſe in the hearts of believers, giving unto them the knowledge of God in the face (or appearance) of his Son Chriſt Jeſus.

Now the poor in ſpirit, the meek, the true mourners, the hungry and thirſty after righteouſneſs, the peace-makers, the pure in heart, the merciful, and the perſecuted, came more eſpecially in remembrance before the Lord, and were ſought out and bleſſed by Iſrael's true Shepherd. Old Jeruſalem with her Children grew out of date, and the new Jeruſalem into requeſt, the mother of the ſons of the goſpel-day. Wherefore no more at old Jeruſalem, nor at the mountain of Samaria, will God be worſhipped above other places; for, behold, he is declared and preached a Spirit, and he will be known as ſuch, and worſhipped in the Spirit and in the Truth. He will come nearer than of old time, and he will write his law in the heart, and put his fear and Spirit in the inward parts, according to his promiſe. Then ſigns, types, and ſhadows flew away, the day having diſcovered their inſufficiency in not reaching to the inſide of the cup, to the cleanſing of the conſcience; and all elementary ſervices were expired in and by him that is the ſubſtance of all.

And to this great and bleſſed end of the diſpenſation of the Son of God, did the apoſtles teſtify, whom he had choſen and anointed by his Spirit, to turn the Jews from their prejudice and ſuperſtition, and the Gentiles from their vanity and idolatry, to Chriſt's Light and Spirit that ſhined in them; that they might be quickened from the ſins and treſpaſſes in which they were dead, to ſerve the Living God in the newneſs of the Spirit of Life, and walk as children of the light, and of the day, even the day of holineſs: For ſuch "put on "Chriſt," the light of the world, "and make no more proviſion for "the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof." So that the Light, Spirit, and Grace that comes by Chriſt, and appears in man, was what the apoſtles miniſtred from, and turned peoples minds unto, and in which they gathered and built up the churches of Chriſt in their day. For which cauſe they adviſed them not to quench the Spirit, but wait for the Spirit, and ſpeak by the Spirit, and pray by the Spirit, and walk in the Spirit too, as that which approved them the truly begotten children of God, "born not of fleſh and blood, nor of the will of "man, but of the will of God;" by doing his will, and denying their own; by drinking of Chriſt's cup, and being baptized with his baptiſm of ſelf-denial: The way and path that all the heirs of life have trod to bleſſedneſs. But alas! even in the apoſtles days (thoſe bright ſtars of the firſt magnitude of the goſpel-light) ſome clouds (foretelling an eclipſe of this primitive glory) began to appear, and ſeveral of them gave early caution of it to the chriſtians of their time; that even then there was, and yet would be more and more,

a falling

a falling away from the power of godlineſs, and the purity of that ſpiritual diſpenſation, by ſuch as thought to make a fair ſhew in the fleſh, but with whom the offence of the croſs ceaſed: Yet with this comfortable concluſion, that they ſaw beyond it a more glorious time than ever, to the true church. Their ſight was true, and what they foretold to the churches, gathered by them in the name and power of Jeſus, came ſo to paſs: For chriſtians degenerated apace into outſides, as days, and meats, and divers other ceremonies. And which was worſe, they fell into ſtrife and contention about them, ſeparating one from another, then envying, and, as they had power, perſecuting one another, to the ſhame and ſcandal of their common chriſtianity, and grievous ſtumbling and offence of the heathen, among whom the Lord had ſo long and ſo marvelouſly preſerved them. And having got at laſt the worldly power into their hands, by kings and emperors embracing the chriſtian profeſſion, they changed what they could the kingdom of Chriſt, which is not of this world, into a worldly kingdom; or at leaſt ſtiled the worldly kingdom that was in their hands the kingdom of Chriſt, and ſo they became worldly, and not true chriſtians. Then human inventions and novelties, both in doctrine and worſhip, crowded faſt into the church, a door being opened thereunto by the groſſneſs and carnality that appeared then among the generality of chriſtians; who had long ſince left the guidance of God's meek and heavenly Spirit, and given themſelves up to ſuperſtition, will-worſhip, and voluntary humility. And as ſuperſtition is blind, ſo it is heady and furious; for all muſt ſtoop to its blind and boundleſs zeal, or periſh by it: In the name of the Spirit, perſecuting the very appearance of the Spirit of God in others, and oppoſing that in them which they reſiſted in themſelves, viz. the Light, Grace, and Spirit of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; but always under the notion of innovation, hereſy, ſchiſm, or ſome ſuch plauſible name. Though chriſtianity allows of no name or pretence whatever for perſecuting of any man for matters of mere religion; religion being in its very nature meek, gentle, and forbearing; and conſiſts of faith, hope, and charity, which no perſecutor can have, whilſt he remains a perſecutor; in that a man cannot believe well, or hope well, or have a charitable or tender regard to another, whilſt he would violate his mind or perſecute his body for matters of faith or worſhip towards his God.

Thus the falſe church ſprang up, and mounted the chair. But though ſhe loſt her nature, ſhe would keep her good name of the Lamb's bride, the true church and mother of the faithful; conſtraining all to receive her mark, either in their forehead or right-hand, publickly or privately: But in deed and in truth ſhe was Myſtery Babylon, the mother of harlots: Mother of thoſe that with all their ſhow and outſide of religion, were adulterated and gone from the Spirit, nature, and life of Chriſt, and grown vain, worldly, ambitious, covetous, cruel, &c. which are the fruits of the fleſh, and not of the Spirit.

Now it was that the true church fled into the wilderneſs, that is, from ſuperſtition and violence to a retired, ſolitary, and lonely ſtate; hidden and as it were out of ſight of men, tho' not out of the world:

Which

Which ſhews that her wonted viſibility was not eſſential to the being of a true church in the judgment of the Holy Ghoſt; ſhe being as true a church in the wilderneſs, though not as viſible and luſtrious, as when ſhe was in her former ſplendor of profeſſion. In this ſtate many attempts ſhe made to return, but the waters were yet too high, and her way blocked up, and many of her excellent children in ſeveral nations and centuries fell by the cruelty of ſuperſtition, becauſe they would not fall from their faithfulneſs to the truth.

The laſt age did ſet ſome ſteps towards it, both as to doctrine, worſhip, and practice. But practice quickly failed, for wickedneſs flowed in a little time, as well among the profeſſors of the reformation, as thoſe they reformed from; ſo that by the fruits of converſation they were not to be diſtinguiſhed. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themſelves, betook themſelves very early to earthly policy and power to uphold and carry on their reformation that had been begun with ſpiritual weapons; which I have often thought has been one of the greateſt reaſons the reformation made no better progreſs, as to the life and ſoul of religion: For whilſt the reformers were lowly and ſpiritually-minded, and truſted in God, and looked to Him, and lived in his fear, and conſulted not with fleſh and blood, nor ſought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the church ſuch as, one might reaſonably ſay, ſhould be ſaved. For they were not ſo careful to be ſafe from perſecution, as to be faithful under it.

Being more concerned to ſpread the truth by their faith and patience in tribulation, than to get the worldly power out of their hands that inflicted their ſufferings upon them; and it will be well, if the Lord ſuffer them not to fall by the very ſame way they took to ſtand. In doctrine they were in ſome things ſhort; in other things, to avoid one extreme, they ran into another: And for worſhip, there was for the generality more of man than God. They owned the Spirit, inſpiration and revelation indeed, and grounded their ſeparation and reformation upon the ſenſe and underſtanding they received from it, in the reading of the ſcriptures of Truth; and this was their plea, The Scripture was the text, the Spirit the interpreter, and that to every one for himſelf. But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition and art, that remained both in praying and preaching, and of worldly authority and worldly greatneſs in their miniſters, eſpecially in this kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, and ſome parts of Germany. God was therefore pleaſed, among us, to ſhift from veſſel to veſſel: And the next remove humbled the miniſtry, ſo that they were more ſtrict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's day, and catechiſing of children and ſervants, and repeating at home in their families what they had heard in publick.

But even as theſe grew into power, they were not only for whiping ſome out, but others into the temple: and they appeared rigid in their ſpirits, rather than ſevere in their lives, and more for a party, than for piety: which brought forth another people, that were yet more retired and ſelect. They would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed churches among themſelves of

ſuch as could give ſome account of their converſion at leaſt, of very promiſing experiences of the work of God's grace upon their hearts, and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowſhip they kept together. Theſe people were ſomewhat of a ſofter temper, and ſeemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy, and goodneſs, rather than by the terrors of its judgments and puniſhment; by which the former party would have terrified people into Religion.

They alſo allowed greater liberty to prophecy than thoſe before them; for they admitted any member to ſpeak or pray, as well as their paſtor (whom they always choſe, and not the civil magiſtrate). If ſuch found any thing preſſing upon them to either duty, even without the diſtinction of clergy or laity; perſons of any trade, be it never ſo low and mechanical. But alas! even theſe people ſuffered great loſs: for taſting of worldly empire, and the favour of princes, and the gain that enſued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down national churches, and miniſtry and maintenance too, ſome of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly honour and advantage, got into profitable parſonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles: and, which was yet worſe, turned ſome of them abſolute perſecutors of other men for God's ſake, that but ſo lately came themſelves out of the furnace; which drove many a ſtep farther, and that was into the water. Another baptiſm, as believing they were not ſcripturally baptiſed; and hoping to find that preſence and power of God, in ſubmitting to that ordinance, which they deſired and wanted.

Theſe people made alſo profeſſion of neglecting, if not renouncing and cenſuring, not only the neceſſity, but uſe of all human learning, as to the miniſtry; and all other qualifications to it, beſides the helps and gifts of the Spirit of God, and thoſe natural and common to men; and for a time they ſeemed, like John of old, a burning and a ſhining light, to other ſocieties.

They were very diligent, plain and ſerious, ſtrong in ſcripture, and bold in profeſſion, bearing much reproach and contradiction: but that which others fell by proved their hurt. For worldly power ſpoiled them too; who had enough of it to try them, what they would do if they had more; and they reſted alſo too much upon their watry diſpenſation, inſtead of paſſing on more fully to the Fire and Holy Ghoſt, which was his baptiſm who came with a "fan in his hand, that he "might throughly (and not in part only) purge his floor," and take away the droſs and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than gold. Withal, they grew high, rough, and ſelf-righteous, oppoſing further attainment; too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleneſs, which gave them ſomething of a real beauty; inſomuch that many left them, and all viſible churches and ſocieties, and wandered up and down as ſheep without a ſhepherd, and as doves without their mates; ſeeking their beloved, but could not find him, as their ſouls deſired to know him; whom their ſouls loved above their chiefeſt joy.

Theſe

These people were called Seekers by some, and the Family of Love by others; because, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they sometimes met together, not formally to pray or preach, at appointed times and places, in their own wills, as in times past they were accustomed to do; but waited together in silence, and as any thing rose in any one of their minds, that they thought savoured of a divine spring, so they sometimes spoke. But so it was, that some of them not keeping in humility, and in the fear of God, after the abundance of revelation, were exalted above measure, and for want of staying their minds in an humble dependance upon him that opened their understandings to see great things in his law, they run out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with those divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God, and waited daily in the temple, not made with hands, for the consolation of Israel; the Jew inward, and Circumcision in spirit.

This people obtained the name of Ranters from their extravagant discourses and practices. For they interpreted Christ's fulfilling of the law for us, to be a discharging of us from any obligation and duty the law required, instead of the condemnation of the law for sins past, upon faith and repentance, and that now it was no sin to do that which before it was a sin to commit; the slavish fear of the law being taken off by Christ, and all things good that man did, if he did but do them with the mind and persuasion that it was so. Insomuch that divers fell into gross and enormous practices; pretending in excuse thereof, that they could, without evil, commit the same act which was sin in another to do; thereby distinguishing between the action and the evil of it, by the direction of the mind and intention in the doing of it. Which was to make sin super-abound by the aboundings of grace, and to turn from the grace of God into wantonness, a securer way of sinning than before: as if Christ came not to take away sin, but that we might sin more freely at his cost, and with less danger to ourselves. I say, this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss, as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to prophane.

It was about that very same time, as you may see in the ensuing annals, that the eternal, wise, and good God was pleased, in his infinite love, to honour and visit this benighted and bewildered nation with his glorious day-spring from on high; yea with a most sure and certain sound of the word of light and life, through the testimony of a chosen vessel, to an effectual and blessed purpose, can many thousands say, "Glory be to the name of the Lord for ever."

For as it reached the conscience, and broke the heart, and brought many to a sense and search; so what people had been vainly seeking without, with much pains and cost, they by this ministry found within; where it was they wanted what they sought for, viz. the right way to peace with God. For they were directed to the light of Jesus Christ within them, as the Seed and Leaven of the kingdom of God; near all, because in all, and God's talent to all. A faith-

ful and true witneſs and juſt monitor in every boſom. The gift and grace of God to life and ſalvation, that appears to all, though few regard it. This, the traditional chriſtian, conceited of himſelf, and ſtrong in his own will and righteouſneſs, and overcome with blind zeal and paſſion, either deſpiſed as a low and common thing, or oppoſed as a novelty, under many hard names and opprobrious terms; denying, in his ignorant and angry mind, any freſh manifeſtation of God's power and Spirit in man in theſe days, though never more needed to make true chriſtians: not unlike thoſe Jews of old, that rejected the Son of God at the very ſame time that they blindly profeſſed to wait for the Meſſiah to come; becauſe, alas, he appeared not among them according to their carnal mind and expectation.

This brought forth many abuſive books, which filled the greater ſort with envy, and leſſer with rage, and made the way and progreſs of this bleſſed teſtimony ſtraight and narrow indeed to thoſe that received it. However, God owned his own work, and this teſtimony did effectually reach, gather, comfort, and eſtabliſh the weary and heavy laden, the hungry and thirſty, the poor and needy, the mournful and ſick of many maladies, that had ſpent all upon phyſicians of no value, and waited for relief from heaven, help only from above: ſeeing, upon a ſerious trial of all things, nothing elſe would do but Chriſt himſelf, the light of his countenance, a touch of his garment, and help from his hand, who cured the poor woman's iſſue, raiſed the centurion's ſervant, the widow's ſon, the ruler's daughter, and Peter's mother, and, like her, they no ſooner felt his power and efficacy upon their ſouls, but they gave up to obey him in a teſtimony to his power, and with reſigned wills and faithful hearts, through all mockings, contradictions, beatings, priſons, and many other jeopardies that attended them for his bleſſed name's ſake.

And truly, they were very many and very great; ſo that in all human probability they muſt have been ſwallowed up quick of the proud and boiſterous waves that ſwelled and beat againſt them; but that the God of all their tender mercies was with them in his glorious authority, ſo that the hills often fled, and the mountains melted before the power that filled them; working mightily for them, as well as in them, one ever following the other. By which they ſaw plainly, to their exceeding great confirmation and comfort, "that all "things were poſſible with him with whom they had to do." And that the more that which God required ſeemed to croſs man's wiſdom, and expoſe them to man's wrath, the more God appeared to help and carry them through all to his glory: Inſomuch that if ever any people could ſay in truth, "Thou art our ſun and our ſhield, "our rock and ſanctuary, and by thee we have leaped over a wall, "and by thee we have run through a troop, and by thee we have "put the armies of the aliens to flight," theſe people had right to ſay it. And as God had delivered their ſouls of the weariſome burthens of ſin and vanity, and enriched their poverty of ſpirit, and ſatisfied their great hunger and thirſt after eternal righteouſneſs, and filled them with the good things of his own houſe, and made them ſtewards of his manifold gifts; ſo they went forth to all quarters of

theſe nations, to declare to the inhabitants thereof, what God had done for them; what they had found, and where and how they had found it; viz. the way to peace with God: inviting them to come and ſee and taſte for themſelves, the truth of what they declared unto them.

And as their teſtimony was to the principle of God in man, the precious pearl and leaven of the kingdom, as the only bleſſed means appointed of God to quicken, convince, and ſanctify man; ſo they opened to them what it was in itſelf, and what it was given to them for: how they might know it from their own ſpirit, and that of the ſubtil appearance of the evil one, and what it would do for all thoſe, whoſe minds are turned off from the vanity of the world, and its lifeleſs ways and teachers, and adhere to this bleſſed light in themſelves, which diſcovers and condemns ſin in all its appearances, and ſhews how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifeſtations and convictions: giving power to ſuch to avoid and reſiſt thoſe things that do not pleaſe God, and to grow ſtrong in love, faith, and good works: that ſo man, whom ſin hath made as a wilderneſs, over-run with briars and thorns, might become as the garden of God, cultivated by his divine power, and repleniſhed with the moſt virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own right-hand planting, to his eternal praiſe.

But theſe experimental preachers of glad tidings of God's truth and kingdom could not run when they liſt, or pray or preach when they pleaſed, but as Chriſt their Redeemer prepared and moved them by his own bleſſed Spirit, for which they waited in their ſervices and meetings, and ſpoke as that gave them utterance, and which was as thoſe having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry, and formal Phariſees. And ſo it plainly appeared to the ſerious-minded, whoſe ſpiritual eye the Lord Jeſus had in any meaſure opened; ſo that to one was given the word of exhortation, to another the word of reproof, to another the word of conſolation, and all by the ſame Spirit and in the good order thereof, to the convincing and edifying of many.

And truly they waxed ſtrong and bold through faithfulneſs; and by the power and Spirit of the Lord Jeſus became very fruitful; thouſands, in a ſhort time, being turned to the truth through their teſtimony in miniſtry and ſufferings, inſomuch as in moſt counties, and many of the conſiderable towns of England, meetings were ſettled, and daily there were added ſuch as ſhould be ſaved. For they were diligent to plant and to water, and the Lord bleſſed their labours with an exceeding great increaſe, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made to their bleſſed progreſs, by falſe rumours, calumnies, and bitter perſecutions; not only from the powers of the earth, but from every one that liſted to injure and abuſe them: ſo that they ſeemed indeed to be as poor ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter, and as a people killed all the day long.

It were fitter for a volume than a preface, but ſo much as to repeat the contents of their cruel ſufferings from profeſſors as well as from prophane, and from magiſtrates as well as the rabble; ſo that it may well be ſaid of this abuſed and deſpiſed people, they went forth

weeping, and ſowed in tears, bearing teſtimony to the preciou ſeed, the ſeed of the kingdom, which ſtands not in words, the fineſt, the higheſt that man's wit can uſe, but in power; the power of Chriſt Jeſus, to whom God the Father hath given all power in heaven and in earth, that he might rule angels above, and men below; who impowered them, as their work witneſſeth, by the many that were turned through their miniſtry from darkneſs to the light, and out of the broad into the narrow way, bringing people to a weighty, ſerious, and godly converſation; the practice of that doctrine which they taught.

And as without this ſecret divine power there is no quickening and regenerating of dead ſouls, ſo the want of this generating and begetting power and life is the cauſe of the little fruit that the many miniſtries that have been and are in the world bring forth. O that both miniſters and people were ſenſible of this! My ſoul is often troubled for them, and ſorrow and mourning compaſs me about for their ſakes. O that they were wiſe! O that they would conſider and lay to heart the things that truly and ſubſtantially make for their laſting peace!

Two things are to be briefly touched upon, the doctrine they taught, and the example they led among all people. I have already touched upon their fundamental principle, which is as the corner ſtone of their fabrick: and to ſpeak eminently and properly, their characteriſtick, or main diſtinguiſhing point or principle, viz. the light of Chriſt within, as God's gift for man's ſalvation. This, I ſay, is as the root of the goodly tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I ſhall now mention in their natural and experimental order.

Firſt, repentance from dead works to ſerve the living God. Which comprehends three operations. Firſt, A ſight of ſin. Secondly, A ſenſe and godly ſorrow for it. Thirdly, An amendment for the time to come. This was the repentance they preached and preſſed, and a natural reſult from the principle they turned all people unto. For of light came ſight; and of ſight came ſenſe and ſorrow; and of ſenſe and ſorrow, came amendment of life: which doctrine of repentance leads to juſtification; that is, forgiveneſs of the ſins that are paſt through Chriſt, the alone propitiation; and the ſanctification or purgation of the ſoul from the defiling nature and habits of ſin preſent; which is juſtification in the complete ſenſe of that word; comprehending both juſtification from the guilt of the ſins that are paſt, as if they had never been committed, through the love and mercy of God in Chriſt Jeſus; and the creature's being made inwardly juſt through the cleanſing and ſanctifying power and Spirit of Chriſt revealed in the ſoul; which is commonly called ſanctification.

From hence ſprang a ſecond doctrine they were led to declare, as the mark of the prize of the high calling of all true Chriſtians, viz. perfection from ſin, according to the ſcriptures of truth, which teſtify it to be the end of Chriſt's coming, and the nature of his kingdom, and for which his Spirit was given. But they never held a perfection in wiſdom and glory in this life, or from natural infirmities

or

or death, as ſome have with a weak or ill mind imagined and inſinuated againſt them.

This they called a redeemed ſtate, regeneration, or the new birth: teaching every where according to their foundation, that without this work were known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Third, to an acknowledgment of eternal rewards and puniſhment, as they have good reaſon; for elſe of all people, certainly they muſt be the moſt miſerable: who for about forty years have been exceeding great ſufferers for their profeſſion, and in ſome caſes treated worſe than the worſt of men, yea as the refuſe and off-ſcouring of all things.

This was the purport of their doctrine and miniſtry; which, for the moſt part, is what other profeſſors of Chriſtianity pretend to hold in words and forms, but not in the power of godlineſs; that has been long loſt by mens departing from that principle and ſeed of life that is in man, and which man has not regarded, but loſt the ſenſe of, and in and by which he can only be quickened in his mind to ſerve the living God in newneſs of life. For as the life of religion was loſt, and the generality lived and worſhipped God after their own wills, and not after the will of God, nor the mind of Chriſt, which ſtood in the works and fruits of the Holy Spirit; ſo that which they preſſed was not notion but experience, not formality but godlineſs; as being ſenſible in themſelves, through the work of God's righteous judgments, that without holineſs no man ſhould ever ſee the Lord with comfort.

Beſides theſe doctrines, and out of them, as the larger branches, there ſprang forth ſeveral particular doctrines, that did exemplify and further explain the truth and efficacy of the general doctrine before obſerved in their lives and examples. As,

I. Communion and loving one another. This is a noted mark in the mouth of all ſorts of people concerning them. "They will meet, "they will help and ſtick one to another." Whence it is common to hear ſome ſay, "Look how the Quakers love and take care of one "another." Others leſs moderate will ſay, "The Quakers love "none but themſelves;" and if loving one another, and having an intimate communion in religion, and conſtant care to meet to worſhip God and help one another, be any mark of primitive chriſtianity, they had it, bleſſed be the Lord, in an ample manner.

II. To love enemies: this they both taught and practiſed: for they did not only refuſe to be revenged for injuries done them, and condemned it as of an unchriſtian ſpirit, but they did freely forgive, yea help and relieve, thoſe that had been cruel to them, when it was in their power to have been even with them; of which many and ſingular inſtances might be given: endeavouring, through patience, to overcome all injuſtice and oppreſſion, and preaching this doctrine as chriſtian for others to follow.

III. The ſufficiency of truth-ſpeaking, according to Chriſt's own form of words, of yea, yea, and nay, nay, among chriſtians, without ſwearing, both from Chriſt's expreſs prohibition to "ſwear "at all," Mat. v. and for that they being under the tye and bond of truth in themſelves, there was both no neceſſity for an oath, and it would

would be a reproach to their chriſtian veracity to aſſure their truth by ſuch an extraordinary way of ſpeaking: but offering at the ſame time to be puniſhed to the full for falſe ſpeaking, as others for perjury, if ever guilty of it; and hereby they exclude, with all true, all falſe and prophane ſwearing; for which the land did and doth mourn, and the great God was and is not a little offended with it.

IV. Not fighting but ſuffering is another teſtimony peculiar to this people: they affirm that Chriſtianity teacheth people "to beat their "ſwords into plough-ſhares, and their ſpears into pruning hooks, "and to learn war no more, that ſo the wolf may lie down with the "lamb, and the lion with the calf, and nothing that deſtroys be en-"tertained in the hearts of people;" exhorting them to employ their zeal againſt ſin, and turn their anger againſt ſatan, and no longer war one againſt another; becauſe all wars and fightings come of mens own hearts luſts, according to the apoſtle James, and not of the meek Spirit of Chriſt Jeſus, who is captain of another warfare, and which is carried on with other weapons. Thus, as truth-ſpeaking ſucceeded ſwearing, ſo faith and truth ſucceeded fighting, in the doctrine and practice of this people. Nor ought they for this to be obnoxious to civil government, ſince if they cannot fight for it, neither can they fight againſt it; which is no mean ſecurity to the ſtate: nor is it reaſonable that people ſhould be blamed for not doing more for others than they can do for themſelves. And Chriſtianity ſet aſide, if the coſts and fruits of war were well conſidered, peace, with its inconveniencies, is generally preferable. But though they were not for fighting, they were for ſubmitting to government; and that not only for fear, but for conſcience ſake, where government doth not interfere with conſcience: believing it to be an ordinance of God, and where it is juſtly adminiſtred, a great benefit to mankind: though it has been their lot, through blind zeal in ſome, and intereſt in others, to have felt the ſtrokes of it with greater weight and rigour than any other perſuaſion in this age; whilſt they, of all others (religion ſet aſide) have given the civil magiſtrate the leaſt occaſion of trouble in the diſcharge of his office.

V. Another part of the character of this people is, they refuſe to pay tythes, or maintenance to a national miniſtry, and that for two reaſons; the one is, that they believe all compelled maintenance, even to goſpel miniſters, to be unlawful, becauſe expreſsly contrary to Chriſt's command, who ſaid, "Freely you have received, freely "give:" at leaſt, that the maintenance of goſpel miniſters ſhould be free and not forced. The other reaſon of their refuſal is, becauſe thoſe miniſters are not goſpel ones, in that the Holy Ghoſt is not their foundation, but human arts and parts: ſo that it is not matter of humour or ſullenneſs, but pure conſcience towards God, that they cannot help to ſupport national miniſters where they dwell, which are but too much and too viſibly become ways of worldly advantage and preferment.

VI. Not to reſpect perſons, was another of their doctrines and practices, for which they were often buffeted and abuſed. They affirmed it to be ſinful to give flattering titles, or to uſe vain geſtures and compliments of reſpect; though to virtue and authority they ever

made a difference, but after their plain and homely manner, yet ſincere and ſubſtantial way; well remembering the example of Mordecai and Elihu, but more eſpecially the command of their Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, who forbad his followers to call men Rabbi, which implies Lord and Maſter, alſo the faſhionable greetings and ſalutations of thoſe times; that ſo ſelf-love and honour, to which the proud mind of man is incident, in his fallen eſtate, might not be indulged but rebuked.

They alſo uſed the plain language of Thou and Thee to a ſingle perſon, whatever was his degree among men. And indeed the wiſdom of God was much ſeen, in bringing forth this people in ſo plain an appearance; for it was a cloſe and diſtinguiſhing teſt upon the ſpirit of thoſe they came among; ſhewing their inſides and what predominated, notwithſtanding their high and great profeſſion of religion. This, among the reſt, founded ſo harſh to many of them, and they took it ſo ill, that they would ſay, "Thou me, thou my "dog: if thou thoueſt me, I'll thou thy teeth down thy throat," forgetting the language they uſe to God in their own prayers, and the common ſtile of the Scriptures, and that it is an abſolute and eſſential propriety of ſpeech: and what good had their religion done them, who were ſo ſenſibly touch'd with indignation for the uſe of this plain, honeſt, and true ſpeech?

VII. They recommended ſilence by their example, having very few words upon all occaſions: they were at a word in dealing; nor could their cuſtomers many words tempt them from it; having more regard for truth than cuſtom, to example than gain, they ſought ſolitude; but when in company, they would neither uſe nor willingly hear unneceſſary as well as unlawful diſcourſes; whereby they preſerved their minds pure and undiſturbed from unprofitable thoughts and diverſions: nor could they humour the cuſtom of "good night, "good morrow, God ſpeed;" for they knew the night was good, and the day was good, without wiſhing of either; and that in the other expreſſion, the holy name of God was too lightly and unthinkingly uſed, and therefore taken in vain. Beſides they were words and wiſhes of courſe, and are uſually as little meant, as are love and ſervice in the cuſtom of cap and knee; and ſuperfluity in thoſe as well as in other things was burthenſome to them, and therefore they did not only decline to uſe them, but found themſelves often preſt to reprove the practice.

For the ſame reaſon they forbore drinking to people, or pledging of them, as the manner of the world is: a practice that is not only unneceſſary, but they thought evil in the tendencies of it; being a provocation to drinking more than did people good, as well as that it was in itſelf vain and heatheniſh.

VIII. Their way of marriage is peculiar to them, and is a diſtinguiſhing practice from all other ſocieties profeſſing chriſtianity. They ſay that marriage is an ordinance of God, and that God only can rightly join man and woman in marriage. Therefore they uſe neither prieſt nor magiſtrate, but the man and woman concerned take each other as huſband and wife in the preſence of divers credible witneſſes, "promiſing unto each other, with God's aſſiſtance, to be

" loving and faithful in that relation till death ſhall ſeparate them." But, antecedent to all this, they firſt preſent themſelves to the monthly meeting for the affairs of the church where they reſide; there declaring their intentions to take one another as man and wife, if the ſaid meeting have nothing material to object againſt it. They are conſtantly aſked the neceſſary queſtions, as in caſe of parents or guardians, if they have acquainted them with their intention, and have their conſent, &c. The method of the meeting is to take a minute thereof, and to appoint proper perſons to enquire of their converſation and clearneſs from all others, and whether they have diſcharged their duty to their parents or guardians, and make report thereof the next monthly meeting; where the ſame parties are deſired to give their attendance. In caſe it appears they proceeded orderly, the meeting paſſes their propoſal, and ſo records it in their meeting-book; and in caſe the woman be a widow and hath children, due care is there taken, that proviſion alſo be made by her for the orphans before the ſaid marriage; adviſing the parties concerned to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and ſuch friends and neighbours as they deſire ſhould be the witneſſes of their marriage: where they take one another by the hand, and by name promiſing reciprocally after the manner before expreſſed. Of all which proceedings a narrative, in a way of certificate, is made, to which the ſaid parties firſt ſet their hands, thereby making it their act and deed; and then divers of the relations, ſpectators, and auditors ſet their names as witneſſes of what they ſaid and ſigned. Which certificate is afterwards regiſtered in the record belonging to the meeting where the marriage is ſolemnized. Which regular method has been, as it deſerves, adjudged in courts of law a good marriage, where it has been diſputed and conteſted for want of the accuſtomed formality of prieſt and ring, &c. Which ceremonies they have refuſed, not out of humour, but conſcience reaſonably grounded, inaſmuch as no ſcripture-example tells us, that the prieſt had any other part of old time than that of a witneſs among the reſt, before whom the Jews uſed to take one another: and therefore this people look upon it as an impoſition to advance the power and profits of the clergy. And for the uſe of the ring, it is enough to ſay, that it was an heathen and vain cuſtom, and never in practice among the people of God, Jews or primitive Chriſtians. The words of the uſual form, as " With my body I thee worſhip," &c. are hardly defenſible: in ſhort, they are more careful, exact, and regular than any form now uſed, and it is free of the inconveniencies other methods are attended with. Their care and checks being ſo many, and ſuch as no clandeſtine marriages can be performed among them.

IX. It may not be unfit to ſay ſomething here of their births and burials, which make up ſo much of the pomp and ſolemnity of too many called Chriſtians. For births, the parents name their own children, which is uſually ſome days after they are born, in the preſence of the midwife (if ſhe can be there) and thoſe that were at the birth, &c. who afterwards ſign a certificate, for that purpoſe prepared, of the birth and name of the child or children, which is recorded in a proper

a proper book, in the monthly meeting, to which the parents belong; avoiding the accuſtomed ceremonies and feſtivals.

X. Their burials are performed with the ſame ſimplicity. If the corpſe of the deceaſed be near any publick meeting-place, it is uſually carried thither, for the more convenient reception of thoſe that accompany it to the ground they bury in; and it ſo falls out ſometimes, that while the meeting is gathering for the burial, ſome or other have a word of exhortation, for the ſake of the people there met together: after which the body is borne away by the young men, or thoſe that are of their neighbourhood, or that were moſt of the intimacy of the deceaſed party: the corpſe being in a plain coffin, without any covering or furniture upon it. At the ground, they pauſe ſome time before they put the body into its grave, that if any one there ſhould have any thing upon them to exhort the people, they may not be diſappointed, and that the relations may the more retiredly and ſolemnly take their laſt leave of the corpſe of their departed kindred, and the ſpectators have a ſenſe of mortality, by the occaſion then given them to reflect upon their own latter end. Otherwiſe, they have no ſet rites or ceremonies on thoſe occaſions; neither do the kindred of the deceaſed ever wear mourning; they looking upon it as a worldly ceremony, and piece of pomp; and that what mourning is fit for a chriſtian to have at the departure of a beloved relation or friend, ſhould be worn in the mind, which is only ſenſible of the loſs, and the love they had to them, and remembrance of them, to be outwardly expreſſed by a reſpect to their advice, and care of thoſe they have left behind them, and their love of that they loved. Which conduct of theirs, tho' unmodiſh or unfaſhionable, leaves nothing of the ſubſtance of things neglected or undone; and as they aim at no more, ſo that ſimplicity of life is what they obſerve with great ſatisfaction, though it ſometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in.

Theſe things gave them a rough and diſagreeable appearance with the generality; who thought them turners of the world upſide-down, as indeed in ſome ſenſe they were; but in no other than that wherein Paul was ſo charged, viz. to bring things back into their primitive and right order again. For theſe and ſuch like practices of theirs were not the reſult of humour, as ſome have fanſied, but a fruit of inward ſenſe, which God, through his fear, had begotten in them. They did not conſider how to contradict the world, or diſtinguiſh themſelves; being none of their buſineſs, as it was not their intereſt, no, it was not the reſult of their conſultation, or a framed deſign to declare or recommend ſchiſm or novelty. But God having given them a ſight of themſelves, they ſaw the whole world in the ſame glaſs of truth; and ſenſibly diſcerned the affections and paſſions of men, and the riſe and tendency of things. What gratified "the "luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eye, and the pride of life, which "are not of the Father, but of the world;" and from thence ſprang in that night of darkneſs and apoſtaſy, which hath been over people, through their degeneracy from the light and Spirit of God, theſe and many other vain cuſtoms; which are ſeen by the heavenly day of Chriſt, which dawns in the ſoul, to be, either wrong in their

original, or, by time or abuſe, hurtful in their practice. And though theſe things ſeemed trivial to ſome, and rendered this people ſtingy and conceited in ſuch perſons opinions, there was and is more in them than they were aware of. It was not very eaſy to our primitive friends to make themſelves ſights and ſpectacles, and the ſcorn and deriſion of the world; which they eaſily foreſaw muſt be the conſequence of ſo unfaſhionable a converſation in it. But herein was the wiſdom of God ſeen, in the fooliſhneſs of theſe things. Firſt, That they diſcovered the ſatisfaction and concern that people had in and for the faſhions of this world, notwithſtanding their pretences to another; in that any diſappointment about them came ſo very near them, that the greateſt honeſty, virtue, wiſdom, and ability, were unwelcome without them. Secondly, It ſeaſonably and profitably divided converſation; for making their ſociety uneaſy to their relations and acquaintance, it gave them the opportunity of more retirement and ſolitude, wherein they met with better company, even the Lord God their Redeemer, and grew ſtrong in his love, power, and wiſdom, and were thereby better qualified for his ſervice; and the ſucceſs abundantly ſhewed it; bleſſed be the name of the Lord.

And though they were not great and learned in the eſteem of this world (for then they had not wanted followers upon their own credit and authority) yet they were generally of the moſt ſober of the ſeveral perſuaſions they were in, and of the moſt repute for religion; and many of them of good capacity, ſubſtance, and account among men.

And alſo ſome among them neither wanted for parts, learning, nor eſtate; though then, as of old, not many wiſe, nor noble, &c. were called, or at leaſt received the heavenly call; becauſe of the croſs that attended the profeſſion of it in ſincerity: but neither do parts or learning make men the better Chriſtians, though the better orators and diſputants; and it is the ignorance of people about the divine gift, that cauſes that vulgar and miſchievous miſtake. Theory and practice, expreſſion and enjoyment, words and life, are two things. Oh! 'tis the penitent, the reformed, the lowly, the watchful, the ſelf-denying and holy ſoul that is the Chriſtian; and that frame is the fruit and work of the Spirit, which is the life of Jeſus; whoſe life, though hid in God the Father, is ſhed abroad in the hearts of them that truly believe. Oh! that people did but know this to cleanſe them, to circumciſe them, to quicken them, and to make them new creatures indeed; re-created or regenerated after Chriſt Jeſus unto good works: that they might live to God, and not to themſelves; and offer up living prayers, and living praiſes, to the living God, through his own living Spirit, in which he is only to be worſhipped in this goſpel-day. Oh! that they that read me could but feel me; for my heart is affected with this merciful viſitation of the Father of lights and ſpirits to this poor nation, and the whole world through the ſame teſtimony. Why ſhould the inhabitants thereof reject it? Why ſhould they loſe the bleſſed benefit of it? Why ſhould they not turn to the Lord with all their hearts, and ſay from the heart, "Speak, Lord, for now thy poor ſervants hear?"

Oh! that thy will may be done, thy great, thy good and holy will, on earth as it is in heaven: do it in us, do it upon us, do what thou wilt with us; for we are thine, and desire to glorify thee our Creator, both for that, and because thou art our Redeemer; for thou art redeeming us from the earth, from the vanities and pollutions of it, to be a peculiar people unto thee. Oh! this were a brave day for England, if so she could say in truth. But alas, the case is otherwise; for which some of thine inhabitants, O land of my nativity! have mourned over thee with bitter wailing and lamentation. Their heads have been indeed as waters, and their eyes as fountains of tears, because of thy transgression and stiffneckedness; because thou wilt not hear, and fear, and return to the Rock, even thy Rock, O England! from whence thou wert hewn. But be thou warned, O land of great profession, to receive him into thy heart! Behold, at that door it is he hath stood so long knocking, but thou wilt yet have none of him. Oh! be thou awakened, lest Jerusalem's judgments do swiftly overtake thee, because of Jerusalem's sins that abound in thee. For she abounded in formality, but made void the weighty things of God's law, as thou daily dost.

She withstood the Son of God in the flesh, and thou resistest the Son of God in the Spirit. He would have gathered her, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and she would not; so would he have gathered thee out of thy lifeless profession, and have brought thee to inherit substance, to have known his power and kingdom, for which he often knocked within, by his grace and Spirit, and without, by his servants and witnesses; but thou wouldst not be gathered: but on the contrary, as Jerusalem of old persecuted the manifestation of the Son of God in the flesh, and crucified him, and whipped and imprisoned his servants, so hast thou, O land, crucified to thyself afresh the Lord of life and glory, and done despite to his Spirit of grace; slighting the fatherly visitation, and persecuteing the blessed dispensers of it by thy laws and magistrates; though they have early and late pleaded with thee in the power and Spirit of the Lord, in love and meekness, that thou mightest know the Lord, and serve him, and become the glory of all lands.

But thou hast evilly entreated and requited them. Thou hast set at nought all their counsel, and wouldst have none of their reproof, as thou shouldst have done. Their appearance was too straight, and their qualifications were too mean for thee to receive them, who, like the Jews of old, that cried, "Is not this the carpenter's son? "and are not his brethren among us? which of the scribes, of the "learned (the orthodox) believe in him?" Propheſying their fall in a year or two, and making and executing of severe laws to bring it to pass, by endeavouring to terrify them out of their holy way, or destroying them for abiding faithful to it. But thou hast seen how many governments that rose against them, and determined their downfall, have been overturned and extinguished, and that they are still preserved, and become a great and a considerable people among the middle sort of thy numerous inhabitants. And notwithstanding the many difficulties, without and within, which they have laboured under, since the Lord God Eternal first gathered them, they are an

increaſing people, the Lord ſtill adding unto them, in divers parts, ſuch as ſhall be ſaved, if they perſevere to the end. And to thee were they and are they lifted up as a ſtandard, and as a city ſet upon a hill, and to the nations round about thee, that in their light thou mayeſt come to ſee light, even in Chriſt Jeſus, the light of the world; and therefore thy light and life too, if thou wouldſt but turn from thy many evil ways, and receive and obey it. For in the "light of the Lamb muſt the nations of them that are ſaved walk," as the ſcriptures teſtify.

Remember, O nation of great profeſſion! how the Lord has waited upon thee ſince the days of reformation, and the many mercies and judgments with which he has pleaded with thee; and awake and ariſe out of thy deep ſleep, and yet hear his word in thy heart, that thou mayeſt live.

Let not this thy day of viſitation paſs over thy head, nor neglect thou ſo great ſalvation as is this which is come to thy houſe, O England! For why ſhouldſt thou die, O land that God deſires to bleſs? Be aſſured it is he that has been in the midſt of this people, in the midſt of thee; and no deluſion, as thy miſtaken teachers have made thee believe. And this thou ſhalt find by their marks and fruits, if thou wilt conſider them in the ſpirit of moderation. For,

I. They were changed men themſelves before they went about to change others. Their hearts were rent as well as their garments changed, and they knew the power and work of God upon them. This was ſeen by the great alteration it made, and their ſtricter courſe of life, and more godly converſation, that immediately followed upon it.

II. They went not forth or preached in their own time or will, but in the will of God, and ſpoke not their own ſtudied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit, with which they were well acquainted in their own converſion; which cannot be expreſſed to carnal men ſo as to give them any intelligible account; for to ſuch it is, as Chriſt ſaid, "like the blowing of the wind, which "no man knows whence it cometh, or whither it goeth:" yet this proof and ſeal went along with their miniſtry, that many were turned from their lifeleſs profeſſions and the evil of their ways, to the knowledge of God and an holy life, as thouſands can witneſs. And as they freely received what they had to ſay from the Lord, ſo they freely adminiſtered it to others.

III. The bent and ſtreſs of their miniſtry was converſion to God, regeneration, and holineſs; not ſchemes of doctrines and verbal creeds, or new forms of worſhip; but a leaving off in religion the ſuperfluous, and reducing the ceremonious and formal part, and preſſing earneſtly the ſubſtantial, the neceſſary and profitable part; as all upon a ſerious reflection muſt and do acknowledge.

IV. They directed people to a principle, by which all that they aſſerted, preached, and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known, through experience, to them to be true; which is a high and diſtinguiſhing mark of the truth of their miniſtry; both that they knew what they ſaid, and were not afraid of coming to the teſt. For as they were bold from certainty, ſo they required

conformity

conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction, and the conviction of this principle, which they aſſerted was in them that they preached unto, and unto that directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of thoſe things which they had affirmed of it, and its manifeſtation and work in man. And this is more than the many miniſtries in the world pretend to. They declare of religion; ſay many things true in words, of God, Chriſt, and the Spirit; of holineſs and heaven; that all men ſhould repent and mend their lives, or they will go to hell, &c. but which of them all pretend to ſpeak of their own knowledge and experience? or ever directed men to a divine principle or agent, placed of God in man, to help him? and how to know it, and wait to feel its power to work that good and acceptable will of God in them?

Some of them indeed have ſpoke of the Spirit, and the operations of it to ſanctification, and performance of worſhip to God; but where and how to find it, and wait in it to perform, was yet as a myſtery reſerved for this further degree of reformation. So that this people did not only in words more than equally preſs repentance, converſion, and holineſs, but did it knowingly and experimentally; and directed thoſe to whom they preached to a ſufficient principle, and told them where it is, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it to their ſouls happineſs: which is more than theory and ſpeculations, upon which moſt other miniſtries depend; for here is certainly a bottom upon which man may boldly appear before God in the great day of account.

V. They reached to the inward ſtate and condition of people, which is an evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their miniſtring from it, and not their own imaginations, gloſſes, or comments upon ſcripture. For nothing reaches the heart but what is from the heart, or pierces the conſcience but what comes from a living conſcience; inſomuch as it hath often happened, where people have under ſecrecy revealed their ſtate or condition to ſome choice friends for advice or eaſe, they have been ſo particularly directed in the miniſtry of this people, that they have challenged their friends with diſcovering their ſecrets, and telling the preachers their caſes; yea, the very thoughts and purpoſes of the hearts of many have been ſo plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried out of this inward appearance of Chriſt, "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the king of Iſrael." And thoſe that have embraced this divine principle, have found this mark of its truth and divinity, that the woman of Samaria did of Chriſt when in the fleſh, to be the Meſſiah, viz. "It had told "them all that ever they did;" ſhewed them their inſides, the moſt inward ſecrets of their hearts, and laid judgment to the line, and righteouſneſs to the plummet; of which thouſands can at this day give in their witneſs. So that nothing has been affirmed by this people of the power and virtue of this heavenly principle, that ſuch as have turned to it have not found true, and more; and that one half had not been told to them of what they have ſeen of the power, purity, wiſdom, mercy, and goodneſs of God herein.

VI. The

VI. The accompliſhments with which this principle fitted even ſome of the meaneſt of this people for their work and ſervice, furniſhing ſome of them with an extraordinary underſtanding in divine things, and an admirable fluency and taking way of expreſſion, which gave occaſion to ſome to wonder, ſaying of them, as of their Maſter, "Is not this ſuch a mechanick's ſon? how came he by this learning?" As from thence others took occaſion to ſuſpect and inſinuate they were jeſuits in diſguiſe, who have had the reputation of learned men for an age paſt, though there was not the leaſt ground of truth for any ſuch reflection.

VII. They came forth low, and deſpiſed and hated, as the primitive chriſtians did, and not by the help of worldly wiſdom or power, as former reformations in part have done; but in all things it may be ſaid this people were brought forth in the croſs, in a contradiction to the ways, worſhip, faſhion, and cuſtoms of this world, yea againſt wind and tide, that ſo no fleſh might glory before God.

They could have no deſign to themſelves in this work, thus to expoſe themſelves to ſcorn and abuſe, to ſpend and be ſpent; leaving wife and children, houſe and land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands, being daily in jeopardy, to declare this primitive meſſage, 1 John i. v. revived in their ſpirits by the good Spirit and power of God; viz. "That God is light, and in "him is no darkneſs at all; and that he has ſent his Son a light into "the world to enlighten all men in order to ſalvation; and that "they that ſay they have fellowſhip with God, and are his children "and people, and yet walk in darkneſs, (viz. in diſobedience to the "light in their conſciences, and after the vanity of this world) they lie "and do not the truth. But that all ſuch as love the light and bring "their deeds to it, and walk in the light, as God is light, the blood "of Jeſus Chriſt his ſon ſhould cleanſe them from all ſin."

VIII. Their known great conſtancy and patience in ſuffering for their teſtimony, in all the branches of it, and that ſometimes unto death, by beatings, bruiſings, long and crowded impriſonments, and noiſome dungeons. Four of them in New England dying by the hands of the executioner, purely for preaching amongſt that people; beſides baniſhments and exceſſive plunders and ſequeſtrations of their goods and eſtates, almoſt in all parts, not eaſily to be expreſſed, and leſs to be endured, but by thoſe that have the ſupport of a good and glorious cauſe; refuſing deliverance by any indirect ways and means, as often as it was offered to them.

IX. That they did not only not ſhew any diſpoſition to revenge, when it was at any time in their power, but forgave their cruel enemies, ſhewing mercy to thoſe that had none for them.

X. Their plainneſs with thoſe in authority, not unlike the ancient prophets; not fearing to tell them to their faces of their private and publick ſins, and their prophecies to them of their afflictions and downfal, when in the top of their glory; alſo of ſome national judgments, as of the plague and fire of London, in expreſs terms, and likewiſe particular ones to divers perſecutors, which accordingly overtook them, and which were very remarkable in the places where they

they dwelt, and in time they may be made publick for the glory of God.

Thus, reader, thou ſeeſt this people in their riſe, principles, miniſtry, and progreſs, both their general and particular teſtimony, by which thou mayeſt be informed how and upon what foot they ſprung and became ſo conſiderable a people. It remains next that I ſhew alſo their care, conduct, and diſcipline, as a chriſtian and reformed ſociety, that they might be found living up to their own principles and profeſſion: and this the rather, becauſe they have hardly ſuffered more in their character from the unjuſt charge of error, than by the falſe imputation of diſorder; which calumny indeed has not failed to follow all the true ſteps that were ever made to reformation, and under which reproach none ſuffered more than the primitive chriſtians themſelves, that were the honour of chriſtianity, and the great lights and examples of their own and ſucceeding ages.

This people increaſing daily both in town and country, an holy care fell upon ſome of the elders among them for the benefit and ſervice of the church. And the firſt buſineſs in their view, after the example of the primitive ſaints, was the exerciſe of charity, to ſupply the neceſſities of the poor, and anſwer the like occaſions: wherefore collections were early and liberally made for that and divers other ſervices in the church, and intruſted with faithful men, fearing God, and of good report, who were not weary in well-doing; adding often of their own in large proportions, which they never brought to account or deſired ſhould be known, much leſs reſtored to them, that none might want, nor any ſervice be retarded or diſappointed.

They were alſo very careful, that every one that belonged to them anſwered their profeſſion in their behaviour among men upon all occaſions; that they lived peaceably, and were in all things good examples. They found themſelves engaged to record their ſufferings and ſervices; and in caſe of marriage, which they could not perform in the uſual methods of the nation, but among themſelves, they took care that all things were clear between the parties and all others, and it was then rare that any one entertained ſuch inclination to a perſon on that account, till he or ſhe had communicated it ſecretly to ſome very weighty and eminent friends among them, that they might have a ſenſe of the matter; looking to the counſel and unity of their brethren as of great moment to them. But becauſe the charge of the poor, the number of orphans, marriages, ſufferings, and other matters multiplied, and that it was good that the churches were in ſome way and method of proceeding in ſuch affairs among them, to the end they might the better correſpond upon occaſion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleaſed the Lord in his wiſdom and goodneſs to open the underſtanding of the firſt inſtrument of this diſpenſation of life, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; and he felt an holy concern to viſit the churches in perſon throughout this nation, to begin and eſtabliſh it among them; and by his epiſtles the like was done in other nations and provinces abroad, which he alſo afterwards viſited and

helped in that ſervice, as ſhall be obſerved when I come to ſpeak of him.

Now the care, conduct, and diſcipline, I have been ſpeaking of, and which is now practiſed among this people, is as followeth:

This godly elder, in every county where he travelled, exhorted them, that ſome out of every meeting of worſhip ſhould meet together once in the month, to confer about the wants and occaſions of the church: and as the caſe required, ſo thoſe monthly meetings were fewer or more in number in every reſpective county; four or ſix meetings of worſhip uſually making one monthly meeting of buſineſs. And accordingly the brethren met him from place to place, and began the ſaid meetings; viz. "For the poor, orphans, "orderly walking, integrity to their profeſſion, births, marriages, "burials, ſufferings, &c." And that theſe monthly meetings ſhould in each county make up one quarterly meeting, where the moſt zealous and eminent friends of the county ſhould aſſemble to communicate, adviſe, and help one another, eſpecially when any buſineſs ſeemed difficult, or a monthly meeting was tender of determining a matter.

Alſo that theſe quarterly meetings ſhould digeſt the reports of the monthly meetings, and prepare one for the county againſt the yearly meeting, in which the quarterly meetings reſolve, which is held yearly in London, where the churches in this nation and other nations and provinces meet, by choſen members of their reſpective counties, both mutually to communicate their church-affairs, and to adviſe and be adviſed in any depending caſe to edification; alſo to provide a requiſite ſtock for the diſcharge of general expences for general ſervices in the church, not needful to be here particularized.

At theſe meetings any of the members of the churches may come, if they pleaſe, and ſpeak their minds freely in the fear of God to any matter; but the mind of each meeting therein repreſented is chiefly underſtood, as to particular caſes, in the ſenſe delivered by the perſons deputed or choſen for that ſervice.

During their yearly meeting, to which their other meetings refer in their order, and reſolve themſelves, care is taken by a ſelect number, for that ſervice choſen by the general aſſembly, to draw up the minutes of the ſaid meeting upon the ſeveral matters that have been under conſideration therein, to the end that the reſpective quarterly and monthly meetings may be informed of all proceedings, together with a general exhortation to holineſs, unity and charity: of all which proceedings in yearly, quarterly, and monthly meetings, due record is kept by ſome one appointed for that ſervice, or that hath voluntarily undertaken it. Theſe meetings are opened and uſually concluded in their ſolemn waiting upon God, who is ſometimes graciouſly pleaſed to anſwer them with as ſignal evidences of his love and preſence, as in any other of their meetings for worſhip.

It is farther to be noted, that, in theſe ſolemn aſſemblies for the church's ſervice, there is no one preſides among them after the manner of the aſſemblies of other people, Chriſt only being their preſident, as he is pleaſed to appear in life and wiſdom in any one or more of

of them, to whom, whatever be their capacity or degree, the reſt adhere with a firm unity, not of authority but conviction, which is the divine authority and way of Chriſt's power and ſpirit in his people; making good his bleſſed promiſe, "That he would be in the "midſt of his, where and whenever they were met together in his "name, even to the end of the world." So be it.

Now it may be expected I ſhould here ſet down what ſort of authority is exerciſed by this people upon ſuch members of their ſociety as correſpond not in their lives with their profeſſion, and that are refractory to this good and wholeſome order ſettled among them; and the rather, becauſe they have not wanted their reproach and ſuffering from ſome tongues upon this occaſion in a plentiful manner.

The power they exerciſe is ſuch as Chriſt has given to his own people to the end of the world in the perſons of his diſciples; viz. "To overſee, exhort, reprove," and after long-ſuffering and waiting upon the diſobedient and refractory, "to diſown them as any more "of their communion, or that they will any longer ſtand charged "in the ſight and judgment of God or men with their converſation "or behaviour as one of them until they repent." The ſubject-matter about which this authority, in any of the foregoing branches of it, is exerciſed, is, firſt, in relation to common and general practice: and, ſecondly, about thoſe things that more ſtrictly refer to their own character and profeſſion, and diſtinguiſh them from all other profeſſors of chriſtianity; avoiding two extremes upon which many ſplit, viz. perſecution and libertiniſm. A coercive power to whip people into the temple; that ſuch as will not conform, though againſt faith and conſcience, ſhall be puniſhed in their perſons or eſtates; or leaving all looſe and at large as to practice, unaccountable to all but God and the magiſtrate. To which hurtful extreme nothing has more contributed, than the abuſe of church-power by ſuch as ſuffer their paſſions and private intereſts to prevail with them to carry it to outward force and corporal puniſhment; a practice they have been taught to diſlike by their extreme ſufferings, as well as their known principle for an univerſal liberty of conſcience.

On the other hand they equally diſlike an independency in ſociety; an unaccountableneſs in practice and converſation to the terms of their own communion, and to thoſe that are the members of it. They diſtinguiſh between impoſing any practice that immediately regards faith or worſhip (which is never to be done, nor ſuffered, or ſubmitted unto) and requiring chriſtian compliance with thoſe methods that only reſpect church-buſineſs in its more civil part and concern, and that regard the diſcreet and orderly maintenance of the character of the ſociety, as a ſober and religious community. In ſhort, what is for the promotion of holineſs and charity, that men may practiſe what they profeſs, live up to their own principles, and not be at liberty to give the lie to their own profeſſion without rebuke. They compel none to them, but oblige thoſe that are of them to walk ſuitably, or they are denied by them: that is all the mark they ſet upon them, and the power they exerciſe, or judge a chriſtian ſociety can exerciſe upon thoſe that are the members of it.

The way of their proceedings againſt ſuch as have lapſed or tranſgreſſed is this. He is viſited by ſome of them, and the matter of fact laid home to him, be it any evil practice againſt known and general virtue, or any branch of their particular teſtimony, which he, in common, profeſſeth with them. They labour with him in much love and zeal for the good of his ſoul, the honour of God, and reputation of their profeſſion, to own his fault, and condemn it, in as ample a manner as the evil or ſcandal was given by him; which, for the moſt part, is performed by ſome written teſtimony under the party's hand: and if it ſo happen that the party prove refractory, and is not willing to clear the truth they profeſs from the reproach of his or her evil-doing or unfaithfulneſs, they, after repeated intreaties, and due waiting for a token of repentance, give forth a paper to diſown ſuch a fact, and the party offending; recording the ſame as a teſtimony of their care for the honour of the truth they profeſs.

And if he or ſhe ſhall clear their profeſſion and themſelves, by ſincere acknowledgment of their fault, and godly ſorrow for ſo doing, they are received, and looked upon again as members of their communion. For as God, ſo his true people upbraid no man after repentance.

This is the account I had to give of the people of God called Quakers, as to their riſe, appearance, principles, and practices in this age of the world, both with reſpect to their faith and worſhip, diſcipline and converſation. And I judge it very proper in this place, becauſe it is to preface the journal of the firſt bleſſed and glorious inſtrument of this work, and for a teſtimony to him in his ſingular qualifications and ſervices, in which he abundantly excelled in this his day, and are worthy to be ſet forth as an example to all ſucceeding times, to the glory of the Moſt High God, and for a juſt memorial to that worthy and excellent man, his faithful ſervant and apoſtle to this generation of the world.

I am now come to the third head or branch of my preface, viz. the inſtrumental author. For it is natural for ſome to ſay, Well, here is the people and work, but where and who was the man, the inſtrument; he that in this age was ſent to begin this work and people? I ſhall, as God ſhall enable me, declare who and what he was, not only by report of others, but from my own long and moſt inward converſe and intimate knowledge of him; for which my ſoul bleſſeth God, as it hath often done; and I doubt not, but by that time I have diſcharged myſelf of this part of my preface, my ſerious readers will believe I had good cauſe ſo to do.

The bleſſed inſtrument of and in this day of God, and of whom I am now about to write, was GEORGE FOX, diſtinguiſhed from another of that name, by that other's addition of younger to his name in all his writings; not that he was ſo in years, but that he was ſo in the truth; but he was alſo a worthy man, witneſs and ſervant of God in his time.

But this George Fox was born in Leiceſterſhire, about the year 1624. He deſcended of honeſt and ſufficient parents, who endeavoured to bring him up, as they did the reſt of their children, in the way

way and worſhip of the nation; eſpecially his mother, who was a woman accompliſhed above moſt of her degree in the place where ſhe lived. But from a child he appeared of another frame of mind than the reſt of his brethren; being more religious, inward, ſtill, ſolid, and obſerving, beyond his years, as the anſwers he would give, and the queſtions he would put upon occaſion manifeſted, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe that heard him, eſpecially in divine things.

His mother taking notice of his ſingular temper, and the gravity, wiſdom, and piety that very early ſhone through him, refuſing childiſh and vain ſports and company when very young, ſhe was tender and indulgent over him, ſo that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his employment, he was brought up in country buſineſs; and as he took moſt delight in ſheep, ſo he was very ſkilful in them; an employment that very well ſuited his mind in ſeveral reſpects, both for its innocency and ſolitude; and was a juſt figure of his after miniſtry and ſervice.

I ſhall not break in upon his own account, which is by much the beſt that can be given; and therefore deſire, what I can, to avoid ſaying any thing of what is ſaid already, as to the particular paſſages of his coming forth: but, in general, when he was ſomewhat above twenty, he left his friends, and viſited the moſt retired and religious people, and ſome there were at that time in this nation, eſpecially in thoſe parts, who waited for the conſolation of Iſrael night and day, as Zacharias, Anna, and good old Simeon did of old time. To theſe he was ſent, and theſe he ſought out in the neighbouring countries, and among them he ſojourned till his more ample miniſtry came upon him.

At this time he taught and was an example of ſilence, endeavouring to bring people from ſelf-performances, teſtifying and turning to the light of Chriſt within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience to feel the power of it to ſtir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worſhip of God might ſtand in the power of an endleſs life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifeſtation of it in man. "For in the "Word was life, and that life was the light of men." Life in the Word, light in men, and life too, as the light is obeyed; the children of the light living by the life of the Word, by which the Word begets them again to God, which is the regeneration and new birth, without which there is no coming unto the kingdom of God; and which, whoever comes to, is greater than John, that is, than John's miniſtry, which was not that of the kingdom, but the conſummation of the legal, and opening of the goſpel-diſpenſation. Accordingly, ſeveral meetings were gathered in thoſe parts; and thus his time was employed for ſome years.

In 1652, he being in his uſual retirement to the Lord upon a very high mountain, in ſome of the hither parts of Yorkſhire, as I take it, his mind exerciſed towards the Lord, he had a viſion of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth to begin it. He ſaw people as thick as motes in the ſun, that ſhould in time be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but one Shepherd and one ſheepfold in all the earth. There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that ſhould receive him and his meſſage in

thoſe parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to ſound out his great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory, and from thence went north, as the Lord had ſhewn him; and in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exerciſe and ſervice ſhewn to him, ſo that the Lord was his leader indeed; for it was not in vain that he travelled, God in moſt places ſealing his commiſſion with the convincement of ſome of all ſorts, as well publicans as ſober profeſſors of religion. Some of the firſt and moſt eminent of them, which are at reſt, were Richard Farnſworth, James Nayler, William Dewſberry, Francis Howgil, Edward Burrough, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor. John Aldam, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simpſon, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Widders, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouſe, and many more worthies, that cannot be well here named, together with divers yet living of the firſt and great convincement, who after the knowledge of God's purging judgments in themſelves, and ſome time of waiting in ſilence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high to ſpeak in his name (which none elſe rightly can, though they may uſe the ſame words), felt the divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, eſpecially to viſit the publick aſſemblies, to reprove, inform, and exhort them, ſometimes in markets, fairs, ſtreets, and by the highway ſide, calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Chriſt within them, to ſee and examine and conſider their ways by, and to eſchew the evil and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they ſuffered great hardſhips for this their love and good-will, being often ſtocked, ſtoned, beaten, whipped, and impriſoned, though honeſt men and of good report where they lived, that had left wives and children, and houſes and lands, to viſit them with a living call to repentance. And though the prieſts generally ſet themſelves to oppoſe them, and write againſt them, and inſinuated moſt falſe and ſcandalous ſtories to defame them, ſtirring up the magiſtrates to ſuppreſs them, eſpecially in thoſe northern parts, yet God was pleaſed ſo to fill them with his living power, and give them ſuch an open door of utterance in his ſervice, that there was a mighty convincement over thoſe parts.

And thro' the tender and ſingular indulgence of Judge Bradſhaw and Judge Fell, in the infancy of things, the prieſts were never able to gain the point they laboured for, which was to have proceeded to blood, and if poſſible, Herod-like, by a cruel exerciſe of the civil power, to have cut them off and rooted them out of the country. Eſpecially Judge Fell, who was not only a check to their rage in the courſe of legal proceedings, but otherwiſe upon occaſion, and finally countenanced this people; for his wife receiving the truth with the firſt, it had that influence upon his ſpirit, being a juſt and wiſe man, and ſeeing in his own wife and family a full confutation of all the popular clamours againſt the way of truth, that he covered them what he could, and freely opened his doors, and gave up his houſe to his wife and her friends, not valuing the reproach of ignorant or evil-minded people, which I here mention to his and her honour, and which will be I believe an honour

and

and a bleſſing to ſuch of their name and family as ſhall be found in that tenderneſs, humility, love, and zeal for the truth and people of the Lord.

That houſe was for ſome years at firſt, till the truth had opened its way in the ſouthern parts of this iſland, an eminent receptacle of this people. Others of good note and ſubſtance in thoſe northern countries had alſo opened their houſes with their hearts to the many publiſhers, that in a ſhort time the Lord had raiſed to declare his ſalvation to the people, and where meetings of the Lord's meſſengers were frequently held, to communicate their ſervices and exerciſes, and comfort and edify one another in their bleſſed miniſtry.

But leſt this may be thought a digreſſion, having touched upon this before, I return to this excellent man: and for his perſonal qualities, both natural, moral, and divine, as they appeared in his converſe with his brethren and in the church of God, take as follows.

I. He was a man that God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth, a diſcerner of others ſpirits, and very much a maſter of his own. And though the ſide of his underſtanding which lay next to the world, and eſpecially the expreſſion of it, might ſound uncouth and unfaſhionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheleſs very profound, and would not only bear to be often conſidered, but the more it was ſo, the more weighty and inſtructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as ſometimes his ſentences would fall from him about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And indeed it ſhewed beyond all contradiction that God ſent him, that no arts or parts had any ſhare in the matter or manner of his miniſtry, and that ſo many great, excellent, and neceſſary truths as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wiſdom to recommend them. So that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy. And his miniſtry and writings ſhew they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he ſaid by ſtudy. Nor were they notional or ſpeculative, but ſenſible and practical truths, tending to converſion and regeneration, and the ſetting up the kingdom of God in the hearts of men, and the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myſelf, and been made to ſay with my Lord and Maſter upon the like occaſion, " I thank thee, O Fa-
" ther, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou haſt hid theſe things
" from the wiſe and prudent of this world, and revealed them to
" babes;" for many times hath my ſoul bowed in an humble thankfulneſs to the Lord, that he did not chooſe any of the wiſe and learned of this world to be the firſt meſſenger in our age of his bleſſed truth to men; but that he took one that was not of high degree, or elegant ſpeech, or learned after the way of this world, that his meſſage and work he ſent him to do might come with leſs ſuſpicion or jealouſy of human wiſdom and intereſt, and with more force and clearneſs upon the conſciences of thoſe that ſincerely ſought the way of truth in the love of it. I ſay, beholding with the eye of my mind, which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand viſibly in this teſtimony from the clearneſs of the principle, the power and efficacy of it in the exemplary ſobriety, plainneſs, zeal,

ſteadineſs, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity, and circumſpect care in the government of church-affairs, which ſhined in his and their life and teſtimony that God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of God, and engaged my ſoul in a deep love, fear, reverence, and thankfulneſs for his love and mercy therein to mankind; in which mind I remain, and ſhall, I hope, to the end of my days.

II. In his teſtimony or miniſtry he much laboured to open truth to the people's underſtandings, and to bottom them upon the principle and principal, Chriſt Jeſus, the light of the world, that by bringing them to ſomething that was of God in themſelves, they might the better know and judge of him and themſelves.

He had an extraordinary gift in opening the ſcriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and ſhew the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them with much plainneſs, and to great comfort and edification.

The myſtery of the firſt and ſecond Adam, of the fall and reſtoration, of the law and goſpel, of ſhadows and ſubſtance, of the ſervant and ſon's ſtate, and the fulfilling of the ſcriptures in Chriſt, and by Chriſt the true light, in all that are his, through the obedience of faith, were much of the ſubſtance and drift of his teſtimonies. In all which he was witneſſed to be of God, being ſenſibly felt to ſpeak that which he had received of Chriſt, and was his own experience in that which never errs nor fails.

But above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardneſs and weight of his ſpirit, the reverence and ſolemnity of his addreſs and behaviour, and the fewneſs and fulneſs of his words, have often ſtruck even ſtrangers with admiration, as they uſed to reach others with conſolation. The moſt awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I muſt ſay, was his in prayer. And truly it was a teſtimony he knew, and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know him moſt will ſee moſt reaſon to approach him with reverence and fear.

He was of an innocent life, no buſy-body, nor ſelf-ſeeker, neither touchy nor critical: what fell from him was very inoffenſive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modeſt, eaſy, ſteady, tender, it was a pleaſure to be in his company. He exerciſed no authority but over evil, and that every-where and in all; but with love, compaſſion, and long-ſuffering. A moſt merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give an offence. Thouſands can truly ſay, he was of an excellent ſpirit and ſavour among them, and becauſe thereof the moſt excellent ſpirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

He was an inceſſant labourer; for in his younger time, before his many great and deep ſufferings and travels had enfeebled his body for itinerant ſervices, he laboured much in the word and doctrine and diſcipline in England, Scotland, and Ireland, turning many to God, and confirming thoſe that were convinced of the truth, and ſettling good order as to church-affairs among them. And towards the concluſion of his travelling ſervices, between the years ſeventy-one and ſeventy-ſeven, he viſited the churches of Chriſt in the plantations in America,

America, and in the United Provinces, and Germany, as his following Journal relates, to the convincement and conſolation of many. After that time he chiefly reſided in and about the city of London, and beſides the ſervices of his miniſtry, which were frequent, he wrote much both to them that are within and thoſe that are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the church in general was very great.

He was often where the records of the affairs of the church are kept, and the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the world, where ſettled, come upon occaſions; which letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the meeting that is weekly held there for ſuch ſervices; he would be ſure to ſtir them up to diſcharge them, eſpecially in ſuffering caſes: ſhewing great ſympathy and compaſſion upon all ſuch occaſions, carefully looking into the reſpective caſes, and endeavouring ſpeedy relief according to the nature of them; ſo that the churches and any of the ſuffering members thereof were ſure not to be forgotten or delayed in their deſires if he were there.

As he was unwearied, ſo he was undaunted in his ſervices for God and his people; he was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Lichfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell at Lanceſton, Scarborough, Worceſter, and Weſtminſter-hall, with many other places and exerciſes, did abundantly evidence it to his enemies as well as his friends.

But as in the primitive times ſome roſe up againſt the bleſſed apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, even from among thoſe that they had turned to the hope of the goſpel, and who became their greateſt trouble, ſo this man of God had his ſhare of ſuffering from ſome that were convinced by him, who through prejudice or miſtake ran againſt him as one that ſought dominion over conſcience; becauſe he preſſed, by his preſence or epiſtles, a ready and zealous compliance with ſuch good and wholeſome things as tended to an orderly converſation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work, was in ſome a begrudging of this meek man the love and eſteem he had and deſerved in the hearts of the people, and weakneſs in others that were taken with their groundleſs ſuggeſtions of impoſition and blind obedience.

They would have had every man independent, that as he had the principle in himſelf, he ſhould only ſtand and fall to that and nobody elſe; not conſidering that the principle is one in all, and though the meaſure of light or grace might differ, yet the nature of it was the ſame, and being ſo they ſtruck at the ſpiritual unity, which a people guided by the ſame principle are naturally led into: ſo that what is evil to one is ſo to all, and what is virtuous, honeſt, and of good report to one, is ſo to all, from the ſenſe and ſavour of the one univerſal principle which is common to all, and (which the diſaffected profeſs to be) the root of all true chriſtian fellowſhip, and that ſpirit into which the people of God drink, and come to be ſpiritually minded, and of one heart and one ſoul.

Some weakly miſtook good order in the government of church-affairs for diſcipline in worſhip, and that it was ſo preſſed or recommended by him and other brethren: and they were ready to reflect the ſame things that diſſenters had very reaſonably objected upon the national churches, that have coercively preſſed conformity to their reſpective creeds and worſhips: whereas theſe things related wholly to converſation, and the outward and (as I may ſay) civil part of the church, that men ſhould walk up to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in care and charity. But though ſome have ſtumbled and fallen through miſtakes and an unreaſonable obſtinacy, even to a prejudice, yet, bleſſed be God, the generality have returned to their firſt love, and ſeen the work of the enemy, that loſes no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the work of God, and diſquiet the peace of his church, and chill the love of his people to the truth, and one to another; and there is hope of divers that are yet at a diſtance.

In all theſe occaſions, though there was no perſon the diſcontented ſtruck ſo ſharply at as this good man, he bore all their weakneſs and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter ſpeeches, praying for them that they might have a ſenſe of their hurt, and ſee the ſubtilty of the enemy to rend and divide, and return into their firſt love that thought no ill.

And truly, I muſt ſay, that though God had viſibly cloathed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very preſence expreſſed a religious majeſty, yet he never abuſed it, but held his place in the church of God with great meekneſs, and a moſt engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occaſions, like his bleſſed Maſter, he was a ſervant to all, holding and exerciſing his elderſhip in the inviſible power that had gathered them, with reverence to the head and care over the body, and was received only in that ſpirit and power of Chriſt, as the firſt and chief elder in this age; who as he was therefore worthy of double honour, ſo for the ſame reaſon it was given by the faithful of this day; becauſe his authority was inward and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God and power of an endleſs life. I write my knowledge and not report, and my witneſs is true, having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occaſions, and thoſe of the neareſt and moſt exerciſing nature, and that by night and by day, by ſea and by land, in this and in foreign countries: and I can ſay I never ſaw him out of his place, or not a match for every ſervice or occaſion.

For in all things he acquitted himſelf like a man, yea a ſtrong man, a new and heavenly-minded man. A divine, and a naturaliſt, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been ſurprized at his queſtions and anſwers in natural things, that whilſt he was ignorant of uſeleſs and ſophiſtical ſcience, he had in him the foundation of uſeful and commendable knowledge, and cheriſhed it every-where. Civil beyond all forms of breeding in his behaviour; very temperate, eating little and ſleeping leſs, though a bulky perſon.

Thus he lived and ſojourned among us, and as he lived ſo he died, feeling the ſame eternal power that had raiſed and preſerved him in

his laſt moments. So full of aſſurance was he, that he triumphed over death; and ſo even to the laſt, as if death were hardly worth notice or a mention: recommending to ſome with him the diſpatch and diſperſion of an epiſtle, juſt before written to the churches of Chriſt, throughout the world, and his own books; but above all, friends, and of all friends thoſe in Ireland and America, twice over: ſaying, Mind poor friends in Ireland and America.

And to ſome that came in and inquired how he found himſelf, he anſwered, "Never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakneſs and "death, the Seed reigns, bleſſed be the Lord:" which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meeting near Lombard-ſtreet on the firſt day of the week, and it was the third following about ten at night when he left us, being at the houſe of H. Goldney in the ſame court. In a good old age he went, after having lived to ſee his childrens children to ſeveral generations in the truth. He had the comfort of a ſhort illneſs, and the bleſſing of a clear ſenſe to the laſt; and we may truly ſay with a man of God of old, that "being dead, he yet ſpeaketh;" and though abſent in body, he is preſent in Spirit; neither time nor place being able to interrupt the communion of ſaints, or diſſolve the fellowſhip of the ſpirits of the juſt. His works praiſe him, becauſe they are to the praiſe of him that worked by him; for which his memorial is and ſhall be bleſſed. I have done, as to this part of my preface, when I have left this ſhort epitaph to his name: "Many "ſons have done virtuouſly in this day, but, dear GEORGE, thou "excelleſt them all."

And now, Friends, you that profeſs to walk in the way this bleſſed man was ſent of God to turn us into, ſuffer I beſeech you the word of exhortation, as well fathers as children, and elders as young men. The glory of this day, and foundation of the hope that has not made us aſhamed ſince we were a people, you know is that bleſſed principle of light and life of Chriſt, which we profeſs, and direct all people to, as the great inſtrument and agent of man's converſion to God: it was by this we were firſt touched, and effectually enlightened, as to our inward ſtate; which put us upon the conſideration of our latter end, cauſing us to ſet the Lord before our eyes, and to number our days, that we might apply our hearts to wiſdom. In that day we judged not after the ſight of the eye, or after the hearing of the ear, but according to the light and ſenſe this bleſſed principle gave us; we judged and acted in reference to Things and Perſons, ourſelves and others, yea, towards God our Maker. For being quickened by it in our inward man, we could eaſily diſcern the difference of things, and feel what was right, and what was wrong, and what was fit, and what not, both in reference to religion and civil concerns. That being the ground of the fellowſhip of all ſaints, it was in that our fellowſhip ſtood. In this we deſired to have a ſenſe one of another, acted towards one another and all men in love, faithfulneſs, and fear.

In the feeling of the motions of this principle we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared by it, that we might feel thoſe drawings

drawings and movings, before we approached the Lord in prayer, or opened our mouths in miniſtry. And in our beginning and ending with this, ſtood our comfort, ſervice, and edification. And as we ran faſter, or fell ſhort, we made burthens for ourſelves to bear; our ſervices finding in ourſelves a rebuke, inſtead of an acceptance; and in lieu of "Well done," "Who hath required this at your "hands?" In that day we were an exerciſed people, our very countenances and deportment declared it.

Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourſelves, eſpecially the young convinced. Often had we the burthen of the word of the Lord to our neighbours, relations, and acquaintance, and ſometimes ſtrangers alſo: we were in travail for one another's preſervation; not ſeeking, but ſhunning occaſions of any coldneſs or miſunderſtanding, treating one another as thoſe that believed and felt God preſent; which kept our converſation innocent, ſerious, and weighty, guarding ourſelves againſt the cares and friendſhips of the world. We held the truth in the Spirit of it, and not in our own ſpirits, or after our own will and affections. They were bowed and brought into ſubjection, inſomuch that it was viſible to them that knew us, we did not think ourſelves at our own diſpoſal, to go where we liſt, or ſay or do what we liſt, or when we liſt. Our liberty ſtood in the liberty of the Spirit of truth; and no pleaſure, no profit, no fear, no favour could draw us from this retired, ſtrict, and watchful frame. We were ſo far from ſeeking occaſions of company, that we avoided them what we could, purſuing our own buſineſs with moderation, inſtead of meddling with other people's unneceſſarily.

Our words were few and ſavoury, our looks compoſed and weighty, and our whole deportment very obſervable. True it is, that this retired and ſtrict ſort of life from the liberty of the converſation of the world, expoſed us to the cenſures of many, as humouriſts, conceited, and ſelf-righteous perſons, &c. But it was our preſervation from many ſnares, to which others were continually expoſed by the prevalency of the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occaſions or temptations to excite them abroad in the converſe of the world.

I cannot forget the humility and chaſte zeal of that day. O how conſtant at meetings, how retired in them, how firm to truth's life, as well as truth's principles, and how intire and united in our communion, as indeed became thoſe that profeſs one head, even Chriſt Jeſus the Lord!

This being the teſtimony and example the man of God beforementioned was ſent to declare and leave amongſt us, and we having embraced the ſame as the merciful viſitation of God to us, the word of exhortation at this time is, that we continue to be found in the way of this teſtimony with all zeal and integrity, and ſo much the more by how much the day draweth near.

And firſt, as to you, my beloved and much honoured brethren in Chriſt that are in the exerciſe of the miniſtry; O feel life in the miniſtry! Let life be your commiſſion, your well-ſpring and treaſury in all ſuch occaſions; elſe you well know there can be no begetting

getting to God, ſince nothing can quicken or make people alive to God, but the life of God: and it muſt be a miniſtry in and from life that enlivens any people to God. We have ſeen the fruit of all other miniſtries by the few that are turned from the evil of their ways. It is not our parts or memory, the repetition of former openings in our own will and time, that will do God's work. A dry doctrinal miniſtry, however ſound in words, can reach but the ear, and is but a dream at the beſt: there is another ſoundneſs, that is ſoundeſt of all, viz. Chriſt the power of God. This is the key of David, that opens, and none ſhuts; and ſhuts, and none can open; as the oil to the lamp and the ſoul to the body, ſo is that to the beſt of words. Which made Chriſt to ſay, "My words they are ſpirit, "and they are life;" that is, they are from life, and therefore they make you alive that receive them. If the diſciples, that had lived with Jeſus, were to ſtay at Jeruſalem till they received it; ſo muſt we wait to receive before we miniſter, if we will turn people from darkneſs to light, and from Satan's power to God.

I fervently bow my knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that you may always be like-minded, that you may ever wait reverently for the coming and opening of the word of life, and attend upon it in your miniſtry and ſervice, that you may ſerve God in his Spirit. And be it little, or be it much, it is well; for much is not too much, and the leaſt is enough, if from the motion of God's Spirit; and without it, verily, never ſo little is too much, becauſe to no profit.

For it is the Spirit of the Lord immediately, or through the miniſtry of his ſervants, that teacheth his people to profit; and to be ſure, ſo far as we take him along with us in our ſervices, ſo far are we profitable, and no farther. For if it be the Lord that muſt work all things in us, and for ourſelves, much more is it the Lord that muſt work in us for the converſion of others. If therefore it was once a croſs to us to ſpeak, though the Lord required it at our hands, let it never be ſo to be ſilent, when he does not.

It is one of the moſt dreadful ſayings in the Revelations, That he that adds to the words of the prophecy of this book, God will add the plagues written in this book. To keep back the counſel of God, is as terrible; for he that takes away from the words of the prophecy of this book, God ſhall take away his part out of the book of life. And truly it has great caution in it to thoſe that uſe the name of the Lord, to be well aſſured the Lord ſpeaks, that they may not be found of the number of thoſe that add to the words of the teſtimony of prophecy which the Lord giveth them to bear; nor yet to mince or diminiſh the ſame, both being ſo very offenſive to God.

Wherefore, brethren, let us be careful neither to out-go our guide, nor yet loiter behind him; ſince he that makes haſte may miſs his way, and he that ſtays behind loſe his guide: for even thoſe that have received the word of the Lord had need wait for wiſdom, that they may ſee how to divide the word aright; which plainly implieth, that it is poſſible for one that hath received the word of the Lord to miſs in the diviſion and application of it, which muſt come from an impatiency of ſpirit, and a ſelf-working; which makes an unſound

and dangerous mixture, and will hardly beget a right-minded living people to God.

I am earneſt in this, above all other conſiderations, as to publick brethren, well knowing how much it concerns the preſent and future ſtate and preſervation of the church of Chriſt Jeſus, that has been gathered and built up by a living and powerful miniſtry, that the miniſtry be held, preſerved, and continued in the manifeſtations, motions, and ſupplies of the ſame life and power from time to time.

And where-ever it is obſerved that any one does miniſter more from gifts and parts than life and power, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal underſtanding, let them in time be adviſed and admoniſhed for their preſervation; becauſe inſenſibly ſuch will come to depend upon ſelf-ſufficiency, to forſake Chriſt the living fountain, and to hew out unto themſelves ciſterns that will hold no living waters, and by degrees draw others from waiting upon the gift of God in themſelves, and to feel it in others, in order to their ſtrength and refreſhment, to wait upon them, and to turn from God to man again, and ſo to make ſhipwrack of the faith once delivered to the Saints, and of a good conſcience towards God; which are only kept by that divine gift of life that begat the one and wakened and ſanctified the other in the beginning.

Nor is it enough that we have known the divine gift, and in it have reached to the ſpirits in priſon, and been the inſtruments of the convincing of others of the way of God, if we keep not as low and poor in ourſelves, and as depending upon the Lord as ever; ſince no memory, no repetitions of former openings, revelations, or enjoyments will bring a ſoul to God, or afford bread to the hungry, or water to the thirſty, unleſs life go with what we ſay, and that muſt be waited for.

O that we may have no other fountain, treaſury, or dependance! that none may preſume at any rate to act of themſelves for God; becauſe they have long acted from God; that we may not ſupply want of waiting with our own wiſdom, or think that we may take leſs care and more liberty in ſpeaking than formerly; and that where we do not feel the Lord by his power to open us and enlarge us, whatever be the expectation of the people or has been our cuſtomary ſupply and character, we may not exceed or fill up the time with our own.

I hope we ſhall ever remember who it was that ſaid, "Of your-"ſelves ye can do nothing;" our ſufficiency is in Him: and if we are not to ſpeak our own words, or take thought what we ſhould ſay to men in our defence when expoſed for our teſtimony, ſurely we ought to ſpeak none of our own words, or take thought what we ſhall ſay in our teſtimony and miniſtry in the name of the Lord to the ſouls of the people; for then of all times, and of all other occaſions, ſhould it be fulfilled in us; "for it is not you that ſpeak, but "the Spirit of my Father that ſpeaketh in you."

And indeed the miniſtry of the Spirit muſt and does keep its analogy and agreement with the birth of the Spirit; that as no man can inherit the kingdom of God unleſs he be born of the Spirit, ſo no miniſtry can beget a ſoul to God, but that which is from the Spirit. For this, as I ſaid before, the diſciples waited before they went

forth, and in this our elder brethren, and meſſengers of God in our day, waited, viſited, and reached to us. And having begun in the Spirit, let none ever hope or ſeek to be made perfect in the fleſh: for what is the fleſh to the Spirit, or the chaff to the wheat? And if we keep in the Spirit, we ſhall keep in the unity of it, which is the ground of true fellowſhip. For by drinking into that one Spirit, we are made one people to God, and by it we are continued in the unity of the faith and the bond of peace. No envying, no bitterneſs, no ſtrife can have place with us. We ſhall watch always for good, and not for evil over one another, and rejoice exceedingly, and not begrudge at one another's increaſe in the riches of the grace with which God repleniſheth his faithful ſervants.

And, brethren, as to you is committed the diſpenſation of the oracles of God, which give you frequent opportunities and great place with the people among whom you travel, I beſeech you that you would not think it ſufficient to declare the word of life in their aſſemblies, however edifying and comfortable ſuch opportunities may be to you and them; but as was the practice of the man of God before-mentioned in great meaſure, when among us, inquire the ſtate of the ſeveral churches you viſit, who among them are afflicted or ſick, who are tempted, if any are unfaithful or obſtinate, and endeavour to iſſue thoſe things in the wiſdom and power of God, which will be a glorious crown upon your miniſtry. As that prepares your way in the hearts of the people to receive you as men of God, ſo it gives you credit with them to do them good by your advice in other reſpects. The afflicted will be comforted by you, the tempted ſtrengthened, the ſick refreſhed, the unfaithful convicted and reſtored, and ſuch as are obſtinate ſoftened and fitted for reconciliation, which is clenching the nail, and applying and faſtening the general teſtimony by that particular care of the ſeveral branches of it, in reference to them more immediately concerned in it.

For though good and wiſe men and elders too may reſide in ſuch places, who are of worth and importance in the general and in other places, yet it does not always follow that they may have the room they deſerve in the hearts of the people they live among, or ſome particular occaſion may make it unfit for him or them to uſe that authority; but you that travel as God's meſſengers, if they receive you in the greater, ſhall they refuſe you in the leſs? And if they own the general teſtimony, can they withſtand the particular application of it in their own caſes? Thus ye will ſhew yourſelves workmen indeed, and carry your buſineſs before you, to the praiſe of his name that hath called you from darkneſs to light, that you might turn others from Satan's power unto God and his kingdom which is within. And oh! that there were more of ſuch faithful labourers in the vineyard of the Lord! never more need ſince the day of God!

Wherefore I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, that have been long profeſſors of the truth, and know the truth in the convincing power of it, and have had a ſober converſation among men, yet content yourſelves only to know truth for yourſelves; to go to meetings, and exerciſe an ordinary charity in the church and an honeſt behaviour in the world, and limit yourſelves within thoſe bounds, feeling little

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or no concern upon your ſpirits for the glory of the Lord in the proſperity of his truth in the earth, more than to be glad that others ſucceed in ſuch ſervice; ariſe ye in the name and power of the Lord Jeſus! behold how white the fields are unto harveſt in this and other nations, and how few able and faithful labourers there are to work therein! your country folks, neighbours, and kindred want to know the Lord and his truth, and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your door upon their account? Search and ſee, and loſe no time, I beſeech you, for the Lord is at hand. I do not judge you; there is one that judgeth all men, and his judgment is true: you have mightily increaſed in your outward ſubſtance, may you equally increaſe in your inward riches, and do good with both while you have a day to do good. Your enemies would once have taken what you had from you for his name's ſake in whom you have believed, wherefore he has given you much of the world in the face of your enemies. But oh! let it be your ſervant and not your maſter, your diverſion rather than your buſineſs! let the Lord be chiefly in your eye, and ponder your ways, and ſee if God has nothing more for you to do; and if you find yourſelves ſhort in your account with him, then wait for his preparation, and be ready to receive the word of command, and be not weary of well-doing when you have put your hand to the plough; and aſſuredly you ſhall reap, if you faint not, the fruit of your heavenly labour in God's everlaſting kingdom.

And you, young convinced ones, be you intreated and exhorted to a diligent and chaſte waiting upon God in the way of his bleſſed manifeſtation and appearance of himſelf to you. Look not out but within; let not another's liberty be your ſnare: neither act by imitation, but ſenſe and feeling of God's power in yourſelves: cruſh not the tender buddings of it in your ſouls, nor over-run in your deſires and your warmneſs of affections the holy and gentle motions of it. Remember it is a ſtill voice that ſpeaks to us in this day, and that it is not to be heard in the noiſes and hurries of the mind, but is diſtinctly underſtood in a retired frame. Jeſus loved and choſe out ſolitudes, often going to mountains, to gardens, and ſea-ſides, to avoid crowds and hurries, to ſhew his diſciples it was good to be ſolitary and ſit looſe to the world. Two enemies lie near your ſtate, Imagination and Liberty; but the plain, practical, living, holy truth, that has convinced you will preſerve you, if you mind it in yourſelves, and bring all thoughts, imaginations, and affections to the teſt of it, to ſee if they are wrought in God, or of the enemy, or your own ſelves: ſo will a true taſte, diſcerning, and judgment be preſerved to you, of what you ſhould do and leave undone: and in your diligence and faithfulneſs in this way you will come to inherit ſubſtance, and Chriſt, the eternal wiſdom, will fill your treaſury. And when you are converted, as well as convinced, then confirm your brethren, and be ready to every good word and work that the Lord ſhall call you to, that you may be to his praiſe who has choſen you to be partakers with the Saints in light of a kingdom that cannot be ſhaken, an inheritance incorruptible, in eternal habitations.

And now, as for you that are the children of God's people, a great concern is upon my ſpirit for your good, and often are my knees bowed

bowed to the God of your fathers for you, that you may come to be partakers of the ſame divine life and power, that has been the glory of this day, that a generation you may be to God, a holy nation and a peculiar people, zealous of good works, when all our heads are laid in the duſt. Oh! you young men and women, let it not ſuffice you that you are the children of the people of the Lord! you muſt alſo be born again if you will inherit the kingdom of God? Your fathers are but ſuch after the fleſh; and could but beget you into the likeneſs of the firſt Adam; but you muſt be begotten into the likeneſs of the ſecond Adam by a ſpiritual generation. And therefore look carefully about you, O ye children of the children of God, conſider your ſtanding, and ſee what you are in relation to this divine kindred, family, and birth! Have you obeyed the light, and received and walked in the Spirit, that is the incorruptible ſeed of the word and kingdom of God, of which you muſt be born again? God is no reſpecter of perſons: the father cannot ſave or anſwer for the child, the child for the father, "but in "the ſin thou ſinneſt thou ſhalt die, and in the righteouſneſs thou doeſt "through Chriſt Jeſus thou ſhalt live;" for it is the willing and obedient that ſhall eat the good of the land.

Be not deceived, God is not mocked, ſuch as all nations and people ſow, ſuch ſhall they reap at the hand of the juſt God. And then your many and great privileges above the children of other people will add weight in the ſcale againſt you, if you chooſe not the way of the Lord; for you have had line upon line, and precept upon precept, and not only good doctrine but good example; and which is more, you have been turned to and acquainted with a principle in yourſelves which others have been ignorant of, and you know you may be as good as you pleaſe, without the fear of frowns and blows, or being turned out of doors, and forſaken of father and mother for God's ſake and his holy religion, as has been the caſe of ſome of your fathers in the day they firſt entered into this holy path: and if you, after hearing and ſeeing the wonders that God has wrought in the deliverance and preſervation of them through a ſea of troubles, and the manifold temporal as well as ſpiritual bleſſings that he has filled them with in the ſight of their enemies, ſhould neglect or turn your backs upon ſo great and ſo near a ſalvation, you would not only be moſt ungrateful children to God and them, but muſt expect that God will call the children of thoſe that knew him not to take the crown out of your hands, and that your lot will be a dreadful judgment at the hand of the Lord. But oh! that it may never be ſo with any of you! The Lord forbid, ſaith my ſoul.

Wherefore, O ye young men and women, look to the rock of your fathers; chuſe the God of your fathers: there is no other God but him, no other light but his, no other grace but his, nor Spirit but his to convince you, quicken and comfort you, to lead, guide, and preſerve you to God's everlaſting kingdom; ſo will you be poſſeſſors as well as profeſſors of the truth, embracing it not only by education but judgment and conviction, from a ſenſe begotten in your ſouls through the operation of the eternal Spirit and power of God in your hearts, by which you may come to be the ſeed of Abraham through faith, and the circumciſion not made with hands, and ſo heirs of the promiſe made to the fathers of an incorruptible crown: that, as I ſaid before, a gene-

ration you may be to God, holding up the profeſſion of the bleſſed truth in the life and power of it. For formality in religion is nauſeous to God and good men; and the more ſo, where any form or appearance has been new and peculiar, and begun and practiſed upon a principle with an uncommon zeal and ſtrictneſs. Therefore, I ſay, for you to fall flat and formal, and continue the profeſſion without that ſalt and ſavour by which it is come to obtain a good report among men, is not to anſwer God's love, nor your parents care, nor the mind of truth in yourſelves, nor in thoſe that are without; who though they will not obey the truth, have ſight and ſenſe enough to ſee if they do that make a profeſſion of it. For where the divine virtue of it is not felt in the ſoul, and waited for, and lived in, imperfections will quickly break out, and ſhew themſelves, and detect the unfaithfulneſs of ſuch perſons, and that their inſides are not ſeaſoned with the nature of that holy principle which they profeſs.

Wherefore, dear children, let me intreat you to ſhut your eyes at the temptations and allurements of this low and periſhing world, and not ſuffer your affections to be captivated by thoſe luſts and vanities that your fathers, for truth's ſake, long ſince turned their backs upon: but as you believe it to be the truth, receive it into your hearts, that you may become the children of God: ſo that it may never be ſaid of you as the evangeliſt writes of the Jews of his time, that Chriſt the true light came to his own, but his own received him not; but to as many as received him, to them he gave power to become the "chil-"dren of God; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of "the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of God." A moſt cloſe and comprehenſive paſſage to this occaſion: you exactly and peculiarly anſwer to thoſe profeſſing Jews, in that you bear the name of God's people, by being the children and wearing the form of God's people: ſo that he by his light in you may be ſaid to come to his own, and if you obey it not, but turn your back upon it, and walk after the vanities of your minds, you will be of thoſe that receive him not, which I pray God may never be your caſe and judgment; but that you may be thoroughly ſenſible of the many and great obligations you lie under to the Lord for his love, and your parents for their care; and with all your heart, and all your ſoul, and all your ſtrength, turn to the Lord, to his gift and Spirit in you, and hear his voice and obey it, that you may ſeal to the teſtimony of your fathers by the truth and evidence of your own experience; that your childrens children may bleſs you, and the Lord for you, as thoſe that delivered a faithful example, as well as record of the truth of God unto them. So will the grey hairs of your dear parents yet alive go down to the grave with joy, to ſee you the poſterity of truth, as well as theirs, and that not only their natures but Spirit ſhall live in you when they are gone.

I ſhall conclude this preface with a few words to thoſe that are not of our communion, into whoſe hands this may come, eſpecially thoſe of our own nation.

Friends, as you are the ſons and daughters of Adam, and my brethren after the fleſh, often and earneſt have been my deſires and prayers to God on your behalf, that you may come to know him that has made

made you to be your Redeemer and Reſtorer to the image, that through ſin you have loſt, by the power and Spirit of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, whom he hath given for the light and life of the world. And O that you, who are called Chriſtians, would receive him into your heart! for there it is you want him, and at that door he ſtands knocking, that you ſhould let him in, but you do not open to him; you are full of other gueſts, ſo that a manger is his lot among you now, as well as of old: yet you are full of profeſſion, as were the Jews when he came among them, who knew him not, but rejected and evilly intreated him. So that if you come not to the poſſeſſion and experience of what you profeſs, all your formality in religion will ſtand you in no ſtead in the day of God's judgment.

I beſeech you ponder with yourſelves your eternal condition, and ſee what title, what ground and foundation, you have for your chriſtianity: if more than a profeſſion, and an hiſtorical belief of the goſpel. Have you known the baptiſm of fire and the Holy Ghoſt, and the fan of Chriſt that winnows away the chaff, the carnal luſts and affections? That divine leaven of the kingdom, that, being received, leavens the whole lump of man, ſanctifying him throughout in body, ſoul, and ſpirit? If this be not the ground of your confidence, you are in a miſerable eſtate.

You will ſay perhaps, that though you are ſinners, and live in the daily commiſſion of ſin, and are not ſanctified, as I have been ſpeaking, yet you have faith in Chriſt, who has borne the curſe for you, and in him you are complete by faith; his righteouſneſs being imputed to you.

But, my friends, let me intreat you not to deceive yourſelves in ſo important a point as is that of your immortal ſouls. If you have true faith in Chriſt, your faith will make you clean, it will ſanctify you; for the ſaints faith was their victory: by this they overcame ſin within and ſinful men without. And if thou art in Chriſt, thou walkeſt not after the fleſh, but after the Spirit, whoſe fruits are manifeſt. Yea, thou art a new creature, new made, new faſhioned after God's will and mold: old things are done away, and behold all things are become new: new love, deſires, will, affections, and practices. It is not any longer thou that liveſt, thou diſobedient, carnal, worldly one; but it is Chriſt liveth in thee, and to live is Chriſt, and to die is thy eternal gain; becauſe thou art aſſured, "That thy corruptible ſhall "put on incorruption, and thy mortal immortality;" and that thou haſt a glorious houſe eternal in the heavens, that will never wax old or paſs away. All this follows being in Chriſt, as the ſenſation of heat follows fire, and light the ſun.

Therefore have a care how you preſume to rely upon ſuch a notion, as that you are in Chriſt whilſt in your old fallen nature. For "what "communion hath light with darkneſs, or Chriſt with Belial?" Hear what the beloved diſciple tells you: "If we ſay we have fellowſhip "with God, and walk in darkneſs, we lie, and do not the truth." That is, if we go on in a ſinful way, are captivated by our carnal affections, and are not converted to God, we walk in darkneſs, and cannot poſſibly have any fellowſhip with God. Chriſt cloaths them with his righteouſneſs, that receive his grace in their hearts, and deny them-

themſelves, and take up his croſs daily, and follow him. Chriſt's righteouſneſs makes men inwardly holy, of holy minds, wills, and practices. It is nevertheleſs Chriſt's, becauſe we have it; for it is ours, not by nature, but by faith and adoption: it is the gift of God: but ſtill, though not ours, as of or from ourſelves, for in that ſenſe it is Chriſt's, for it is of and from him, yet it is ours, and muſt be ours in poſſeſſion, efficacy, and enjoyment, to do us any good, or Chriſt's righteouſneſs will profit us nothing. It was after this manner that he was made to the primitive chriſtians, righteouſneſs, ſanctification, juſtification, and redemption; and if ever you will have the comfort, kernel, and marrow of the chriſtian religion, thus you muſt come to learn and obtain it.

Now, my friends, by what you have read, and will read in what follows, you may perceive that God has viſited a poor people among you with this ſaving knowledge and teſtimony; whom he has upheld and increaſed to this day, notwithſtanding the fierce oppoſition they have met withal. Deſpiſe not the meanneſs of this appearance: It was, and yet is, we know, a day of ſmall things, and of ſmall account with too many; and many hard and ill names are given to it; but it is of God, it came from him, becauſe it leads to him. This we know, but we cannot make another know it as we know it, unleſs he will take the ſame way to know it that we took. The world talks of God; but what do they do? They pray for power, but reject the principle in which it is. If you would know God, and worſhip and ſerve God as you ſhould do, you muſt come to the means he has ordained and given for that purpoſe. Some ſeek it in books, ſome in learned men; but what they look for is in themſelves, yet they overlook it. The voice is too ſtill, the ſeed too ſmall, and the light ſhineth in darkneſs. They are abroad, and ſo cannot divide the ſpoil; but the woman, that loſt her ſilver, found it at home, after ſhe had lighted her candle, and ſwept her houſe. Do you ſo too, and you ſhall find what Pilate wanted to know, viz. truth.

The light of Chriſt within, who is the light of the world, and ſo a light to you, that tells you the truth of your condition, leads all that take heed unto it out of darkneſs into God's marvellous light; for light grows upon the obedient. It is ſown for the righteous, and their way is a ſhining light, that ſhines forth more and more to the perfect day.

Wherefore, O friends, turn in, turn in, I beſeech you! Where is the poiſon, there is the antidote: There you want Chriſt, and there you muſt find him; and bleſſed be God, there you may find him. "Seek, and you ſhall find," I teſtify for God: but then you muſt ſeek aright with your whole heart, as men that ſeek for their lives, yea, for their eternal lives: diligently, humbly, patiently, as thoſe that can taſte no pleaſure, comfort, or ſatisfaction in any thing elſe, unleſs you find him whom your ſouls want, and deſire to know and love above all. O it is a travel, a ſpiritual travel! let the carnal profane world think and ſay as it will. And through this path you muſt walk to the city of God, that has eternal foundations, if ever you will come there.

Well! and what does this bleſſed light do for you? Why, 1. It ſets all your ſins in order before you: it detects the ſpirit of this world in all its baits and allurements, and ſhews how man came to fall from God, and the fallen eſtate he is in. 2. It begets a ſenſe and ſorrow, in ſuch as believe in it, for this fearful lapſe. You will then ſee him diſtinctly whom you have pierced, and all the blows and wounds you have given him by your diſobedience; and how you have made him to ſerve with your ſins, and you will weep and mourn for it, and your ſorrow will be a godly ſorrow. 3. After this it will bring you to the holy watch, to take care that you do ſo no more, that the enemy ſurpriſe you not again: then thoughts, as well as words and works, will come to judgment, which is the way of holineſs, in which the redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to love God above all, and your neighbours as yourſelves. Nothing hurts, nothing harms, nothing makes afraid on this holy mountain: now you come to be Chriſt's indeed, for you are his in nature and ſpirit, and not your own. And when you are thus Chriſt's, then Chriſt is yours, and not before: and here communion with the Father and with the Son you will know, and the efficacy of the blood of cleanſing, even the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, that immaculate Lamb, which ſpeaketh better things than the blood of Abel, and which cleanſeth from all ſin the conſciences of thoſe that, through the living Faith, come to be ſprinkled with it from dead works to ſerve the living God.

To conclude, Behold the teſtimony and doctrine of the people called Quakers! Behold their Practice and Diſcipline! And behold the bleſſed man and men that were ſent of God in this excellent work and ſervice! All which will be more particularly expreſſed in the enſuing annals of the man of God; which I do heartily recommend to my reader's moſt ſerious peruſal, and beſeech Almighty God that his bleſſing may go along with it, to the convincing of many as yet ſtrangers to this holy diſpenſation, and alſo to the edification of the church of God in general: who, for his manifold and repeated mercies and bleſſings to his people, in this day of his great love, is ever worthy to have the glory, honour, thankſgiving, and renown; and be it rendered and aſcribed, with fear and reverence, through him in whom he is well pleaſed, his beloved Son and Lamb, our light and life, that ſits with him upon the throne, world without end. Amen,

Says one whom God has long ſince mercifully favoured with his fatherly viſitation, and who was not diſobedient to the heavenly viſion and call; to whom the way of truth is more lovely and precious than ever, and that knowing the beauty and benefit of it above all worldly treaſure, has choſen it for his chiefeſt joy, and therefore recommends it to thy love and choice, becauſe he is with great ſincerity and affection thy ſoul's friend,

William Penn.

THE TESTIMONY OF MARGARET FOX,

CONCERNING

HER LATE HUSBAND GEORGE FOX:

TOGETHER WITH

A brief ACCOUNT of ſome of his Travels, Sufferings, and Hardſhips endured for the Truth's Sake.

IT having pleaſed Almighty God to take away my dear huſband out of this troubleſome world, who was not a man thereof, being choſen out of it, and had his life and being in another region, and his teſtimony was againſt the world that the deeds thereof were evil, and therefore the world hated him; ſo I am now to give in my account and teſtimony for my dear huſband, whom the Lord hath taken unto his bleſſed kingdom and glory: and it is before me from the Lord, and in my view, to give a relation and leave upon record the dealings of the Lord with us from the beginning.

He was the inſtrument in the hand of the Lord in this preſent age, which he made uſe of to ſend forth into the world to preach the everlaſting goſpel, which had been hid from many ages and generations; the Lord revealed it unto him, and made him open that new and living way that leads to life eternal, when he was but a youth and a ſtripling. And when he declared it in his own country of Leiceſterſhire, and in Derbyſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Warwickſhire, and his declaration being againſt the hireling-prieſts and their practices, it raiſed a great fury and oppoſition amongſt the prieſts and people againſt him; yet there was always ſome that owned him in ſeveral places, but very few that ſtood firm to him when perſecution came on him. There was he and one other put in priſon at Derby, but the other declined and left him in priſon there; where he continued almoſt a whole year, and then he was releaſed out of priſon, and went on with his teſtimony abroad, and was put in priſon again at Nottingham; and there he continued a while, and after was releaſed again.

And then he travelled on into Yorkſhire, and paſſed up and down that great county, and ſeveral received him; as William Dewſbury, Richard Farnſworth, Thomas Aldam, and others, who all came to be faithful miniſters of the Spirit for the Lord. And he continued in that country, and travelled through Holderneſs and the Woulds, and

abundance were convinced; and ſeveral were brought to priſon at York for their teſtimony to the truth; both men and women: ſo that we heard of ſuch a people that were riſen, and we did very much inquire after them. And after a while he travelled up farther towards the dales in Yorkſhire, as Wenſdale and Sedbur; and amongſt the hills, dales, and mountains he came on, and convinced many of the eternal truth.

In the year 1652 it pleaſed the Lord to draw him towards us; ſo he came on from Sedbur into Weſtmoreland, to Firbank-Chapel, where John Blaykling came with him; and ſo on to Preſton, Grarig, Kendal, Under-barrow, Poobank, Cartmel, and Staveley, and ſo on to Swarthmore, my dwelling-houſe, whither he brought the bleſſed tidings of the everlaſting goſpel, which I and many hundreds in theſe parts have cauſe to praiſe the Lord for. My then huſband, Thomas Fell, was not at home at that time, but gone the Welch circuit, being one of the judges of aſſize; and our houſe being a place open to entertain miniſters and religious people at, one of GEORGE FOX's friends brought him thither, where he ſtaid all night: and the next day, being a lecture or a faſt-day, he went to Ulverſton ſteeple-houſe, but came not in till people were gathered; I and my children had been a long time there before. And when they were ſinging before the ſermon he came in, and when they had done ſinging he ſtood up upon a ſeat or form, and deſired "that he might have "liberty to ſpeak;" and he that was in the pulpit ſaid he might. And the firſt words that he ſpoke were as followeth: "He is not a Jew "that is one outward, neither is that circumciſion which is outward; "but he is a Jew that is one inward, and that is circumciſion which is "of the heart." And ſo he went on and ſaid "that Chriſt was "the light of the world, and lighteth every man that cometh into the "world, and that by this light they might be gathered to God," &c. I ſtood up in my pew, and wondered at his doctrine; for I had never heard ſuch before. And then he went on, and opened the ſcriptures and ſaid, "The ſcriptures were the prophets words, and Chriſt's and "the apoſtles words, and what, as they ſpoke, they enjoyed and poſ-"ſeſſed, and had it from the Lord:" And ſaid, "Then what had "any to do with the ſcriptures, but as they came to the ſpirit that "gave them forth. You will ſay, Chriſt ſaith this, and the apoſtles "ſay this; but what canſt thou ſay? Art thou a child of light, and "haſt walked in the light, and what thou ſpeakeſt, is it inwardly "from God?" &c. This opened me ſo, that it cut me to the heart; and then I ſaw clearly, we were all wrong. So I ſat down in my pew again, and cried bitterly; and I cried in my ſpirit to the Lord, "We "are all thieves, we are all thieves, we have taken the ſcriptures in "words, and know nothing of them in ourſelves." So that ſerved me, that I cannot well tell what he ſpoke afterwards; but he went on in declaring againſt the falſe prophets, prieſts, and deceivers of the people. And there was one John Sawrey, a juſtice of peace, and a profeſſor, that bid the churchwarden take him away: and he laid his hands on him ſeveral times, and took them off again, and let him alone; and then after a while he gave over, and came to our houſe again that night. And he ſpoke in the family amongſt the ſervants,

and

and they were all generally convinced; as William Caton, Thomas Salthouſe, Mary Aſkew, Anne Clayton, and ſeveral other ſervants. And I was ſtruck into ſuch a ſadneſs, I knew not what to do, my huſband being from home. I ſaw it was the truth, and I could not deny it; and I did, as the Apoſtle ſaith, "I received the truth in the "love of it:" and it was opened to me ſo clear, that I had never a tittle in my heart againſt it; but I deſired the Lord that I might be kept in it, and then I deſired no greater portion.

He went on to Dalton, Aldingham, Dendrum, and Ramſyde chapels and ſteeple-houſes, and ſeveral places up and down, and the people followed him mightily; and abundance were convinced, and ſaw that which he ſpoke was truth, but the prieſts were all in a rage. And about two weeks after James Naylor and Richard Farnſworth followed him, and enquired him out till they came to Swarthmore, and there ſtaid a while with me at our houſe, and did me much good; for I was under great heavineſs and judgment. But the power of the Lord entered upon me within about three weeks that he came, and about three weeks end my huſband came home; and many were in a mighty rage, and a deal of the captains and great ones of the country went to meet my then huſband as he was coming home, and informed him, "That a great diſaſter was befallen amongſt his family, and that they "were witches; and that they had taken us out of our religion; and "that he muſt either ſet them away, or all the country would be un-"done." But no weapons formed againſt the Lord ſhall proſper, as you may ſee hereafter.

So my huſband came home greatly offended; and any may think what a condition I was like to be in, that either I muſt diſpleaſe my huſband or offend God; for he was very much troubled with us all in the houſe and family, they had ſo prepoſſeſſed him againſt us. But James Naylor and Richard Farnſworth were both then at our houſe, and I deſired them to come and ſpeak to him; and ſo they did very moderately and wiſely: but he was at firſt diſpleaſed with them, till they told him "they came in love and good-will to his houſe." And after that he had heard them ſpeak a while he was better ſatisfied, and they offered as if they would go away; but I deſired them to ſtay, and not to go away yet, for GEORGE FOX will come this evening. And I would have had my huſband to have heard them all, and ſatisfied himſelf farther about them, becauſe they had ſo prepoſſeſſed him againſt them of ſuch dangerous fearful things in his coming firſt home. And then he was pretty moderate and quiet, and his dinner being ready he went to it, and I went in and ſate me down by him. And whilſt I was ſitting the power of the Lord ſeized upon me, and he was ſtruck with amazement, and knew not what to think; but was quiet and ſtill. And the children were all quiet and ſtill, and grown ſober, and could not play on their muſick that they were learning; and all theſe things made him quiet and ſtill.

At night GEORGE FOX came: and after ſupper my huſband was ſitting in the parlour, and I aſked him, If GEORGE FOX might come in? And he ſaid, Yes. So GEORGE came in without any compliment, and walked into the room, and began to ſpeak preſently; and the family, and James Naylor, and Richard Farnſworth came all

in: and he ſpoke very excellently as ever I heard him, and opened Chriſt's and the apoſtles practices, which they were in, in their day. And he opened the night of apoſtacy ſince the apoſtles days, and laid open the prieſts and their practices in the apoſtacy; that if all in England had been there, I thought they could not have denied the truth of thoſe things. And ſo my huſband came to ſee clearly the truth of what he ſpoke, and was very quiet that night, ſaid no more, and went to bed. The next morning came Lampit, prieſt of Ulverſton, and got my huſband into the garden, and ſpoke much to him there; but my huſband had ſeen ſo much the night before, that the prieſt got little entrance upon him. And when the prieſt, Lampit, was come into the houſe, GEORGE ſpoke ſharply to him, and aſked him, "When "God ſpoke to him, and called him to go and preach to the people?" But after a while the prieſt went away: this was on the ſixth day of the week, about the fifth month, 1652. And at our houſe divers friends were ſpeaking one to another, how there were ſeveral convinced here-aways, and we could not tell where to get a meeting: my huſband alſo being preſent, he overheard, and ſaid of his own accord, "You may meet here if you will:" and that was the firſt meeting we had that he offered of his own accord. And then notice was given that day and the next to friends, and there was a good large meeting the firſt day, which was the firſt meeting that was at Swarthmore, and ſo continued there a meeting from 1652 to 1690. And my huſband went that day to the ſteeple-houſe, and none with him but his clerk, and his groom that rid with him: and the prieſt and the people were all fearfully troubled; but praiſed be the Lord, they never got their wills upon us to this day.

After a few weeks GEORGE went to Ulverſton ſteeple-houſe again, and the ſaid juſtice Sawrey, with others, ſet the rude rabble upon him, and they beat him ſo that he fell down as in a ſwoon, and was ſore bruiſed and blackened in his body, and on his head and arms. Then my huſband was not at home; but when he came home, he was diſpleaſed that they ſhould do ſo, and ſpoke to juſtice Sawrey, and ſaid, "It was againſt law to make riots." After that he was ſore beat and ſtoned at Walney till he fell down, and alſo at Dalton was he ſore beat and abuſed; ſo that he had very hard uſage in divers places in theſe parts. And then when a meeting was ſettled here, he went again into Weſtmoreland, and ſettled meetings there; and there was a great convincement, and abundance of brave miniſters came out there-aways; as John Camm, John Audland, Francis Howgil, Edward Burrough, Miles Halhead, and John Blaykling, with divers others. He alſo went over the ſands to Lancaſter, and Yelland, and Kellet, where Robert Widders, Richard Hubberthorn, and John Lawſon, with many others, were convinced. And about that time he was in thoſe parts, many prieſts and profeſſors roſe up, and falſly accuſed him for blaſphemy, and did endeavour to take away his life, and got people to ſwear at a ſeſſions at Lancaſter that he had ſpoken blaſphemy. But my then huſband and colonel Weſt, having had ſome ſight and knowledge of the truth, withſtood the two perſecuting juſtices, John Sawrey and Thompſon, and brought him off, and cleared him; for indeed he was innocent. And after the ſeſſions there was a great meeting

in

in the town of Lancaſter; and many of the town's people came in, and many were convinced. And thus he was up and down about Lancaſter, Yelland, Weſtmoreland, and ſome parts of Yorkſhire, and our parts above one year; in which time there were above twenty-four miniſters brought forth, that were ready to go with their teſtimony of the eternal truth unto the world: and ſoon after Francis Howgil and John Camm went to ſpeak to Oliver Cromwel.

In the year 1653 GEORGE's drawings were into Cumberland by Milholm, Lampley, Embleton and Brigham, Pardſey and Cockermouth, where at or near Embleton he had a diſpute with ſome prieſts, as Larkham and Benſon, but chiefly with John Wilkinſon, a preacher at Embleton and Brigham; who was afterwards convinced, and owned the truth, and was a ſerviceable miniſter both in England, Ireland, and Scotland. And then he went to Coldbeck and ſeveral places, till he came to Carliſle, and went to their ſteeple-houſe: and they beat and abuſed him, and had him before the magiſtrates; who examined him, and put him in priſon there in the common gaol among the thieves. And at the aſſizes was one Anthony Pearſon, who had been a juſtice of peace, and was convinced at Appleby, when he was upon the bench, by James Naylor and Francis Howgil, who were then priſoners there, and brought before him; ſo Anthony Pearſon ſpake to the juſtices at Carliſle, he being acquainted with them, having married his wife out of Cumberland; and after a while they releaſed him. Afterwards he went into ſeveral other parts of Cumberland, and many were convinced, and owned the truth: and he gathered and ſettled meetings there amongſt them, and up and down in ſeveral parts there in the north.

In the year 1654 he went ſouthward to his own country of Leiceſterſhire, viſiting friends. And then colonel Hacker ſent him to Oliver Cromwel: and after his being kept priſoner awhile, he was brought before Oliver, and was releaſed. And then he ſtayed awhile, viſiting friends in London, and the meetings therein; and ſo paſſed weſtward to Briſtol, and viſited friends there: and after went into Cornwall, where they put him in priſon at Launceſton, and one Edward Pyot with him; where he had a bad, long impriſonment. When he was releaſed, he paſſed into many parts in that county of Cornwall, and ſettled meetings there. And then he travelled through many counties, viſiting friends and ſettling meetings all along; and ſo came into the north, and to Swarthmore, and to Cumberland.

And ſo for Scotland he paſſed in the year 1657, and there went with him Robert Widders, James Lancaſter, John Grave, and others. And he travelled through many places in that nation, as Douglas, Heads, Hamilton, Glaſgow, and to Edinburgh, where they took him, and carried him before general Monk and the council, and examined him, and aſked him his buſineſs into that nation; who anſwered, He came to viſit the ſeed of God. And after they had threatened him, and charged him to depart their nation of Scotland, they let him go. And then he went to Linlithgow, and Stirling, and Johnſtons, and many places, viſiting the people; and ſeveral were convinced. And after he had ſtaid a pretty while, and ſettled ſome meetings, he returned into Northumberland, and into the biſhoprick of Durham,

viſiting friends and ſettling meetings as he went; and then returned back again to Swarthmore, and ſtaid amongſt friends awhile, and ſo returned ſouth again. [In 1658 judge Fell died].

And in 1660 he came out of the ſouth into the north, and had a great general meeting about Balby in Yorkſhire; and ſo came on viſiting friends in many places, till he came to Swarthmore again. And king Charles being then come in, the juſtices ſent out warrants, and took him at Swarthmore, charging him in their warrants, that he drew away the king's liege people, to the endangering the embruing the nation in blood, and ſent him priſoner to Lancaſter caſtle. And I having a great family, and he being taken in my houſe, I was moved of the Lord to go to the king at Whitehall; and took with me a declaration, and an information of our principles; and a long time, and much ado I had, to get to him. But at laſt, when I got to him, I told him, If he was guilty of thoſe things, I was guilty, for he was taken in my houſe: And I gave him the paper of our principles, and deſired that he would ſet him at liberty, as he had promiſed that none ſhould ſuffer for tender conſciences, and we were of tender conſciences, and deſired nothing but the liberty of our conſciences. And then with much ado, after he had been kept priſoner near half a year at Lancaſter, we got a habeas corpus, and removed him to the King's Bench, where he was releaſed. And then would I gladly have come home to my great family; but was bound in my ſpirit, and could not have freedom to get away for a whole year. And the king had promiſed me ſeveral times, that we ſhould have our liberty: and then the monarchy-men roſe; and then came the great and general impriſonment of friends the nation through: And ſo could I not have freedom nor liberty to come home, till we had got a general proclamation for all our friends liberty; and then I had freedom and peace to come home.

In 1663 he came north again, and to Swarthmore: and then they ſent out warrants, and took him again, and had him to Holcrof before the juſtices, and tendered him the oath of allegiance, and ſent him priſoner to Lancaſter caſtle. And about a month after, the juſtices ſent for me alſo out of my houſe, and tendered me the oath; and ſent me priſoner to Lancaſter. And the next aſſizes they tendered the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy again to us both, and premunired me: but they had miſſed the date and other things in his indictment, and ſo it was quaſhed; but they tendered him the oath again, and kept him priſoner a year and a half at Lancaſter caſtle. And then they ſent him to Scarborough caſtle in Yorkſhire, where they kept him priſoner cloſe under the ſoldiers much of a year and a half; ſo that a friend could ſcarcely have ſpoken to him; yet after that, it pleaſed the Lord that he was releaſed. But I continued in priſon, and a priſoner four years at that time; and an order was procured from the council, whereby I was ſet at liberty. And in that time I went down into Cornwall with my ſon and daughter Lower, and came back by London to the yearly meeting; and there I met with him again: And then he told me, The time was drawing towards our marriage, but he might firſt go into Ireland. And a little before this time was he priſoner in his own country at Leiceſter for awhile; and then releaſed. And ſo into Ireland he went: and I went into Kent and Suſſex; and

came

came back to London again; and afterward I went to the weſt, towards Briſtol, in 1669, and there I ſtaid till he came over from Ireland, which was eleven years after my former huſband's deceaſe. In Ireland he had had a great ſervice for the Lord and his eternal truth amongſt friends and many people there, but eſcaped many dangers, and times of being taken priſoner, they having lain in wait aforehand for him in many places; and being returned, at Briſtol he declared his intentions of marriage; and there accordingly our marriage was ſolemnized: and then within ten days after I came homewards; and my huſband ſtaid up and down in the countries amongſt friends, viſiting them.

Soon after I came home, there came another order from the council to caſt me into priſon again; and the ſheriff of Lancaſhire ſent his bailiff, and pulled me out of my own houſe, and had me priſoner to Lancaſter caſtle, upon the old premunire; where I continued a whole year: and moſt part of all that time I was ſick and weakly, and alſo my huſband was weak and ſickly at that time. After a while he recovered, and went about to get me out of priſon; and a diſcharge at laſt was got under the great ſeal, and ſo I was ſet at liberty: and then I was to go up to London again, for my huſband was intending for America; and he was full two years away before he came back again to England: and arriving at Briſtol, he came thence to London, and intended to have come to the middle of the nation with me. But when we came into ſome parts of Worceſterſhire, they got there information of him; and one juſtice Parker by his warrant ſent him and my ſon Lower to Worceſter Gaol; and the juſtices there tendered him the oath, and premunired him, but releaſed my ſon Lower; who ſtaid with him moſt of the time he was priſoner there.

And after ſome time he fell ſick in a long lingering ſickneſs, and many times was very ill; ſo they wrote to me from London, that if I would ſee him alive, I might go to him; which accordingly I did. And after I had tarried ſeventeen weeks with him at Worceſter, and no diſcharge like to be obtained for him, I went up to London, and wrote to the king an account of his long impriſonment, and that he was taken in his travel homewards; and that he was ſick and weak, and not like to live, if they kept him long there. And I went with it to Whitehall myſelf; and I met with the king, and gave him the paper: and he ſaid, I muſt go to the chancellor, he could do nothing in it. Then I writ alſo to the lord chancellor, and went to his houſe, and gave him my paper, and ſpoke to him, That the king had left it wholly to him; and if he did not take pity, and releaſe him out of that priſon, I feared he would end his days there. And the lord chancellor Finch was a very tender man, and ſpoke to the judge, who gave out an habeas corpus preſently. And when we got it, we ſent it down to Worceſter; and they would not part with him at firſt, but ſaid, he was premunired, and was not to go out on that manner. And then we were forced to go to judge North, and to the attorney-general, and we got another order, and ſent down from them; and with much ado, and great labour and induſtry of William Mead, and other friends, we got him up to London, where he appeared at Weſtminſter Hall at the King's Bench, before judge Hales, who was a very

honeſt, tender man; and he knew they had impriſoned him but in envy. So that which they had againſt him was read; and our counſel pleaded, that he was taken up in his travel and journey; and there was but little ſaid till he was acquitted. And this was the laſt priſon that he was in, being freed by the court of King's Bench.

When he was at liberty, he recovered again; and then I was very deſirous to go home with him, which we did; and this was the firſt time that he came to Swarthmore after we were married, and he ſtaid here about two years, and then went to London again to the yearly meeting; and after a while went into Holland, and ſome parts of Germany, where he ſtaid a pretty while, and then returned to London again at the next yearly meeting. And after he had ſtaid a while in and about London, he came into the north to Swarthmore again, and ſtaid that time nigh two years; and then he grew weakly, being troubled with pains and aches, having had many ſore and long travels, beatings, and hard impriſonments. But after ſome time he rode to York, and ſo paſſed on through Nottinghamſhire and ſeveral counties, viſiting friends, till he came to London to the yearly meeting, and ſtaid there and thereabouts till he finiſhed his courſe, and laid down his head in peace.

And though the Lord had provided an outward habitation for him, yet he was not willing to ſtay at it, becauſe it was ſo remote and far from London, where his ſervice moſt lay. And my concern for God and his holy eternal truth was then in the north, where God had placed and ſet me; and likewiſe for the ordering and governing of my children and family; ſo that we were willing both of us to live apart ſome years upon God's account and his truth's ſervice, and to deny ourſelves of that comfort which we might have had in being together, for the ſake and ſervice of the Lord and his truth. And if any took occaſion, or judged hard of us becauſe of that, the Lord will judge them; for we were innocent. And for my own part, I was willing to make many long journeys, for taking away all occaſion of evil thoughts: and though I lived two hundred miles from London, yet have I been nine times there, upon the Lord's and his truth's account; and of all the times that I was at London, this laſt time was moſt comfortable, that the Lord was pleaſed to give me ſtrength and ability to travel that great journey, being ſeventy-ſix years of age, to ſee my dear huſband, who was better in his health and ſtrength than many times I had ſeen him before. I look upon it that the Lord's ſpecial hand was in it that I ſhould go then, for he lived but about half a year after I left him; which makes me admire the wiſdom and goodneſs of God in ordering my journey at that time.

And now he hath finiſhed his courſe and his teſtimony, and is entered into his eternal reſt and felicity. I truſt in the ſame powerful God, that his holy arm and power will carry me through, whatever he hath yet for me to do; and that he will be my ſtrength and ſupport, and the bearer up of my head unto the end and in the end. For I know his faithfulneſs and goodneſs, and I have experience of his love; to whom be glory and powerful dominion for ever. Amen.

M. F.

The

The TESTIMONY of ſome of the AUTHOR's Relations.

NEITHER days nor length of time with us can wear out the memory of our dear and honoured father GEORGE FOX, whom the Lord hath taken to himſelf: and though his earthly houſe of this tabernacle be diſſolved, and mortality put off, yet we believe he has a "building with God eternally in the heavens, and is entered "into reſt," as a reward to thoſe great labours, hard ſufferings, and ſore tryals, he patiently endured for God and his truth. Of which truth he was made an able miniſter, and one, if not the firſt promulgator of it in our age; who, though of no great literature, nor ſeeming much learned as to the outward, being hid from the wiſdom of this world, yet he had the tongue of the learned, and could ſpeak a word in due ſeaſon to the conditions and capacities of moſt, eſpecially to them that were weary and wanted ſoul's reſt, being deep in the divine myſteries of the kingdom of God. And the word of life and ſalvation through him reached into many ſouls, whereby many were convinced of their great duty of inward retiring to wait upon God; and as they became diligent in the performance of that ſervice, were alſo raiſed to be preachers of the ſame everlaſting goſpel of peace and glad tidings to others; who are as ſeals to his miniſtry both in this and other nations, and may poſſibly give a more full account thereof. Howbeit we knowing his unwearied diligence, not ſparing but ſpending himſelf in the work and ſervice whereunto he was choſen and called of God, could not but give this ſhort teſtimony of his faithfulneſs therein, and likewiſe of his tender love and care towards us; who as a tender father to children, in which capacity we ſtood, being ſo related unto him, he never failed to give us his wholeſome counſel and advice. And not only ſo, but, as a father in Chriſt, he took care of the whole family and houſhold of faith, which the Lord had made him an eminent overſeer of, and endowed him with ſuch an excellent ſpirit of wiſdom and underſtanding, to propoſe and direct helps and advantages to the well-ordering and eſtabliſhing of affairs and government in the church, as now are found very ſerviceable thereunto, and have greatly diſappointed and prevented the falſe, looſe, and libertine ſpirit in ſome, who to their confuſion have endeavoured, by ſeparation and diviſion, to diſturb the church's peace. And although many of that ſort have at ſundry times ſhot their poiſonous darts at him, publickly in print, and privately other ways, yet he has always been preſerved by the heavenly power of God out of the reach of their envy, and all perils and difficulties that attended on their account; who, as a fixed ſtar in the firmament of God's power, did conſtantly abide, and held his integrity to the laſt, being of a ſweet ſavory life, and as to converſation kept his garments clean: and though outwardly dead yet liveth, and his memory is right precious unto us; and it is and will be to all that abide in the love of truth, and have not declined the way of it. For he was one of the Lord's worthies, valiant for the truth upon earth, not turning his back in the day of battle; but his bow ſtill abiding in its ſtrength, he, thro'

many hardſhips, brought gladneſs and refreſhment to Iſrael's camp, being aſſiſted by the might of that power that always put the armies of aliens and enemies to flight. And now, having finiſhed his courſe, is removed from us into a glorious ſtate of immortality and bliſs, and is gathered unto the Lord as a ſhock of corn in its full ſeaſon, and to that habitation of ſafety where the wicked ceaſe from troubling and the weary be at reſt.

John Rous,
William Meade,
Thomas Lower,
William Ingram,
Daniel Abraham,
Abraham Morrice.
Margaret Rous,
Sarah Meade,
Mary Lower,
Suſanna Ingram,
Rachel Abraham,
Iſabel Morrice.

An EPISTLE by way of TESTIMONY to Friends and Brethren of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in England, Wales, and elſewhere, concerning the Deceaſe of our faithful Brother GEORGE FOX.

From our Second Day's Morning-Meeting in London, the 26th of the 11th month, 1690.

DEAR and truly beloved friends, brethren, and ſiſters in Chriſt Jeſus, our bleſſed Lord and Saviour, we ſincerely and tenderly ſalute you all in his free and tender love, wherewith he hath graciouſly viſited us, and largely ſhed it abroad in our ſouls, to our own unſpeakable comfort and conſolation, and towards his whole heritage and offspring; bleſſed be his pure and powerful name for evermore. And our ſouls do truly and fervently deſire, and breathe unto the God of all our mercies, that you all may be preſerved and kept truly faithful and diligent in his work and ſervice, according to your heavenly calling and endowments, with his light, grace, and truth unto the end of your days; as being livingly engaged thereby all your appointed time to ſerve him, and to wait till your change come; that none may neglect that true improvement of your times and talents that God has afforded you here for your eternal advantage hereafter in that inheritance and life immortal that never fades away. And that the whole flock and heritage of Chriſt Jeſus, which he has purchaſed and bought for himſelf with a price incorruptible, may always be preſerved in his own pure love and life, ſo as to grow, increaſe, and proſper in the ſame, and thereby be kept in love, unity, and peace with one another, as becomes his true and faithful followers, is that which our very hearts and ſouls deſire, being

ing often truly comforted and enlarged in the living ſenſe and feeling of the increaſe and aboundings thereof among faithful friends and brethren.

And dear brethren and ſiſters, unto this our tender ſalutation we are concerned, in brotherly love and true tender-heartedneſs, to add and impart unto you ſome account of the deceaſe of our dear and elder brother in Chriſt, namely, his and his church's true and faithful ſervant and miniſter GEORGE FOX, whom it hath pleaſed the Lord to take unto himſelf, as he hath divers others of his faithful ſervants and miniſters of late time; who have faithfully ſerved out their generation, and finiſhed their teſtimony and courſe with joy and peace. Howbeit, O dear brethren and friends! that ſo many worthies in Iſrael, and ſerviceable inſtruments in the Lord's hand, are of late taken away and removed from us, ſo ſoon one after another, appears a diſpenſation that deeply and ſorrowfully affects us and many more, whoſe hearts are upright and tender towards God and one to another in the truth. The conſideration of the depth, weight, and meaning thereof is very weighty upon our ſpirits, tho' their precious life and teſtimony lives with us, as being of that ſame body, united to one head, even Jeſus Chriſt; in which we ſtill, and hope ever ſhall have ſecret comfort and union with them, whom the Lord has removed and taken to himſelf, out of their earthly tabernacles and houſes, into their heavenly and everlaſting manſions.

This our dear brother, GEORGE FOX, was enabled by the Lord's power to preach the truth fully and effectually in our publick meeting in White Hart Court, by Grace-church-ſtreet, London, on the 11th day of this inſtant 11th month, 1690: after which he ſaid, "I am glad I was here; now I am clear, I am fully clear." He was the ſame day taken with ſome illneſs or indiſpoſition of body more than uſual, and continued weak in body for two days after at our friend Henry Gouldney's houſe in the ſame court, cloſe by the meeting-houſe, in much contentment and peace, and very ſenſible to the laſt. In which time he mentioned divers friends, and ſent for ſome in particular; to whom he expreſſed his mind for the ſpreading friends books and truth in the world and through the nations thereof, as his ſpirit in the Lord's love and power was univerſally ſet and bent for truth and righteouſneſs, and the making known the way thereof to the nations and people afar off; ſignifying alſo to ſome friends, "That all is well; and the ſeed of God reigns over all, and over "death itſelf: that though he was weak in body, yet that the power "of God is over all, and the ſeed reigns over all diſorderly ſpirits:" which were his wonted ſenſible expreſſions, being in the living faith and ſenſe thereof, which he kept to the end. And on the 13th inſtant, between the ninth and tenth hour of the night, he quietly departed this life in peace, being two days after the Lord enabled him to publiſh and preach the bleſſed truth in the meeting as aforeſaid. So that he clearly and evidently ended his days in his faithful teſtimony, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and peace and good-will to all men, being about ſixty and ſix years of age, as we underſtand, when he departed this life.

And on the ſixteenth of this inſtant, being the day appointed for his funeral, a very great concourſe of friends and other people aſſembled at our meeting-houſe in White Hart Court aforeſaid, about the mid-day, in order to attend his body to our burying-place near Bunhill-fields, to be interred, as friends laſt office of love and reſpect due on that account. The meeting was held about two hours, with great and heavenly ſolemnity, manifeſtly attended with the Lord's bleſſed power and preſence; and divers living teſtimonies given from a lively remembrance and ſenſe of this his dear ancient ſervant, his bleſſed miniſtry and teſtimony of the breaking forth of this goſpel-day; his innocent life, long and great travels, and labours of love in the everlaſting goſpel, for the turning and gathering many thouſands from darkneſs to the light of Chriſt Jeſus, the foundation of true faith; alſo of his manifold ſufferings, afflictions, and oppoſitions which he met withal for his faithful teſtimony, both from his open adverſaries and falſe brethren; and his preſervations, dominion, and deliverances out of them all by the power of God: to whom the glory and honour was and is aſcribed, in raiſing up and preſerving this his faithful witneſs and miniſter to the end of his days, whoſe bleſſed memorial will everlaſtingly remain.

He loved truth and righteouſneſs, and bore faithful teſtimony againſt deceit and the myſtery of iniquity; and often, of late time eſpecially, warned friends againſt covetouſneſs, earthly-mindedneſs, againſt getting into the earth, and into a brittle ſpirit; and the younger ſort, againſt looſeneſs and pride of life.

A few days before he died he had a great concern upon his mind concerning ſome in whom the Lord's power was working, to lead them into a miniſtry and teſtimony to his truth; who, through their too much entangling themſelves in the things of this world, did make themſelves unready to anſwer the call and leadings of the power of God, and hurt the gift that was beſtowed upon them, and did not take that regard to their ſervice and miniſtry as they ought. And mentioned the apoſtle's exhortation to Timothy, to "take heed to "his miniſtry, and to ſhew himſelf approved," &c. And expreſſed his grief concerning ſuch as preferred their own buſineſs before the Lord's buſineſs, and ſought the advancing worldly concerns before the concerns of truth: and concluded with a tender and fatherly exhortation to all to whom God had imparted of his heavenly treaſure, that they would improve it faithfully; and be diligent in the Lord's work, that the earth might be ſown with the ſeed of the kingdom, and God's harveſt might be minded by thoſe whom he had called and enabled to labour therein: and that ſuch would commit the care of their outward concerns to the Lord, who would care for them, and give a bleſſing to them. However, this is not mentioned to encourage any to run unſent, or without being called of God.

Many are living witneſſes that the Lord raiſed him up by his power, to proclaim his mighty day to the nations, and made him an effectual inſtrument in our day to turn many from darkneſs to light, and from Satan's power to God; and freely to ſuffer and bear all reproaches, and the manifold perſecutions, buffetings, halings, ſtonings, impriſonments, and cruelties, that were in the beginning and

for ſome time inflicted on him and others, for the name of Chriſt Jeſus.

He was in his teſtimony as a fixed ſtar in the firmament of God's power, where all that be truly wiſe, and that turn many to righteouſneſs, ſhall ſhine as the brightneſs of the firmament, and as the ſtars for ever and ever. He knew and preached the myſtery of Chriſt revealed, the life and ſubſtance, and the power of godlineſs, above all ſhadows and forms: the Lord endued him with a hidden wiſdom and life. He loved peace, and earneſtly laboured for univerſal love, unity, peace, and good order in the churches of Chriſt: and where-ever he met with the contrary, it was his great grief and burden. He was greatly for the encouragement of faithful labourers in the Lord's work; and it was a great offence and grief to him to have their teſtimony weakened, or labours ſlighted, through prejudice in any profeſſing truth.

And inaſmuch as the Lord ſuffered him not to be delivered up to the will of his enemies and perſecutors, who often heretofore breathed out cruelty againſt him, and deſigned his deſtruction; but in his good pleaſure ſo fairly and quietly took him away in his own time, when his teſtimony was ſo bleſſedly finiſhed, and his work accompliſhed; this is all remarkable, and worthy of ſerious and due obſervation, as being a ſpecial and divine providence and wiſdom of God; to whom we aſcribe the glory of all, and not unto man or creatures. Though we muſt needs allow and own that good report and due eſteem which faithful elders, miniſters, and ſervants of God and Chriſt have by faith obtained, to the praiſe of that bleſſed Power that upheld them in every age in their day; many whereof are even of late taken away from the evil to come, and are at reſt in the Lord, out of the reach of all envy and perſecution, where the wicked cannot trouble them any more.

And we muſt patiently bear our parting with them, and our loſs and ſorrow on that account, with reſpect to their unſpeakable gain: yet how can we avoid being deeply affected with ſadneſs of ſpirit and brokenneſs of heart, under the ſenſe and conſideration of ſuch loſs and revolutions, which we have cauſe to believe are ominous of calamities to the wicked world, though of good to the righteous? Did the death of plain upright Jacob, namely Iſrael, who was as a prince of God, ſo deeply affect both his own children and kindred, as that they made a great and ſore lamentation for him; and even the Egyptians alſo, that they bewailed him ſeventy days? And the death of Moſes ſo deeply affect the children of Iſrael, as that they "did weep and mourn for him in the plain of Moab thirty days?" And the death of Stephen, that faithful martyr of Jeſus, ſo deeply affect certain men fearing God, as "that they made great lamenta-"tion for him?" And the apoſtle Paul, when taking his leave of the elders of the church of Epheſus, and telling them, "they ſhould ſee "his face no more?" If this did ſo deeply affect them, that they "wept all abundantly, ſorrowing moſt of all for theſe words, that "they ſhould ſee his face no more;" with many more of this kind, how then can we otherwiſe chuſe but be deeply affected with ſorrow and ſadneſs of heart, though not as thoſe which have no hope, when

when ſo many of our ancient, dear, and faithful brethren, with whom we have had much ſweet ſociety, are removed from us one after another? [We pray God raiſe up and increaſe more ſuch!] Yet muſt we all contentedly ſubmit to the good pleaſure and wiſdom of the Lord our God in all theſe things; who taketh away, and none can hinder him, nor may any ſay unto him, "What doſt thou?" Yet we have cauſe to bleſs the Lord that he hath of late raiſed, and is raiſing up more to publiſh his name in the earth; and we that yet remain have but a ſhort time to ſtay after them that are gone, but we ſhall be gone to them alſo. The Lord God of life keep us all faithful in his holy truth, love, unity, and life to the end. He hath a great work ſtill to bring forth in the earth, and great things to bring to paſs, in order to make way for truth and righteouſneſs to take place therein; and that his ſeed may come forth and be gathered, and the power and kingdom of our God and of his Chriſt made known and exalted in the earth, unto the ends thereof.

Dear friends and brethren, Be faithful till death, that a crown of life you may obtain. All dwell in the love of God in Chriſt Jeſus, in union and peace in him; to whom we tenderly commit you to keep and ſtrengthen you, bleſs and preſerve you to the end of your days. In whoſe dear and tender love we remain——

Your dear friends and brethren,

Stephen Criſp,	Nicholas Gates,	Daniel Monro,
Geo. Whitehead,	Francis Stamper,	John Heywood.
Fra. Camfield,	John Vaughton,	George Bowles,
James Park,	Gilbert Latey,	William Robinſon.
John Elſon,	Charles Marſhal,	William Bingley,
Peter Price,	Rich. Needham,	John Butcher,
John Field,	James Martin,	Benjamin Antrobus.
John Edridge.		

Theſe names are ſince added, at the deſire of the perſons following:

Sam. Goodaker, Amb. Rigg, William Fallowfield.

POSTSCRIPT.

BEfore his death he wrote a little paper, deſiring all friends everywhere, that uſed to write to him about the ſufferings and affairs of friends in their ſeveral countries, ſhould henceforth write to their ſeveral correſpondents in London, to be communicated to the Second Day's Meeting, to take care that they be anſwered.

THOMAS

Thomas Ellwood's Account of that eminent and honourable Servant of the Lord, George Fox.

THIS holy man was raiſed up by God in an extraordinary manner, for an extraordinary work, even to awaken the ſleeping world, by proclaiming the mighty day of the Lord to the nations, and publiſhing again the everlaſting goſpel to the inhabitants of the earth, after the long and diſmal night of apoſtaſy and darkneſs. For this work the Lord began to prepare him by many and various trials and exerciſes from his very childhood; and having fitted and furniſhed him for it, he called him into it very young; and made him inſtrumental, by the effectual working of the Holy Ghoſt, through his miniſtry to call many others into the ſame work, and to turn many thouſands from darkneſs to the light of Chriſt, and from the power of Satan unto God. I knew him not till the year 1660: from that time to the time of his death I knew him well, converſed with him often, obſerved him much, loved him dearly, and honoured him truly; and upon good experience can ſay, he was indeed an heavenly-minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honour of God before all things.

He was valiant for the truth, bold in aſſerting it, patient in ſuffering for it, unwearied in labouring in it, ſteady in his teſtimony to it; immoveable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge, clear in opening heavenly myſteries, plain and powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer. He was richly endued with heavenly wiſdom, quick in diſcerning, ſound in judgment, able and ready in giving, diſcreet in keeping counſel; a lover of righteouſneſs, an encourager of virtue, juſtice, temperance, meekneſs, purity, chaſtity, modeſty, humility, charity and ſelf-denial in all, both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance, manly in perſonage, grave in geſture, courteous in converſation, weighty in communication, inſtructive in diſcourſe; free from affectation in ſpeech or carriage. A ſevere reprover of hard and obſtinate ſinners; a mild and gentle admoniſher of ſuch as were tender, and ſenſible of their failings: Not apt to reſent perſonal wrongs; eaſy to forgive injuries; but zealouſly earneſt where the honour of God, the proſperity of truth, the peace of the church were concerned. Very tender, compaſſionate, and pitiful he was to all that were under any ſort of affliction; full of brotherly love, full of fatherly care: for indeed the care of the churches of Chriſt was daily upon him, the proſperity and peace whereof he ſtudiouſly ſought. Beloved he was of God, beloved of God's people; and (which was not the leaſt part of his honour) the common butt of all apoſtates envy, whoſe good notwithſtanding he earneſtly ſought.

He lived to ſee the deſire of his ſoul, the ſpreading of that bleſſed principle of divine light through many of the European nations, and not a few of the American iſlands and provinces, and the gathering many thouſands into an eſtabliſhment therein; which the Lord vouchſafed him the honour to be the firſt effectual publiſher

of in this latter age of the world. And having fought a good fight, finiſhed his courſe, and kept the faith, his righteous ſoul, freed from the earthly tabernacle, in which he had led an exemplary life of holineſs, was tranſlated into thoſe heavenly manſions, where Chriſt our Lord went to prepare a place for his; there to poſſeſs that glorious crown of righteouſneſs which is laid up for, and ſhall be given by the Lord the righteous judge to all them that love his appearance. Ages to come and people yet unborn ſhall call him bleſſed, and bleſs the Lord for raiſing of him up: and bleſſed ſhall we alſo be, if we ſo walk as we had him for an example; for whom this teſtimony lives in my heart, He lived and died the SERVANT of the LORD.

T. E.

The Appearance of the Lord's Everlaſting Truth breaking forth again in his Eternal Power in this our Day and Age in ENGLAND——

WHerein the Lord's mighty power and word of life hath been richly and freely preached, to the gathering of many into reconciliation with God by it; to the exaltation and glory of the great God, through the bringing forth of the heavenly and ſpiritual fruits, from ſuch as have been gathered by his eternal light, power, and Spirit unto himſelf. And by the ſowing to the Spirit in the hearts of people, life eternal hath been reaped: that the flocks have been gathered, which have the milk of the word plenteouſly: that the riches of the word have flouriſhed, and mightily abounded; and God's heavenly plough with his ſpiritual men hath gone on chearfully, to the overturning the fallow ground of the hearts that had not borne heavenly fruit to God. And God's heavenly threſhers with his heavenly flail have with joy and delight threſhed out the chaff and the corruptions that have been atop of God's ſeed and wheat in man and woman: and thus have they threſhed in hope, and are made partakers of their hope; through which God's ſeed is come into his garner,

O the unutterable glory and the inexpreſſible excellency of the everlaſting glorious truth, goſpel, and word of life, that the infinite, inviſible, and wiſe God (who is over all) hath revealed and manifeſted! And how have the profeſſors, prieſts, and powers riſen up in oppoſition againſt his children, that are born of the immortal ſeed by the word of God! And O how great have the perſecutions and reproaches, and ſpoiling of goods been, that have been executed upon them! But they that have touched them, and touch them, which are as dear to God as the apple of his eye, how hath the Lord manifeſted himſelf to ſtand by them, in overthrowing powers, prieſts, and ſtates! What changes have there been ſince 1644 and

1650, and 1652! How have the gaols been filled ſince then in this nation with the heirs of life, God's choſen ones, who had no helper in the earth but the Lord and his Chriſt! So that truth's faithful witneſſes were ſcarcely to be found but in gaols and priſons, where the righteous were numbered among the tranſgreſſors; who had neither ſtaff nor bag from man, but the ſtaff, the bread of life, and the bag that holds the treaſure that waxes not old. But the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ſent them forth, was their exceeding great ſupporter and upholder by his eternal power and Spirit, both then and now.

G. F.

A JOURNAL

A JOURNAL OR HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE Life, Travels, Sufferings, &c. OF GEORGE FOX.

THAT all may know the dealings of the LORD with me, and the various exerciſes, trials, and troubles through which he led me, in order to prepare and fit me for the work unto which he had appointed me, and may thereby be drawn to admire and glorify his Infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs; I think fit, before I proceed to ſet forth my publick travels in the ſervice of Truth, briefly to mention how it was with me in my youth, and how the work of the LORD was begun, and gradually carried on in me, even from my childhood.

I was born in the month called July, in the year 1624, at Drayton in the Clay, in Leiceſterſhire. My father's name was Chriſtopher Fox. He was by profeſſion a weaver, an honeſt man, and there was a Seed of GOD in him. The neighbours called him Righteous Chriſter. My mother was an upright woman; her maiden name was Mary Lago, of the family of the Lago's, and of the ſtock of the martyrs.

Drayton in Leiceſterſhire, the place of Geo. Fox's birth.

In my very young years I had a gravity and ſtayedneſs of mind and ſpirit not uſual in children; inſomuch that when I have ſeen old men carry themſelves lightly and wantonly towards each other, a diſlike thereof hath riſen in my heart, and I have ſaid within myſelf, "If ever I come to be a man, ſurely I ſhould not do ſo, nor be "ſo wanton."

When I came to eleven years of age, I knew pureneſs and righteouſneſs; for while I was a child I was taughthow to walk ſo as to be kept pure. The LORD taught me to be faithful in all things, and to act faithfully two ways, viz. inwardly to GOD, and outwardly to man; and to keep to yea and nay in all things. For the LORD ſhewed me, though the people of the world have mouths full of deceit and changeable words, that I was to keep to yea and nay in all things, that my words ſhould be few and ſavory, ſeaſoned with grace; and that I might not eat and drink to make myſelf wanton, but for health, uſing the creatures in their ſervice, as ſervants in their places, to the glory of him that created them: they being in their covenant, and I being brought up into the covenant, as ſanctified by the Word which was in the beginning, by which all things are upheld, wherein is unity with the creation.

But people being ſtrangers to the covenant of life with God, they eat and drink to make themſelves wanton with the creatures, waſting them upon their luſts, living in all filthineſs, and devouring the creation; all this in the world, in the pollutions thereof without God: therefore I was to ſhun all ſuch.

As I grew up my relations thought to have made me a prieſt; but others perſuaded to the contrary. Whereupon I was put to a man who was a ſhoe-maker by trade, and dealt in wool. He alſo uſed grazing, and ſold cattle; and a great deal went through my hands. While I was with him he was bleſt, but after I left him he broke and came to nothing. I never wronged man or woman in all that time; for the Lord's power was with me, and over me, to preſerve me. While I was in that ſervice, I uſed in my dealings the word [Verily] and it was a common ſaying among thoſe that knew me, "If George "ſays verily, there is no altering him." When boys and rude perſons would laugh at me: I let them alone and went my way: but people had generally a love to me for my innocency and honeſty.

When I came towards nineteen years of age, being upon buſineſs at a fair, one of my couſins, whoſe name was Bradford, a profeſſor, having another profeſſor with him, came and aſked me to drink part of a jug of beer with them, I, being thirſty, went in with them; for I loved any who had a ſenſe of good, or that ſought after the Lord. When we had drank a glaſs a piece, they began to drink healths, and called for more drink, agreeing together, That he that would not drink, ſhould pay all. I was grieved that any, who made profeſſion of religion, ſhould offer to do ſo. They grieved me very much, having never had ſuch a thing put to me before, by any ſort of people. Wherefore I roſe up, and putting my hand into my pocket, took out a groat, and laid it upon the table before them, ſaying, "If it be ſo, I will leave you." So I went away; and when I had done my buſineſs returned home; but did not go to bed that night, nor could I ſleep; but ſometimes walked up and down, and ſometimes prayed, and cried to the Lord, who ſaid unto me; "Thou ☞ "ſeeſt how young people go together into vanity, and old people "into the earth; thou muſt forſake all, young and old, keep out of "all, and be as a ſtranger unto all."

Then

Then at the command of God, the ninth of the ſeventh month, 1643, I left my relations, and broke of all familiarity or fellowſhip with young or old. I paſſed to Lutterworth, where I ſtaid ſome time. From thence I went to Northampton, where alſo I made ſome ſtay; then paſſed to Newport-pagnel, in Buckinghamſhire; where, after I had ſtaid a while I went to Barnet, in the fourth month called June, in the year 1644. As I thus travelled through the country, profeſſors took notice of me, and ſought to be acquainted with me; but I was afraid of them: for I was ſenſible they did not poſſeſs what they profeſſed. During the time I was at Barnet, a ſtrong temptation to deſpair came upon me. I then ſaw how Chriſt was tempted, and mighty troubles I was in. Sometimes I kept myſelf retired in my chamber, and often walked ſolitary in the Chace to wait upon the Lord.

1643. Lutterworth, Northampton, Newport-pagnel, in Bucks, Barnet. 1644.

I wondered why theſe things ſhould come to me. I looked upon myſelf, and ſaid, "Was I ever ſo before?" Then I thought, becauſe I had forſaken my relations, I had done amiſs againſt them. So I was brought to call to mind all my time that I had ſpent, and to conſider whether I had wronged any: but temptations grew more and more, and I was tempted almoſt to deſpair; and when Satan could not effect his deſign upon me that way, he laid ſnares and baits to draw me to commit ſome ſin, whereby he might take advantage to bring me to deſpair. I was about twenty years of age when theſe exerciſes came upon me, and ſome years I continued in that condition in great trouble, and fain I would have put it from me. I went to many a prieſt to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them.

From Barnet I went to London, where I took a lodging, and was under great miſery and trouble there; for I looked upon the great profeſſors of the city of London, and ſaw all was dark and under the chain of darkneſs. I had an uncle there, one Pickering, a baptiſt, and they were tender then: yet I could not impart my mind to him, nor join with them; for I ſaw all, young and old, where they were. Some tender people would have had me ſtaid, but I was fearful, and returned homeward into Leiceſterſhire, having a regard upon my mind to my parents and relations, leſt I ſhould grieve them; who, I underſtood, were troubled at my abſence.

London. Leiceſterſhire.

Being returned into Leiceſterſhire, my relations would have had me married; but I told them I was but a lad, and muſt get wiſdom. Others would have had me into the auxiliary band among the ſoldiery, but I refuſed, and was grieved that they offered ſuch things to me, being a tender youth. Then I went to Coventry, where I took a chamber for a while at a profeſſor's houſe, till people began to be acquainted with me; for there were many tender people in that town. After ſome time I went into my own country again, and continued about a year, in great ſorrow and trouble, and walked many nights by myſelf.

Coventry. Leiceſterſhire.

Then the prieſt of Drayton, the town of my birth, whoſe name was Nathaniel Stevens, came often to me, and I went often to him; and another prieſt ſometimes came with him; and they would give place to me, to hear me; and I would aſk them queſtions, and reaſon with

1645.

1645. with them. This prieſt Stevens aſked me, "Why Chriſt cried out "upon the croſs, My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?" And why he ſaid, "If it be poſſible, let this cup paſs from me; yet "not my will, but thine be done?" I told him; at that time the ſins of all mankind were upon him, and their iniquities and tranſgreſſions, with which he was wounded; which he was to bear and to be an offering for, as he was man, but died not as he was God; ſo, in that he died for all men, taſting death for every man, he was an offering for the ſins of the whole world. This I ſpoke, being at that time in a meaſure ſenſible of Chriſt's ſufferings. The prieſt ſaid, "It was a very good, full anſwer, and ſuch a one as he had not "heard." At that time he would applaud and ſpeak highly of me to others; and what I ſaid in diſcourſe to him on week-days, he would preach of on firſt days, which gave me a diſlike to him. This prieſt afterwards became my great perſecutor.

Manſetter in Warwickſhire. After this I went to another ancient prieſt at Manſetter in Warwickſhire, and reaſoned with him about the ground of deſpair and temptations; but he was ignorant of my condition: he bid me take tobacco and ſing pſalms. Tobacco was a thing I did not love, and pſalms I was not in a ſtate to ſing; I could not ſing. He bid me come again, and he would tell me many things; but when I came he was angry and pettiſh, for my former words had diſpleaſed him. He told my troubles, ſorrows, and griefs to his ſervants, ſo that it was got among the milk-laſſes. It grieved me that I ſhould open my mind to ſuch a one. I ſaw there were all miſerable comforters, and this increaſed my troubles upon me. I heard of a prieſt living Tamworth. about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man. I went ſeven miles to him, but found him like an empty, hollow caſk. I heard of one called Dr. Cradock, of Coventry, and went to him; I aſked him the ground of temptations and deſpair, and how troubles came to be wrought in man? He aſked me, "Who was Chriſt's "father and mother?" I told him Mary was his mother, and that he was ſuppoſed to be the ſon of Joſeph; but he was the Son of God. As we were walking together in his garden, the alley being narrow, I chanced, in turning, to ſet my foot on the ſide of a bed; at which he raged as if his houſe had been on fire. Thus all our diſcourſe was loſt, and I went away in ſorrow, worſe than I was when I came. I thought them miſerable comforters, and ſaw they were all as nothing to me; for they could not reach my condition. After this I went to another, one Macham, a prieſt, in high account. He would needs give me ſome phyſick, and I was to have been let blood; but they could not get one drop of blood from me, either in arms or head, though they endeavoured it, my body being, as it were, dried up with ſorrows, grief, and troubles, which were ſo great upon me, that I could have wiſhed I had never been born, or that I had been born blind, that I might never have ſeen wickedneſs nor vanity; and deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blaſphemed. When the time called Chriſtmas came, while others were feaſting and ſporting themſelves, I looked out poor widows from houſe to houſe, and gave them ſome money. When I was invited to marriages I went to none at all; but the next day, or

ſoon after, I would go and viſit them; and if they were poor I gave them ſome money; for I had wherewith both to keep myſelf from being chargeable to others, and to adminiſter ſomething to the neceſſities of others. 1645.

About the beginning of the year 1646, as I was going into Coventry, a conſideration aroſe in me, how it was ſaid, that "All "chriſtians are believers, both proteſtants and papiſts;" and the Lord opened to me, that if all were believers, then they were all born of God, and paſſed from death to life; and that none were true believers but ſuch: and though others ſaid they were believers, yet they were not. At another time as I was walking in a field on a firſt-day morning, the Lord opened unto me, "That being bred at Ox-"ford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be "miniſters of Chriſt:" and I wondered at it, becauſe it was the common belief of people. But I ſaw it clearly as the Lord opened it to me, and was ſatisfied and admired the goodneſs of the Lord, who had opened this thing unto me that morning. This ſtruck at prieſt Stevens's miniſtry, namely, that "to be bred at Oxford or "Cambridge was not enough to make a man fit to be a miniſter of "Chriſt." So that which opened in me, I ſaw ſtruck at the prieſt's miniſtry. But my relations were much troubled, that I would not go with them to hear the prieſt; for I would go into the orchard or the fields, with my bible, by myſelf. I aſked them, did not the apoſtle ſay to believers, "That they needed no man to teach them, "but as the anointing teacheth them?" Though they knew this was ſcripture, and that it was true, yet they were grieved becauſe I could not be ſubject in this matter, to go to hear the prieſt with them. I ſaw that to be a true believer was another thing than they looked upon it to be; and I ſaw that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge did not qualify or fit a man to be a miniſter of Chriſt; what then ſhould I follow ſuch for? So neither them, nor any of the diſſenting people could I join with; but was as a ſtranger to all, relying wholly upon the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. 1646. Coventry.

At another time it was opened in me, "That God who made the "world did not dwell in temples made with hands." This at the firſt ſeemed ſtrange, becauſe both prieſts and people uſed to call their temples or churches, dreadful places, holy ground, and the temples of God. But the Lord ſhewed me clearly, that he did not dwell in theſe temples which men had commanded and ſet up, but in peoples hearts. Both Stephen and the apoſtle Paul bore teſtimony, that he did not dwell in temples made with hands, not even in that which he had once commanded to be built, ſince he put an end to the typical diſpenſation; but that his people were his temple, and he dwelt in them. This opened in me, as I walked in the fields to my relation's houſe. When I came there, they told me Nathanael Stevens, the prieſt, had been there, and ſaid, "He was afraid of "me for going after new lights." I ſmiled in myſelf, knowing what the Lord had opened in me concerning him and his brethren; but I told not my relations, who though they ſaw beyond the prieſts, yet went to hear them, and were grieved becauſe I would not go alſo. But I ſhewed them by the ſcriptures, there was an anointing within

1646. man to teach him, and that the Lord would teach his people himſelf. I had great openings concerning the things written in the Revelations; and when I ſpoke of them, the prieſts and profeſſors would ſay, that was a ſealed book, and would have kept me out of it. But I told them, Chriſt could open the ſeals, and that they were the neareſt things to us; for the Epiſtles were written to the ſaints that lived in former ages, but the Revelations were written of things to come.

After this I met with a ſort of people that held, women have no ſouls (adding in a light manner) no more than a gooſe. I reproved them, and told them that was not right: for Mary ſaid, "My ſoul "doth magnify the Lord, and my ſpirit hath rejoiced in God my "Saviour."

Removing to another place I came among a people that relied much on dreams. I told them except they could diſtinguiſh between dream and dream they would confound all together; for there were three ſorts of dreams: multitude of buſineſs ſometimes cauſed dreams; and there were whiſperings of Satan in man in the night ſeaſon; and there were ſpeakings of God to man in dreams. But theſe people came out of theſe things, and at laſt became friends.

Though I had great openings, yet great trouble and temptations came many times upon me, ſo that when it was day I wiſhed for night, and when it was night I wiſhed for day; and by reaſon of the openings I had in my troubles, I could ſay as David ſaid, "Day "unto day uttereth ſpeech, and night unto night ſheweth know-"ledge." When I had openings they anſwered one another, and anſwered the ſcriptures; for I had great openings of the ſcriptures: and when I was in troubles, one trouble alſo anſwered to another.

1647. Derbyſhire, Peak-country, Leiceſterſhire, Nottinghamſhire.

About the beginning of the year 1647 I was moved of the Lord to go into Derbyſhire, where I met with ſome friendly people, and had many diſcourſes with them. Then paſſing into the Peak-country, I met with more friendly people, and with ſome in empty high notions. Travelling through ſome parts of Leiceſterſhire, and into Nottinghamſhire, I met with a tender people, and a very tender woman, whoſe name was Elizabeth Hootton. With theſe I had ſome meetings and diſcourſes; but my troubles continued, and I was often under great temptations. I faſted much, walked abroad in ſolitary places many days, and often took my bible, and ſate in hollow trees and loneſome places till night came on; and frequently in the night walked mournfully about by myſelf: for I was a man of ſorrows in the time of the firſt workings of the Lord in me.

During all this time I was never joined in profeſſion of religion with any, but gave up myſelf to the Lord, having forſaken all evil company, taken leave of father and mother, and all other relations, and travelled up and down as a ſtranger in the earth, which way the Lord inclined my heart; taking a chamber to myſelf in the town where I came, and tarrying ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs in a place: for I durſt not ſtay long in a place, being afraid both of profeſſor and profane, leſt, being a tender young man, I ſhould be hurt by converſing much with either. For which reaſon I kept myſelf much as a ſtranger, ſeeking heavenly wiſdom, and getting knowledge

ledge from the Lord; and was brought off from outward things, to rely on the Lord alone. Though my exerciſes and troubles were very great, yet were they not ſo continual but that I had ſome intermiſſions, and was ſometimes brought into ſuch an heavenly joy, that I thought I had been in Abraham's boſom. As I cannot declare the miſery I was in, it was ſo great and heavy upon me, ſo neither can I ſet forth the mercies of God unto me in all my miſery. O the everlaſting love of God to my ſoul, when I was in great diſtreſs! when my troubles and torments were great, then was his love exceeding great. Thou, Lord, makeſt a fruitful field a barren wilderneſs, and a barren wilderneſs a fruitful field! thou bringeſt down and ſetteſt up! thou killeſt and makeſt alive! all honour and glory be to thee, O Lord of glory! The knowledge of thee in the Spirit is life; but that knowledge which is fleſhly works death. While there is this knowledge in the fleſh, deceit and ſelf will conform to any thing, and will ſay Yes, Yes, to that it doth not know. The knowledge which the world hath, of what the prophets and apoſtles ſpake, is a fleſhly knowledge; and the apoſtates from the life, in which the prophets and apoſtles were, have got their words, the holy ſcriptures, in a form, but not in the life nor ſpirit that gave them forth. So they all lie in confuſion; and are making proviſion for the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof, but not to fulfil the law and command of Chriſt in his power and Spirit: for that, they ſay, they cannot do; but to fulfil the luſts of the fleſh, that they can do with delight. 1647.

After I had received that opening from the Lord, that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge, was not ſufficient to fit a man to be a miniſter of Chriſt, I regarded the prieſts leſs, and looked more after the diſſenting people. Among them I ſaw there was ſome tenderneſs; and many of them came afterwards to be convinced, for they had ſome openings. But as I had forſaken the prieſts, ſo I left the ſeparate preachers alſo, and thoſe called the moſt experienced people; for I ſaw there was none among them all that could ſpeak to my condition. And when all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, ſo that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell what to do; then, O then, I heard a voice which ſaid, "There is "one, even Chriſt Jeſus, that can ſpeak to thy condition." When I heard it, my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord let me ſee why there was none upon the earth that could ſpeak to my condition, namely, that I might give him all the glory. For all are concluded under ſin, and ſhut up in unbelief, as I had been, that Jeſus Chriſt might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace, faith, and power. Thus when God doth work, who ſhall let it? This I knew experimentally. My deſires after the Lord grew ſtronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God, and of Chriſt alone, without the help of any man, book, or writing. For though I read the ſcriptures that ſpake of Chriſt and of God, yet I knew him not but by revelation, as he who hath the key did open, and as the Father of life drew me to his Son by his Spirit. Then the Lord gently led me along, and let me ſee his love, which was endleſs and eternal, ſurpaſſing all the knowledge that men have in the natural ſtate, or can get by hiſtory or books. That love let me ſee myſelf, as I was

1647. without him; and I was afraid of all company: for I ſaw them perfectly, where they were, through the love of God which let me ſee myſelf. I had not fellowſhip with any people, prieſts, nor profeſſors, nor any ſort of ſeparated people, but with Chriſt who hath the key, and opened the door of light and life unto me. I was afraid of all carnal talk and talkers, for I could ſee nothing but corruptions, and the life lay under the burden of corruptions. When I was in the deep, under all ſhut up, I could not believe that I ſhould ever overcome; my troubles, my ſorrows, and my temptations were ſo great, that I often thought I ſhould have deſpaired, I was ſo tempted. But when Chriſt opened to me how he was tempted by the ſame devil, and had overcome him, and had bruiſed his head; and that through him and his power, light, grace, and Spirit, I ſhould overcome, alſo I had confidence in him. So he it was that opened to me when I was ſhut up, and had neither hope nor faith. Chriſt, who had enlightened me, gave me his light to believe in, and gave me hope, which is himſelf revealed in me, and gave me his ſpirit and grace, which I found ſufficient in the deeps and in weakneſs. Thus in the deepeſt miſeries, in the greateſt ſorrows and temptations that beſet me, the Lord in his mercy did keep me. I found two thirſts in me; the one after the creatures, to have got help and ſtrength there; and the other after the Lord the Creator, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt; and I ſaw all the world could do me no good. If I had had a king's diet, palace and attendance, all would have been as nothing; for nothing gave me comfort, but the Lord by his power. I ſaw profeſſors, prieſts, and people, were whole and at eaſe in that condition which was my miſery, and they loved that which I would have been rid of. But the Lord did ſtay my deſires upon himſelf, from whom my help came, and my care was caſt upon him alone. Therefore, all wait patiently upon the Lord, whatſoever condition you be in; wait in the grace and truth that comes by Jeſus; for if ye ſo do, there is a promiſe to you, and the Lord God will fulfil it in you. Bleſſed are all they indeed that do indeed hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs, they ſhall be ſatisfied with it. I have found it ſo, praiſed be the Lord who filleth with it, and ſatisfieth the deſires of the hungry ſoul. O let the houſe of the ſpiritual Iſrael ſay, His mercy endureth for ever! It is the great love of God, to make a wilderneſs of that which is pleaſant to the outward eye and fleſhly mind; and to make a fruitful field of a barren wilderneſs. This is the great work of God. But while people's minds run in the earthly, after the creatures and changeable things, changeable ways and religions, and changeable uncertain teachers, their minds are in bondage, and they are brittle and changeable, toſſed up and down with windy doctrines, thoughts, notions, and things; their minds being out of the unchangeable truth in the inward parts, the light of Jeſus Chriſt, which would keep them to the unchangeable. He is the way to the Father; who in all my troubles preſerved me by his Spirit and power, praiſed be his holy name for ever!

Again, I heard a voice which ſaid, Thou ſerpent! thou doſt ſeek to deſtroy the life, but canſt not; for the ſword which keepeth the tree of life ſhall deſtroy thee. So Chriſt, the Word of God, that bruiſed

bruiſed the head of the ſerpent, the deſtroyer, preſerved me; my mind being joined to his good ſeed that bruiſed the head of this ſerpent, the deſtroyer. This inward life ſprung up in me, to anſwer all the oppoſing profeſſors and prieſts, and brought ſcriptures to my memory to refute them with. 1647.

At another time I ſaw the great love of God, and was filled with admiration at the infiniteneſs of it. I ſaw what was caſt out from God, and what entered into God's kingdom; and how by Jeſus, the opener of the door by his heavenly key, the entrance was given. I ſaw death, how it had paſſed upon all men, and oppreſſed the ſeed of God in man, and in me; and how I in the ſeed came forth, and what the promiſe was to. Yet it was ſo, that there ſeemed to be two pleading in me; and queſtionings aroſe in my mind about gifts and propheciés, and I was tempted again to deſpair, as if I had ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt. I was in great perplexity and trouble for many days; yet I gave up myſelf to the Lord ſtill. One day, when I had been walking ſolitarily abroad, and was come home, I was taken up in the love of God, ſo that I could not but admire the greatneſs of his love; and while I was in that condition, it was opened unto me by the eternal light and power, and I therein clearly ſaw, That all was done and to be done in and by Chriſt; and how he conquers and deſtroys this tempter the devil, and all his works, and is a-top of him; and that all theſe troubles were good for me, and temptations for the trial of my faith, which Chriſt had given me. The Lord opened me, that I ſaw through all theſe troubles and temptations. My living faith was raiſed, that I ſaw all was done by Chriſt the life, and my belief was in him. When at any time my condition was veiled, my ſecret belief was ſtayed firm, and hope underneath held me, as an anchor in the bottom of the ſea, and anchored my immortal ſoul to its biſhop, cauſing it to ſwim above the ſea, the world, where all the raging waves, foul weather, tempeſts and temptations are. But O! then did I ſee my troubles, trials, and temptations more clearly than ever I had done. As the light appeared, all appeared that is out of the light; darkneſs, death, temptations, the unrighteous, the ungodly; all was manifeſt and ſeen in the light. After this, a pure fire appeared in me: Then I ſaw how he ſat as a refiner's fire, and as the fuller's ſope. Then the ſpiritual diſcerning came into me; by which I diſcerned my own thoughts, groans, and ſighs; and what it was that veiled me, and what it was that opened me. That which could not abide in the patience, nor endure the fire, in the light I found to be the groans of the fleſh, that could not give up to the will of God; which had ſo veiled me, that I could not be patient in all trials, troubles, anguiſhes, and perplexities; could not give up ſelf to die by the croſs, the power of God, that the living and quickened might follow him, and that that which would cloud and veil from the preſence of Chriſt, that which the ſword of the Spirit cuts down, and which muſt die, might not be kept alive. I diſcerned the groans of the Spirit, which opened me, and made interceſſion to God: In which Spirit is the true waiting upon God, for the redemption of the body, and of the whole creation. By this true Spirit, in which the true ſighing is, I ſaw over the falſe ſighings and groanings. By this inviſible Spirit I diſ-

1647. cerned all the falſe hearing, the falſe ſeeing, and the falſe ſmelling, which was above the Spirit, quenching and grieving it; and that all that were there were in confuſion and deceit, where the falſe aſking and praying is, in deceit and a-top, in that nature and tongue that takes God's holy name in vain, wallows in the Egyptian ſea, and aſketh but hath not; for they hate his light, reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt, turn the grace into wantonneſs, rebel againſt the Spirit, and are erred from the faith they ſhould aſk in, and from the Spirit they ſhould pray by. He that knoweth theſe things in the true Spirit can witneſs them. The divine light of Chriſt manifeſteth all things, the ſpiritual fire trieth and ſevereth all things. Several things did I then ſee, as the Lord opened them to me; for he ſhewed me that which can live in his holy refining fire, and that can live to God under his law. He made me ſenſible, how the law and the prophets were until John; and how the leaſt in the everlaſting kingdom of God is greater than John. The pure and perfect law of God is over the fleſh, to keep it and its works, which are not perfect, under, by the perfect law: and the law of God which is perfect, anſwers the perfect principle of God in every one. This law the Jews, the prophets, and John were to perform and do. None knows the giver of this law but by the Spirit of God; neither can any truly read it, or hear its voice, but by the Spirit of God. He that can receive it, let him. John, who was one of the greateſt prophets that was born of a woman, bore witneſs to the light which Chriſt, the great heavenly prophet, hath enlightend every man that cometh into the world withal; that they might believe in it, become the children of light, and ſo have the light of life, and not come into condemnation. For the true belief ſtands in the light that condemns all evil; and the devil, who is the prince of darkneſs, and would draw out of the light into condemnation. They that walk in this light, come to the mountain of the houſe of God, eſtabliſhed above all mountains, and to God's teaching, who will teach them his ways. Theſe things were opened to me in the light.

I ſaw alſo the mountains burning up, and the rubbiſh, the rough, crooked ways and places made ſmooth and plain, that the Lord might come into his tabernacle. Theſe things are to be found in man's heart; but to ſpeak of theſe things being within, ſeemed ſtrange to the rough, crooked, and mountainous ones. Yet the Lord ſaith, "O earth, hear the word of the Lord!" The law of the Spirit croſſeth the fleſhly mind, ſpirit, and will, which lives in diſobedience, and doth not keep within the law of the Spirit. I ſaw this law was the pure love of God which was upon me, and which I muſt go through, though I was troubled while I was under it; for I could not be dead to the law but through the law, which did judge and condemn that which is to be condemned. I ſaw, many talked of the law, who had never known the law to be their ſchool-maſter; and many talked of the goſpel of Chriſt, who had never known life and immortality brought to light in them by it. You that have been under that ſchool-maſter, and the condemnation of it, know theſe things; for though the Lord in that day opened theſe things unto me in ſecret, they have been ſince publiſhed by his eternal Spirit, as on the houſe-top. As you are brought into the law, and through the law to be dead to it, and witneſs the righteouſneſs of the

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the law fulfilled in you, ye will afterwards come to know what it is to be brought into the faith, and through faith from under the law; and abiding in the faith, which Chriſt is the author of, ye will have peace and acceſs to God. But if ye look out from the faith, and from that which would keep you in the victory, and look after fleſhly things or words, ye will be brought into bondage to the fleſh again, and to the law which takes hold upon the fleſh and ſin, and worketh wrath, and the works of the fleſh will appear again. This law of God takes hold upon the law of ſin and death; but the law of faith, the law of the Spirit of life, which is the love of God, and which comes by Jeſus (who is the end of the law for righteouſneſs-ſake) makes free from the law of ſin and death. The law of life fleſhly-minded men do not know; yet they will tempt you, to draw you from the Spirit into the fleſh, and ſo into bondage. Therefore ye, who know the love of God, and the law of his Spirit, and the freedom that is in Jeſus Chriſt, ſtand faſt in him, in that divine faith which he is the author of in you; and be not entangled with the yoke of bondage. For the miniſtry of Chriſt Jeſus, and his teaching, bringeth into liberty and freedom; but the miniſtry that is of man, and by man, which ſtands in the will of man, bringeth into bondage, and under the ſhadow of death and darkneſs. Therefore none can be miniſters of Chriſt Jeſus but in the eternal Spirit, which was before the ſcriptures were given forth; for if they have not his Spirit, they are none of his. Though they may have his light to condemn them that hate it, yet they can never bring any into unity and fellowſhip in the Spirit, except they be in it; for the ſeed of God is a burthenſome ſtone to the ſelfiſh, fleſhly, earthly will, which reigns in its own knowledge and underſtanding that muſt periſh, and its own wiſdom that is deviliſh. The Spirit of God is grieved, vexed, and quenched with that which brings into the fleſhly bondage; and that which wars againſt the Spirit of God muſt be mortified by it; for the fleſh luſteth againſt the Spirit, and the Spirit againſt the fleſh, and theſe are contrary the one to the other. The fleſh would have its liberty, and the Spirit would have its liberty; but the Spirit is to have its liberty, and not the fleſh. If therefore ye quench the Spirit, join to the fleſh, and be ſervants of it, then ye are judged and tormented by the Spirit; but if ye join to the Spirit, and ſerve God in it, ye have liberty and victory over the fleſh and its works. Therefore keep in the daily croſs, the power of God, by which ye may witneſs all that to be crucified which is contrary to the will of God, and which ſhall not come into his kingdom. Theſe things are here mentioned and opened for information, exhortation, and comfort to others, as the Lord opened them unto me in that day. In that day I wondered that the children of Iſrael ſhould murmur for water and victuals, for I could have faſted long without murmuring or minding victuals. But I was judged at other times, that I was not contented to be ſometimes without the water and bread of life, that I might learn to know how to want, and how to abound. 1647.

I heard of a woman in Lancaſhire, who had faſted two-and-twenty days, and I travelled to ſee her; but when I came to her, I ſaw ſhe was under a temptation. When I had ſpoken to her what I had from the Lord, I left her, her father being high in profeſſion. Paſſing on, Lancaſhire.

I went

1647. I went among the profeſſors at Duckenfield and Mancheſter, where I ſtaid a while, and declared truth among them. There were ſome convinced, who received the Lord's teaching, by which they were confirmed, and ſtood in the truth. The profeſſors were in a rage, all pleading for ſin and imperfection; and could not endure to hear talk of perfection, or of a holy and ſinleſs life. But the Lord's power was over all; though they were chained under darkneſs and ſin, which they pleaded for, and quenched the tender thing in them.

Duckenfield, Mancheſter.

Broughton, in Leiceſterſhire.

About this time there was a great meeting of the baptiſts at Broughton, in Leiceſterſhire, with ſome that had ſeparated from them. People of other counties went thither, and I went alſo. Not many of the baptiſts came, but abundance of other people were there; and the Lord opened my mouth, and his everlaſting truth was declared amongſt them, and the power of the Lord was over them all. In that day the Lord's power began to ſpring; I had great openings in the ſcriptures, and ſeveral were convinced in thoſe parts, and turned from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; his power they did receive, and by it many were raiſed up to praiſe God. When I reaſoned with profeſſors and other people, ſome were convinced, and did ſtand. Yet I was under great temptations ſometimes, and my inward ſufferings were heavy; but I could find none to open my condition to but the Lord alone, unto whom I cried night and day. I went back into Nottinghamſhire, where the Lord ſhewed me, that the natures of thoſe things which were hurtful without, were within in the hearts and minds of wicked men. The natures of dogs, ſwine, vipers, of Sodom and Egypt, Pharaoh, Cain, Iſhmael, Eſau, &c. The natures of theſe I ſaw within, though people had been looking without. I cried to the Lord, ſaying, "Why ſhould I be thus, ſeeing I was never "addicted to commit thoſe evils?" And the Lord anſwered, "It was "needful I ſhould have a ſenſe of all conditions, how elſe ſhould I "ſpeak to all conditions?" In this I ſaw the infinite love of God. I ſaw alſo, that there was an ocean of darkneſs and death; but an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkneſs. In that alſo I ſaw the infinite love of God, and I had great openings. As I was walking by the ſteeple-houſe ſide in the town of Mansfield, the Lord ſaid unto me, "That which people trample upon muſt be thy "food." And as the Lord ſpake he opened to me, that people and profeſſors trampled upon the life, even the life of Chriſt was trampled upon; they fed upon words, and fed one another with words; but trampled under foot the blood of the Son of God, which blood was my life: and they lived in their airy notions, talking of him. It ſeemed ſtrange to me at the firſt, that I ſhould feed on that which the high profeſſors trampled upon; but the Lord opened it clearly to me by his eternal Spirit and power.

Nottinghamſhire.

Then came people from far and near to ſee me; but I was fearful of being drawn out by them: yet I was made to open things to them. One Brown had great prophecies and ſights upon his death-bed of me. He ſpoke openly, of what I ſhould be made inſtrumental by the Lord to bring forth. And of others he ſpoke, that they ſhould come to nothing; which was fulfilled on ſome, who then were ſomething in ſhew. When this man was buried, a great work of the Lord fell upon

upon me, to the admiration of many, who thought I had been dead; and many came to ſee me for about fourteen days. I was very much altered in countenance and perſon, as if my body had been new-moulded or changed. While I was in that condition, I had a ſenſe and diſcerning given me by the Lord, through which I ſaw plainly, that when many people talked of God and of Chriſt, &c. the ſerpent ſpoke in them; but this was hard to be borne. Yet the work of the Lord went on in ſome, and my ſorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from me, ſo that I could have wept night and day with tears of joy to the Lord, in humility and brokenneſs of heart. I ſaw into that which was without end, things which cannot be uttered, and of the greatneſs and infiniteneſs of the love of God, which cannot be expreſſed by words. For I had been brought through the very ocean of darkneſs and death, and through and over the power of Satan, by the eternal glorious power of Chriſt; even through that darkneſs was I brought which covered over all the world, which chained down all, and ſhut up all in the death. The ſame eternal power of God which brought me through theſe things, was that which afterwards ſhook the nations, prieſts, profeſſors, and people. Then could I ſay, I had been in ſpiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God I was come out of it, was brought over it, and the power of it, into the power of Chriſt. And I ſaw the harveſt white, and the ſeed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat that was ſown outwardly, and none to gather it; for this I mourned with tears. A report went abroad of me, that I was a young man who had a diſcerning ſpirit; whereupon many came to me from far and near, profeſſors, prieſts, and people. The Lord's power broke forth, and I had great openings and prophecies, and ſpoke unto them of the things of God, which they heard with attention and ſilence, and went away and ſpread the fame thereof. Then came the tempter and ſet upon me again, charging me, that I had ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt; but I could not tell in what. Then Paul's condition came before me, how after he had been taken up into the third heavens, and ſeen things not lawful to be uttered, a meſſenger of Satan was ſent to buffet him. Thus by the power of Chriſt I got over that temptation alſo. 1647.

In the year 1648, as I was ſitting in a friend's houſe in Nottinghamſhire (for by this time the power of God had opened the hearts of ſome to receive the word of life and reconciliation) I ſaw there was a great crack to go throughout the earth, and a great ſmoke to go as the crack went, and that after the crack there ſhould be a great ſhaking. This was the earth in people's hearts, which was to be ſhaken before the ſeed of God was raiſed out of the earth. And it was ſo; for the Lord's power began to ſhake them, and great meetings we began to have, and a mighty power and work of God there was amongſt people, to the aſtoniſhment of both people and prieſts. 1648.

There was a meeting of prieſts and profeſſors at a juſtice's houſe, and I went among them. Here they diſcourſed how Paul ſaid, "He had "not known ſin but by the law, which ſaid, Thou ſhalt not luſt:" and they held that to be ſpoken of the outward law. But I told them, Paul ſpoke that after he was convinced; for he had the outward law

1648. before, and was bred up in it, when he was in the luſt of perſecution; but this was the law of God in his mind which he ſerved, which the law in his members warred againſt: for that which he thought had been life to him, proved death. So the more ſober of the prieſts and profeſſors conſented that it was not the outward law, but the inward, which ſhewed the inward luſt which Paul ſpake of after he was convinced; for the outward law took hold of the outward action, but the inward law, of the inward luſt.

Mansfield. After this I went again to Mansfield, where was a great meeting of profeſſors and people, where I was moved to pray; and the Lord's power was ſo great, that the houſe ſeemed to be ſhaken. When I had done, ſome of the profeſſors ſaid, "It was now as in the days of the "apoſtles, when the houſe was ſhaken where they were." After I had prayed, one of the profeſſors would pray; which brought deadneſs and a veil over them. Others of the profeſſors were grieved at him, and told him, "It was a temptation upon him." Then he came to me, and deſired that I would pray again; but I could not pray in man's will.

Soon after there was another great meeting of profeſſors, and a captain named Amor Stoddard came in. They were diſcourſing of the blood of Chriſt. As they were diſcourſing of it, I ſaw, through the immediate opening of the inviſible Spirit, the blood of Chriſt; and cried out among them, ſaying, "Do ye not ſee the blood of Chriſt? "See it in your hearts, to ſprinkle your hearts and conſciences from "dead works, to ſerve the living God." For I ſaw the blood of the new covenant, how it came into the heart. This ſtartled the profeſſors, who would have the blood only without them, and not in them. But captain Stoddard was reached, and ſaid, "Let the youth ſpeak, "hear the youth ſpeak;" when he ſaw they endeavoured to bear me down with many words.

There were alſo a company of prieſts, that were looked upon to be tender; one of their names was Kellet, and ſeveral tender people went to hear them. I was moved to go after them, and bid them mind the Lord's teaching in their inward parts. Prieſt Kellet was againſt parſonages then; but afterwards he got a great one, and turned perſecutor.

Derbyſhire. Leiceſterſhire. After I had ſome ſervice in theſe parts, I went through Derbyſhire into my own country Leiceſterſhire again, and ſeveral tender people were convinced. Paſſing thence, I met with a great company of profeſſors in Warwickſhire, who were praying and expounding the ſcriptures in the fields. They gave the bible to me, and I opened it on the fifth of Matthew, where Chriſt expounded the law; and I opened the inward ſtate to them, and outward ſtate; upon which they fell into a fierce contention, and parted: but the Lord's power got ground.

Warwickſhire.

Leiceſter. Then I heard of a great meeting to be at Leiceſter for a diſpute, wherein preſbyterians, independents, baptiſts, and common-prayermen, were ſaid to be all concerned. The meeting was in a ſteeple-houſe; to which I was moved by the Lord God to go, and be amongſt them. I heard their diſcourſe and reaſonings, ſome being in pews, and the prieſt in the pulpit, abundance of people being gathered together. At laſt one woman aſked a queſtion out of Peter, What that birth was, viz. A being born again of incorruptible ſeed, by the Word of God,

God, that liveth and abideth for ever? The prieſt ſaid to her, I permit not a woman to ſpeak in the church; though he had before given liberty for any to ſpeak. Whereupon I was wrapped up as in a rapture, in the Lord's power; and I ſtepped up, and aſked the prieſt, Doſt thou call this place (the ſteeple-houſe) a church? or doſt thou call this mixed multitude a church? For the woman aſking a queſtion, he ought to have anſwered it, having given liberty for any to ſpeak. But, inſtead of anſwering me, he aſked me, What a church was? I told him, The church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living ſtones, living members, a ſpiritual houſhold, which Chriſt was the head of: but he was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old houſe made up of lime, ſtones, and wood. This ſet them all on a fire. The prieſt came down from his pulpit, and others out of their pews, and the diſpute there was marred. I went to a great inn, and there diſputed the thing with the prieſts and profeſſors, who were all on fire. But I maintained the true church, and the true head thereof, over their heads, till they all gave out and fled away. One man ſeemed loving, and appeared for a while to join with me; but he ſoon turned againſt me, and joined with a prieſt, in pleading for infant baptiſm, though himſelf had been a baptiſt before; ſo he left me alone. Howbeit, there were ſeveral convinced that day; the woman that aſked the queſtion was convinced, and her family: and the Lord's power and glory ſhined over all. 1648.

After this I returned into Nottinghamſhire again, and went into the Vale of Beavor. As I went, I preached repentance to the people. There were many convinced in the Vale of Beavor, in many towns; for I ſtaid ſome weeks amongſt them. One morning, as I was ſitting by the fire, a great cloud came over me, a temptation beſet me; and I ſat ſtill. It was ſaid, "All things come by nature:" and the elements and ſtars came over me, ſo that I was in a manner quite clouded with it. But as I ſat ſtill and ſaid nothing, the people of the houſe perceived nothing. And as I ſat ſtill under it and let it alone, a living hope and a true voice aroſe in me, which ſaid, "There is a living God who made all "things." Immediately the cloud and temptation vaniſhed away, and life roſe over it all; my heart was glad, and I praiſed the living God. After ſome time I met with ſome people who had a notion that there was no God, but that all things come by nature. I had a great diſpute with them, and overturned them, and made ſome of them confeſs, that there is a living God. Then I ſaw that it was good that I had gone through that exerciſe. We had great meetings in thoſe parts; for the power of the Lord broke through in that ſide of the country. Returning into Nottinghamſhire, I found there a company of ſhattered baptiſts, and others. The Lord's power wrought mightily, and gathered many of them. Afterwards I went to Mansfield and there-away; where the Lord's power was wonderfully manifeſted both at Mansfield, and other towns thereabouts. In Derbyſhire the mighty power of God wrought in a wonderful manner. At Eton, a town near Derby, there was a meeting of friends, where appeared ſuch a mighty power of God that they were greatly ſhaken, and many mouths were opened in the power of the Lord God. Many were moved by the Lord to go to ſteeple-houſes, to the prieſts and people, to declare the everlaſting truth unto them.

Nottinghamſhire.

Vale of Beavor.

Nottinghamſhire.

Mansfield.

Derbyſhire.

Eton.

1648. Mansfield.

At a certain time when I was at Mansfield there was a ſitting of the juſtices about hiring ſervants; and it was upon me from the Lord to go and ſpeak to the juſtices, that they ſhould not oppreſs the ſervants in their wages. So I walked towards the inn where they ſat; but finding a company of fiddlers there, I did not go in, but thought to come in the morning, when I might have a more ſerious opportunity to diſcourſe them, not thinking that a ſeaſonable time. But when I came again in the morning, they were gone, and I was ſtruck even blind, that I could not ſee. I inquired of the innkeeper, where the juſtices were to ſit that day? He told me, At a town eight miles off. My ſight began to come to me again; and I went and ran thitherward as faſt as I could. When I was come to the houſe where they were, and many ſervants with them, I exhorted the juſtices not to oppreſs the ſervants in their wages, but to do that which was right and juſt to them; and I exhorted the ſervants to do their duties, and ſerve honeſtly, &c. They all received my exhortation kindly; for I was moved of the Lord therein.

Moreover, I was moved to go to ſeveral courts and ſteeple-houſes at Mansfield and other places, to warn them to leave off oppreſſion and oaths, and to turn from deceit to the Lord, and do juſtly. Particularly at Mansfield, after I had been at a court there, I was moved to go and ſpeak to one of the wickedeſt men in the country, one who was a common drunkard, a noted whoremaſter, and a rhime-maker; and I reproved him, in the dread of the mighty God, for his evil courſes. When I had done ſpeaking, and left him, he came after me, and told me, He was ſo ſmitten when I ſpake to him, that he had ſcarce any ſtrength left in him. So this man was convinced, turned from his wickedneſs, and remained an honeſt, ſober man, to the aſtoniſhment of the people who had known him before. Thus the work of the Lord went forward, and many were turned from darkneſs to light, within the compaſs of theſe three years, 1646, 1647, and 1648. Divers meetings of friends, in ſeveral places, were then gathered to God's teaching, by his light, Spirit, and power: for the Lord's power broke forth daily more and more wonderfully.

Now was I come up in Spirit, through the flaming ſword, into the paradiſe of God. All things were new; and all the creation gave another ſmell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureneſs, innocency, and righteouſneſs, being renewed up into the image of God by Chriſt Jeſus; ſo that I was come up to the ſtate of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was ſhewed me, how all things had their names given them, according to their nature and virtue. I was at a ſtand in my mind, whether I ſhould practiſe phyſick for the good of mankind, ſeeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were ſo opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in Spirit, to ſee into another or more ſtedfaſt ſtate than Adam's in innocency, even into a ſtate in Chriſt Jeſus, that ſhould never fall. The Lord ſhewed me, that ſuch as were faithful to him, in the power and light of Chriſt, ſhould come up into that ſtate in which Adam was before he fell; in which the admirable works of the creation, and the virtues thereof may be known, through the openings of that divine

vine Word of wiſdom and power by which they were made. Great things did the Lord lead me into, and wonderful depths were opened unto me, beyond what can by words be declared; but as people come into ſubjection to the Spirit of God, and grow up in the image and power of the Almighty, they may receive the word of wiſdom that opens all things, and come to know the hidden unity in the Eternal Being. 1648.

Thus travelled I in the Lord's ſervice, as he led me. When I came to Nottingham, the mighty power of God was there among friends. From thence I went to Clauſon in Leiceſterſhire, in the Vale of Beavor, and the mighty power of God appeared there alſo, in ſeveral towns and villages where friends were gathered. While I was there, the Lord opened to me three things, relating to thoſe three great profeſſions in the world, law, phyſick, and divinity (ſo called). He ſhewed me, that the phyſicians were out of the wiſdom of God, by which the creatures were made; and knew not the virtues of the creatures, becauſe they were out of the Word of wiſdom, by which they were made. He ſhewed me, the prieſts were out of the true faith, which Chriſt is the author of; the faith which purifies, gives victory, and brings people to have acceſs to God, by which they pleaſe God; the myſtery of which faith is held in a pure conſcience. He ſhewed me alſo, that the lawyers were out of the equity, out of the true juſtice, and out of the law of God, which went over the firſt tranſgreſſion, and over all ſin, and anſwered the Spirit of God, that was grieved and tranſgreſſed in man. And that theſe three, the phyſicians, the prieſts, and the lawyers, ruled the world out of the wiſdom, out of the faith, and out of the equity and law of God; the one pretending the cure of the body, the other the cure of the ſoul, and the third the protection of the property of the people. But I ſaw they were all out of the wiſdom, out of the faith, out of the equity and perfect law of God. And as the Lord opened theſe things unto me, I felt his power went forth over all, by which all might be reformed, if they would receive and bow unto it. The prieſts might be reformed, and brought into the true faith, which is the gift of God. The lawyers might be reformed, and brought into the law of God, which anſwers that of God, which is tranſgreſſed, in every one, and brings to love one's neighbour as himſelf. This lets man ſee, if he wrongs his neighbour, he wrongs himſelf; and this teaches him to do unto others as he would they ſhould do unto him, The phyſicians might be reformed, and brought into the wiſdom of God, by which all things were made and created; that they might receive a right knowledge of the creatures, and underſtand the virtues of them, which the Word of Wiſdom, by which they were made and are upheld, hath given them. Abundance was opened concerning theſe things; how all lay out of the wiſdom of God, and out of the righteouſneſs and holineſs that man at the firſt was made in. But as all believe in the light, and walk in the light which Chriſt hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world withal, and become children of the light, and of the day of Chriſt; in his day all things are ſeen, viſible and inviſible, by the divine light of Chriſt, the ſpiritual heavenly man, by whom all things were made and created.

Nottingham.
Leiceſterſhire.
Clauſon.
Vale of Beavor.

1648. I ſaw concerning the prieſts, that although they ſtood in the deceit, and acted by the dark power which both they and their people were kept under; yet they were not the greateſt deceivers ſpoken of in the ſcriptures, for they were not come ſo far as many of theſe had come. But the Lord opened to me who the greateſt deceivers were, and how far they might come; even ſuch as came as far as Cain, to hear the voice of God; ſuch as came out of Egypt, and through the Red Sea, to praiſe God on the banks of the ſea-ſhore; ſuch as could ſpeak by experience of God's miracles and wonders; ſuch as were come as far as Corah, Dathan, and their company; ſuch as were come as far as Balaam, who could ſpeak the word of the Lord, who heard his voice and knew it, and knew his Spirit, and could ſee the ſtar of Jacob, and the goodlineſs of Iſrael's Tent; the ſecond birth, which no enchantment could prevail againſt: theſe that could ſpeak ſo much of their experiences of God, and yet turned from the Spirit and the Word, and went into the gainſaying, theſe were and would be the great deceivers, far beyond the prieſts. Likewiſe among chriſtians, ſuch as ſhould preach in Chriſt's name, ſhould work miracles, caſt out devils, and go as far as a Cain, a Corah, and a Balaam in the goſpel-times, theſe were and would be the great deceivers. They that could ſpeak ſome experiences of Chriſt and God, but lived not in the life, theſe were they that led the world after them, who got the form of godlineſs, but denied the power; who inwardly ravened from the Spirit, and brought people into the form, but perſecuted them that were in the power, as Cain did; and ran greedily after the error of Balaam, through covetouſneſs, loving the wages of unrighteouſneſs, as Balaam did. Theſe followers of Cain, Corah, and Balaam, have brought the world, ſince the apoſtles days, to be like a ſea. Such as theſe I ſaw might deceive now, as they did in former ages: but it is impoſſible for them to deceive the elect, who were choſen in Chriſt, who was before the world began, and before the deceiver was: though others may be deceived in their openings and prophecies, not keeping their minds to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who doth open and reveal to his.

I ſaw the ſtate of thoſe, both prieſts and people, who in reading the ſcriptures cry out much againſt Cain, Eſau, Judas, and other wicked men of former times, mentioned in the holy ſcriptures; but do not ſee the nature of Cain, of Eſau, of Judas, and thoſe others, in themſelves. Theſe ſaid, It was they, they, they, that were the bad people; putting it off from themſelves: but when ſome of theſe came, with the light and Spirit of truth, to ſee into themſelves, then they came to ſay, I, I, I, it is I myſelf, that have been the Iſhmael, the Eſau, &c. For then they ſaw the nature of wild Iſhmael in themſelves; the nature of Cain, Eſau, Corah, Balaam, and of the ſon of perdition in themſelves, ſitting above all that is called God in them. I ſaw, it was the fallen man that was got up into the ſcriptures, and was finding fault with thoſe before-mentioned; and with the backſliding Jews, calling them the ſturdy oaks, tall cedars, fat bulls of Baſhan, wild heifers, vipers, ſerpents, &c. and charging them, that it was they that cloſed their eyes, ſtopped their ears, hardened their hearts, and were dull of hearing; it was they that hated the light, rebelled againſt

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it, quenched the Spirit, vexed and grieved it, walked deſpitefully againſt the Spirit of grace, and turned the grace of God into wantonneſs; it was they that reſiſted the Holy Ghoſt, got the form of godlineſs, and turned againſt the power; and they were the inwardly ravening wolves who had got the ſheep's cloathing; they were the wells without water, clouds without rain, trees without fruit, &c. But when theſe, who were ſo much taken up with finding fault with others, and thought themſelves clear from theſe things, came to look into themſelves, and with the light of Chriſt throughly to ſearch themſelves, they might ſee enough of this in themſelves; then the cry could not be, It is he or they, but I and we are found in theſe conditions. 1648.

I ſaw alſo, how people read the ſcriptures without a right ſenſe of them, and without duly applying them to their own ſtates. For when they read, that death reigned from Adam to Moſes; that the law and the prophets were until John; and that the leaſt in the kingdom is greater than John; they read theſe things without them, and applied them to others (and the things were true of others) but they did not turn in to find the truth of theſe things in themſelves. As theſe things were opened in me, I ſaw death reigned over them from Adam to Moſes; from the entrance into tranſgreſſion, till they came to the miniſtration of condemnation, which reſtrains people from ſin that brings death. When the miniſtration of Moſes is paſſed through, the miniſtry of the prophets comes to be read and underſtood, which reaches through the figures, types, and ſhadows unto John, the greateſt prophet born of a woman; whoſe miniſtration prepares the way of the Lord, by bringing down the exalted mountains, and making ſtrait paths. As this miniſtration is paſſed through, an entrance comes to be known into the everlaſting kingdom. I ſaw plainly, that none could read Moſes aright without Moſes's Spirit, by which he ſaw how man was in the image of God in paradiſe, how he fell, how death came over him, and how all men have been under this death. I ſaw how Moſes received the pure law, that went over all tranſgreſſors; and how the clean beaſts, which were figures and types, were offered up, when the people were come into the righteous law that went over the firſt tranſgreſſion. Moſes and the prophets ſaw through the types and figures, and beyond them, and ſaw Chriſt the great prophet, that was to come to fulfil them. I ſaw that none could read John's words aright, and with a true underſtanding of them, but in and with the ſame divine Spirit by which John ſpake them; and by his burning, ſhining light which is ſent from God. For by that Spirit their crooked nature might be made ſtrait, their rough natures ſmooth, and the exacter and violent doer in them might be caſt out; and thoſe that had been hypocrites, might come to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and their mountain of ſin and earthlineſs might be laid low, and their valley exalted in them, that there might be a way prepared for the Lord in them: then the leaſt in the kingdom is greater than John. But all muſt firſt know the voice crying in the wilderneſs in their hearts, which through tranſgreſſion were become as a wilderneſs. Thus I ſaw it was an eaſy matter to ſay, death

1684. reigned from Adam to Moſes; and that the law and the prophets were until John; and that the leaſt in the kingdom is greater than John: but none could know how death reigned from Adam to Moſes, &c. but by the ſame holy Spirit which Moſes, the prophets, and John were in. They could not know the ſpiritual meaning of Moſes, the prophets, and John's words, nor ſee their path and travels, much leſs to ſee through them, and to the end of them into the kingdom, unleſs they had the Spirit and light of Jeſus; nor could they know the words of Chriſt and of his apoſtles without his Spirit. But as man comes thro' by the Spirit and power of God to Chriſt (who fulfils the types, figures, ſhadows, promiſes, and prophecies concerning him) and is led by the Holy Ghoſt into the truth and ſubſtance of the ſcriptures, ſitting down in him who is the author and end of them, then are they read and underſtood with profit and great delight.

Moreover the Lord God let me ſee, when I was brought up into his image in righteouſneſs and holineſs, and into the paradiſe of God, the ſtate, how Adam was made a living ſoul; and alſo the ſtature of Chriſt, the myſtery that had been hid from ages and generations: which things are hard to be uttered, and cannot be borne by many. For of all the ſects in Chriſtendom (ſo called) that I diſcourſed withal, I found none who could bear to be told, that any ſhould come to Adam's perfection, into that image of God, that righteouſneſs and holineſs that Adam was in before he fell; to be clear and pure without ſin, as he was. Therefore, how ſhould they be able to bear being told, that any ſhould grow up to the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt, when they cannot bear to hear that any ſhall come, whilſt upon earth, into the ſame power and Spirit that the prophets and apoſtles were in? Though it be a certain truth, that none can underſtand their writings aright, without the ſame ſpirit by which they were written.

The Lord God opened to me by his inviſible power, how "every "man was enlightened by the divine light of Chriſt." I ſaw it ſhine through all, and that they that believed in it came out of condemnation to the light of life, and became the children of it; but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profeſſion of Chriſt. This I ſaw in the pure openings of the light without the help of any man; neither did I then know where to find it in the ſcriptures; though afterwards, ſearching the ſcriptures, I found it. For I ſaw in that Light and Spirit which was before the ſcriptures were given forth, and which led the holy men of God to give them forth, that all muſt come to that Spirit, if they would know God or Chriſt, or the ſcriptures aright, which they that gave them forth were led and taught by.

But I obſerved a dulneſs and drowzy heavineſs upon people, which I wondered at; for ſometimes, when I would ſet myſelf to ſleep, my mind went over all to the beginning, in that which is from everlaſting to everlaſting; I ſaw death was to paſs over this ſleepy, heavy ſtate, and I told people they muſt come to witneſs death to that ſleepy, heavy nature, and a croſs to it in the power of God, that their minds and hearts might be on things above.

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On a certain time, as I was walking in the fields, the Lord ſaid unto me, "Thy name is written in the Lamb's book of life, which was be-"fore the foundation of the world:" and as the Lord ſpoke it, I believed, and ſaw it in the new birth. Some time after, the Lord commanded me to go abroad into the world, which was like a briary, thorny wilderneſs. When I came in the Lord's mighty power with the word of life into the world, the world ſwelled and made a noiſe like the great raging waves of the ſea. Prieſts and profeſſors, magiſtrates and people, were all like a ſea, when I came to proclaim the day of the Lord amongſt them, and to preach repentance to them. 1648.

I was ſent to turn people from darkneſs to the light, that they might receive Chriſt Jeſus; for to as many as ſhould receive him in his light, I ſaw he would give power to become the ſons of God; which I had obtained by receiving Chriſt. I was to direct people to the Spirit, that gave forth the ſcriptures, by which they might be led into all truth, and up to Chriſt and God, as thoſe had been who gave them forth. I was to turn them to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart, which came by Jeſus; that by this grace they might be taught, which would bring them ſalvation, that their hearts might be eſtabliſhed by it, their words might be ſeaſoned, and all might come to know their ſalvation nigh. I ſaw Chriſt died for all men, was a propitiation for all, and enlightened all men and women with his divine and ſaving light; and that none could be true believers, but thoſe who believed therein. I ſaw that the grace of God, which brings ſalvation, had appeared to all men, and that the manifeſtation of the Spirit of God was given to every man, to profit withal. Theſe things I did not ſee by the help of man, nor by the letter, though they are written in the letter; but I ſaw them in the light of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by his immediate Spirit and power, as did the holy men of God by whom the holy ſcriptures were written. Yet I had no ſlight eſteem of the holy ſcriptures, they were very precious to me; for I was in that Spirit by which they were given forth; and what the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found was agreeable to them. I could ſpeak much of theſe things, and many volumes might be written; but all would prove too ſhort to ſet forth the infinite love, wiſdom, and power of God, in preparing, fitting, and furniſhing me for the ſervice he had appointed me to; letting me ſee the depth of Satan on the one hand, and opening to me, on the other hand, the divine myſteries of his own everlaſting kingdom.

When the Lord God and his Son Jeſus Chriſt ſent me forth into the world to preach his everlaſting goſpel and kingdom, I was glad that I was commanded to turn people to that inward light, ſpirit, and grace, by which all might know their ſalvation and their way to God; even that Divine Spirit which would lead them into all truth, and which I infallibly knew would never deceive any.

But with and by this divine power and ſpirit of God, and the light of Jeſus, I was to bring people off from all their own ways, to Chriſt the new and living way; from their churches, which men had made and gathered, to the church in God, the general aſſembly written in heaven, which Chriſt is the head of; and off from the world's teachers made by men, to learn of Chriſt, who is the way, the truth, and the life, of whom the Father ſaid, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him;"

1648. and off from all the world's worſhips, to know the Spirit of truth in the inward parts, and to be led thereby, that in it they might worſhip the Father of ſpirits, who ſeeks ſuch to worſhip him; which Spirit they that worſhiped not in, knew not what they worſhiped. I was to bring people off from all the world's religions, which are in vain; that they might know the pure religion, might viſit the fatherleſs, the widows, and the ſtrangers, and keep themſelves from the ſpots of the world: then there would not be ſo many beggars; the ſight of whom often grieved my heart, as it denoted ſo much hard-heartedneſs amongſt thoſe that profeſſed the name of Chriſt. I was to bring them off from all the world's fellowſhips, prayings, and ſingings, which ſtood in forms without power; that their fellowſhip might be in the Holy Ghoſt, the eternal Spirit of God; that they might pray in the Holy Ghoſt, ſing in the Spirit, and with the grace that comes by Jeſus; making melody in their hearts to the Lord, who hath ſent his beloved Son to be their Saviour, cauſed his heavenly ſun to ſhine upon all the world, and through them all; and his heavenly rain to fall upon the juſt and the unjuſt (as his outward rain doth fall, and his outward ſun doth ſhine on all) which is God's unſpeakable love to the world. I was to bring people off from Jewiſh ceremonies, from heatheniſh fables, from mens inventions and windy doctrines, by which they blowed the people about, this way and the other way, from ſect to ſect; and from all their beggarly rudiments, with their ſchools and colleges, for making miniſters of Chriſt, who are indeed miniſters of their own making, but not of Chriſt's; and from all their images, croſſes, and ſprinkling of infants, with their holy-days (ſo called) and all their vain traditions, which they had got up ſince the apoſtles days, which the Lord's power was againſt. In the dread and authority thereof was I moved to declare againſt them all, and againſt all that preached and not freely, as ſuch who had not received freely from Chriſt.

Moreover, when the Lord ſent me into the world, he forbad me "to put off my hat" to any, high or low; and I was required to thee and thou all men and women, without any reſpect to rich or poor, great or ſmall. And as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people Good morrow, or Good evening, neither might I bow or ſcrape with my leg to any one; this made the ſects and profeſſions rage. But the Lord's power carried me over all to his glory, and many came to be turned to God in a little time; for the heavenly day of the Lord ſprung from on high, and broke forth apace; by the light of which many came to ſee where they were.

Oh! the rage that was in the prieſts, magiſtrates, profeſſors, and people of all ſorts; but eſpecially in prieſts and profeſſors: for tho' thou to a ſingle perſon was according to their accidence and grammar rules, and according to the bible, yet they could not bear to hear it; and becauſe I could not put off my hat to them, it ſet them all into a rage. But the Lord ſhewed me that it was an honour below, which he would lay in the duſt and ſtain; an honour which proud fleſh looked for, but ſought not the honour which comes from God only. That it was an honour invented by men in the fall and in the alienation from God, who were offended if it was not given them; yet would be looked upon as ſaints, church-members, and great Chriſtians: but Chriſt ſaith, "How can ye believe, who re-

"ceive

" ceive honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour that cometh 1648.
" from God only? And I (ſaith Chriſt) receive not honour of
" men." Shewing that men have an honour which they will receive and give, but Chriſt will have none of it. This is the honour which Chriſt will not receive, and which muſt be laid in the duſt. Oh! the ſcorn, heat, and fury that aroſe! Oh! the blows, punchings, beatings, and impriſonments that we underwent for not putting off our hats to men! For that ſoon tried all mens patience and ſobriety, what it was. Some had their hats violently pluck'd off and thrown away, ſo that they quite loſt them. The bad language and evil uſage we received on this account is hard to be expreſſed, beſides the danger we were ſometimes in of loſing our lives for this matter, and that by the great profeſſors of chriſtianity, who thereby diſcovered they were not true believers. And though it was but a ſmall thing in the eye of man, yet a wonderful confuſion it brought among all profeſſors and prieſts; but, bleſſed be the Lord, many came to ſee the vanity of that cuſtom of putting off the hat to men, and felt the weight of Truth's teſtimony againſt it.

About this time I was ſorely exerciſed in going to their courts to cry for juſtice, in ſpeaking and writing to judges and juſtices to do juſtly; in warning ſuch as kept publick houſes for entertainment, that they ſhould not let people have more drink than would do them good; in teſtifying againſt wakes, feaſts, may-games, ſports, plays, and ſhews, which trained up people to vanity and looſeneſs, and led them from the fear of God; and the days ſet forth for holidays were uſually the times wherein they moſt diſhonoured God by theſe things. In fairs alſo, and in markets, I was made to declare againſt their deceitful merchandize, cheating, and cozening; warning all to deal juſtly, to ſpeak the truth, to let their yea be yea, and their nay be nay, and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them; forewarning them of the great and terrible day of the Lord, which would come upon them all. I was moved alſo to cry againſt all ſorts of muſick, and againſt the mountebanks playing tricks on their ſtages; for they burthened the pure life, and ſtirred up people's minds to vanity. I was much exerciſed too with ſchool-maſters and ſchool-miſtreſſes, warning them to teach children ſobriety in the fear of the Lord, that they might not be nurſed and trained up in lightneſs, vanity, and wantonneſs. I was made to warn maſters and miſtreſſes, fathers, and mothers in private families, to take care that their children and ſervants might be trained up in the fear of the Lord, and that themſelves ſhould be therein examples and patterns of ſobriety and virtue to them. For I ſaw that as the Jews were to teach their children the law of God, the old covenant, and to train them up in it, and their ſervants, yea the very ſtrangers were to keep the ſabbath among them, and be circumciſed, before they might eat of their ſacrifices; ſo all that made a profeſſion of chriſtianity ought to train up their children and ſervants in the new covenant of light, Chriſt Jeſus, who is God's ſalvation to the ends of the earth, that all may know their ſalvation. And they ought to train them up in the law of life, the law of the Spirit, the law of love and of faith, that they might be made free from the law of ſin and death. And all chriſtians ought to be circumciſed by the Spirit, which puts off the

body

1648. body of the ſins of the fleſh, that they may come to eat of the heavenly ſacrifice, Chriſt Jeſus, that true ſpiritual food, which none can rightly feed upon but they that are circumciſed by the Spirit. Likewiſe I was exerciſed about the ſtar-gazers, who drew peoples minds from Chriſt, the bright and the morning-ſtar, and from the Sun of righteouſneſs, by whom the ſun, moon, and ſtars, and all things elſe were made, who is the wiſdom of God, from whom the right knowledge of all things is received.

But the black earthly ſpirit of the prieſt wounded my life: and when I heard the bell toll to call people together to the ſteeple-houſe, it ſtruck at my life; for it was like a market-bell to gather people together, that the prieſt might ſet forth his ware to ſale. Oh! the vaſt ſums of money that are got by the trade they make of ſelling the ſcriptures, and by their preaching, from the higheſt biſhop to the loweſt prieſt! What one trade elſe in the world is comparable to it? notwithſtanding the ſcriptures were given forth freely, Chriſt commanded his miniſters to preach freely, and the prophets and apoſtles denounced judgment againſt all covetous hirelings and diviners for money. But in this free Spirit of the Lord Jeſus was I ſent forth to declare the word of life and reconciliation freely, that all might come to Chriſt, who gives freely, and renews up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell, that they might ſit down in the heavenly places in Chriſt Jeſus.

Nottingham. As I went towards Nottingham on a firſt day in the morning, with friends to a meeting there, when I came on the top of a hill in ſight of the town, I eſpied the great ſteeple-houſe; and the Lord ſaid unto me, "Thou muſt go cry againſt yonder great idol, and "againſt the worſhippers therein." I ſaid nothing of this to the friends, but went with them to the meeting, where the mighty power of the Lord God was amongſt us; in which I left friends ſitting in the meeting, and went to the ſteeple-houſe. When I came there all the people looked like fallow ground, and the prieſt, like a great lump of earth, ſtood in his pulpit above: he took for his text theſe words of Peter, "We have alſo a more ſure word of prophecy, "whereunto ye do well, that ye take heed, as unto a light that "ſhineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar "ariſe in your hearts." He told the people this was the ſcriptures, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. Now the Lord's power was ſo mighty upon me, and ſo ſtrong in me, that I could not hold; but was made to cry out, "Oh! no; it is "not the ſcriptures;" and told them it was the holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the ſcriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all truth, and ſo gave the knowledge of all truth. The Jews had the ſcriptures, yet reſiſted the Holy Ghoſt, and rejected Chriſt, the bright morning-ſtar. They perſecuted him and his apoſtles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the ſcriptures, but erred in judgment, and did not try them right; becauſe they tried without the Holy Ghoſt. As I ſpoke thus amongſt them, the officers came, took me away, and put me into a naſty ſtinking priſon; the ſmell whereof got ſo into my noſe and throat, that it very much annoyed me.

But that day the Lord's power ſounded ſo in their ears, that they were amazed at the voice, and could not get it out of their ears for ſome time after; they were ſo reached by the Lord's power in the ſteeple-houſe. At night they took me before they mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs of the town. When I was brought before them, the mayor was in a peeviſh fretful temper, but the Lord's power allay'd him. They examined me at large; and I told them how the Lord had moved me to come. After ſome diſcourſe between them and me, they ſent me back to priſon; but ſome time after the head ſheriff, whoſe name was John Reckleſs, ſent for me to his houſe. When I came in, his wife met me in the hall, and ſaid, "Salvation is come to our houſe." She took me by the hand, and was much wrought upon by the power of the Lord; and her huſband, children, and ſervants were much changed, for the power of the Lord wrought upon them. I lodged at the ſheriff's, and great meetings we had in his houſe. Some perſons of conſiderable condition in the world came to them, and the Lord's power appeared eminently amongſt them. This ſheriff ſent for the other ſheriff, and a woman they had had dealings with in the way of trade; and he told her before the other ſheriff, that they had wronged her in their dealings with her (for the other ſheriff and he were partners) and that they ought to make her reſtitution. This he ſpoke chearfully; but the other ſheriff denied it, and the woman ſaid ſhe knew nothing of it. But the friendly ſheriff ſaid it was ſo, the other knew it well enough; and having diſcovered the matter, and acknowledged the wrong done by them, he made reſtitution to the woman, and exhorted the other ſheriff to do the like. The Lord's power was with this friendly ſheriff, wrought a mighty change in him, and great openings he had. The next market-day, as he was walking with me in the chamber, he ſaid, "I muſt go into the "market, and preach repentance to the people." Accordingly he went in his ſlippers into the market, and into ſeveral ſtreets, and preached repentance to the people. Several others alſo in the town were moved to ſpeak to the mayor and magiſtrates, and to the people, exhorting them to repent. Hereupon the magiſtrates grew very angry, ſent for me from the ſheriff's houſe, and committed me to the common priſon. When the aſſize came on, one perſon was moved to come and offer up himſelf for me, body for body, yea, life alſo: but when I ſhould have been brought before the judge, the ſheriff's man being ſomewhat long in bringing me to the ſeſſions-houſe, the judge was riſen before I came. At which I underſtood the judge was offended, and ſaid, "He would have admoniſhed the "youth, if he had been brought before him:" for I was then impriſoned by the name of a youth. So I was returned to priſon again, and put into the common gaol. The Lord's power was great among friends; but the people began to be very rude: wherefore the governor of the caſtle ſent ſoldiers, and diſperſed them; after that they were quiet. Both prieſts and people were aſtoniſhed at the wonderful power that broke forth; ſeveral of the prieſts were made tender, and ſome did confeſs to the power of the Lord. 1649.

1649. After I was ſet at liberty from Nottingham gaol, where I had been kept priſoner a pretty long time, I travelled as before, in the work of the Lord. Coming to Mansfield Woodhouſe, there was a diſtracted woman under a doctor's hand, with her hair looſe about her ears. He was about to let her blood, ſhe being firſt bound, and many people about her, holding her by violence; but he could get no blood from her. I deſired them to unbind her and let her alone, for they could not touch the ſpirit in her by which ſhe was tormented. So they did unbind her; and I was moved to ſpeak to her, and in the name of the Lord to bid her be quiet and ſtill; and ſhe was ſo. The Lord's power ſettled her mind, and ſhe mended. Afterwards ſhe received the truth, and continued in it to her death; and the Lord's name was honoured; to whom the glory of all his works belongs. Many great and wonderful things were wrought by the heavenly power in thoſe days: for the Lord made bare his omnipotent arm, and manifeſted his power to the aſtoniſhment of many; by the healing virtue whereof many have been delivered from great infirmities, and the devils were made ſubject through his name; of which particular inſtances might be given, beyond what this unbelieving age is able to receive or bear. Bleſſed for ever be the name of the Lord, and everlaſtingly honoured, and over all exalted and magnified be the arm of his glorious power, by which he hath wrought glorioufly: let the honour and praiſe of all his works be aſcribed to him alone.

Mansfield Woodhouſe.

While I was at Mansfield Woodhouſe, I was moved to go to the ſteeple-houſe, and declare the truth to the prieſt and people. But the people fell upon me in great rage, ſtruck me down, and almoſt ſtifled me. I was cruelly beaten and bruiſed by them with their hands, bibles, and ſticks. Then they haled me out, though I was hardly able to ſtand, and put me into the ſtocks, where I ſat ſome hours; and they brought dog-whips and horſe-whips, threatening to whip me. After ſome time they had me before the magiſtrate, at a knight's houſe, where were many great perſons; who, ſeeing how evilly I had been uſed, after much threatening ſet me at liberty: but the rude people ſtoned me out of the town, for preaching the Word of life to them. I was ſcarce able to go, or well to ſtand, by reaſon of the ill uſage I had received; yet with much ado I got about a mile from the town, and then I met with ſome people that gave me ſomething to comfort me, becauſe I was inwardly bruiſed: but the Lord's power ſoon healed me again. That day ſome people were convinced of the Lord's truth, and turned to his teaching; at which I rejoiced.

Leiceſterſhire.

Then went I out of Nottinghamſhire into Leiceſterſhire, ſeveral friends accompanying me. There were ſome baptiſts in that country, whom I deſired to ſpeak with, becauſe they were ſeparated from the publick worſhip. So Oats, one of their chief teachers, and others of the heads of them, with ſeveral of their company, came to meet us at Barrow, where we diſcourſed with them. One of them ſaid, What was not of faith, was ſin. Whereupon I aſked them, What Faith was? and how it was wrought in man? But they turned off from that, and ſpake of their baptiſm in water. Then I aſked them, Whether their mountain of ſin

Barrow.

was brought down, and laid low in them? and their rough and crooked ways made ſmooth and ſtrait in them? They looked upon the ſcriptures as meaning outward mountains and ways; but I told them, they muſt find them in their own hearts; which they ſeemed to wonder at. We aſked them, Who baptized John the baptiſt? who baptized Peter, John, and the reſt of the apoſtles? and put them to prove by ſcripture, that theſe were baptized in water: but they were ſilent. Then I aſked them, Seeing Judas, who betrayed Chriſt, and was called the ſon of perdition, had hanged himſelf, what ſon of perdition was that which Paul ſpake of, that ſat in the temple of God, exalted above all that is called God? And what temple of God that was in which this ſon of perdition ſat? And whether he, that betrays Chriſt within in himſelf, be not one in nature with that Judas that betrayed Chriſt without? But they could not tell what to make of this, nor what to ſay to it. So after ſome diſcourſe we parted; and ſome of them were loving to us. 1649.

On the firſt day following we came to Bagworth, and went to a ſteeple-houſe, where ſome friends were got in, and the people locked them in, and themſelves too, with the prieſt. But after the prieſt had done, they opened the door, and we went in alſo, and had ſervice for the Lord amongſt them. Afterwards we had a meeting in the town, amongſt ſeveral that were in high notions. Then paſſing from thence, I heard of a people in priſon at Coventry for religion. As I walked towards the gaol, the word of the Lord came to me, ſaying, MY LOVE WAS ALWAYS TO THEE, AND THOU ART IN MY LOVE. And I was raviſhed with the ſenſe of the love of God, and greatly ſtrengthened in my inward man. But when I came into the gaol where thoſe priſoners were, a great power of darkneſs ſtruck at me; and I ſat ſtill, having my ſpirit gathered into the love of God. At laſt theſe priſoners began to rant, vapour, and blaſpheme; at which my ſoul was greatly grieved. They ſaid, they were God; but we could not bear ſuch things. When they were calm, I ſtood up and aſked them, Whether they did ſuch things by motion, or from Scripture? They ſaid, From Scripture. Then, a bible lying by, I aſked them for that ſcripture; and they ſhewed me that place where the ſheet was let down to Peter; and it was ſaid to him, what was ſanctified he ſhould not call common or unclean. When I had ſhewed them That ſcripture made nothing for their purpoſe, they brought another, which ſpake of God's reconciling all things to himſelf, things in heaven and things in earth. I told them, I owned that ſcripture alſo; but ſhewed them it was nothing to their purpoſe neither. Then ſeeing they ſaid, They were God, I aſked them, If they knew whether it would rain to-morrow? They ſaid, They could not tell. I told them, God could tell. I aſked them, If they thought they ſhould be always in that condition, or ſhould change? They anſwered, They could not tell. Then ſaid I, God can tell, and he doth not change. You ſay you are God; and yet you cannot tell whether you ſhall change or no. So they were confounded, and quite brought down for the time. After I had reproved them for their blaſphemous expreſſions, I went away; for I perceived they were Ranters. I had met with none before; and I admired the goodneſs

Bagworth.

Coventry.

1649. goodneſs of the Lord in appearing ſo unto me, before I went amongſt them. Not long after this, one of theſe Ranters, whoſe name was Joſeph Salmon, publiſhed a recantation; upon which they were ſet at liberty.

Atherſtone. From Coventry I went to Atherſtone; and it being their lecture-day, I was moved to go to their chapel to ſpeak to the prieſt and people. They were generally pretty quiet; only ſome few raged, and would have had my relations to have bound me. I declared largely to them, that God was come to teach his people himſelf, and to bring them from all their man-made teachers, to hear his Son; and ſome were convinced there.

Market Boſſoth. Then I went to Market-Boſſoth, and there was a lecture alſo. He that preached was Nathaniel Stevens, the prieſt of the town where I was born. He raged much when I ſpake, and told the people I was mad; though he had ſaid before to Colonel Purſoy, There was never ſuch a plant bred in England: he bid the people not to hear me; who, being ſtirred up by this deceitful prieſt, fell upon us, and ſtoned us out of the town; yet they did not do us much hurt. Howbeit ſome people were made loving that day; and others were confirmed, ſeeing the rage of both prieſts and profeſſors; and ſome cried out, that the prieſt durſt not ſtand to prove his miniſtry.

Leiceſterſhire. As I travelled through markets, fairs, and divers places, I ſaw death and darkneſs in all people, where the power of the Lord had not ſhaken them. As I was paſſing on in Leiceſterſhire, I came to Twy-Croſs, where there were exciſemen. I was moved of the Lord to go and warn them to take heed of oppreſſing the poor; and people were much affected with it. There was in that town a great man that had long lain ſick, and was given over by the phyſicians. Some friends in the town deſired me to viſit him. I went up to him in his chamber, and ſpake the word of life to him, and was moved to pray by him; and the Lord was entreated, and reſtored him to health. When I was come down the ſtairs into a lower room, and was ſpeaking to the ſervants, and others there, a ſervant man of his came raving out of another room, with a naked rapier in his hand, and ſet it juſt to my ſide. I looked ſtedfaſtly on him, and ſaid, "Alack for thee, poor creature! what wilt thou do with thy carnal "weapon? It is no more to me than a ſtraw." The ſtanders-by were much troubled, and he went away in a rage. But when the news of it came to his maſter, he turned him out of his ſervice. Thus the Lord's power preſerved me, and raiſed up the weak man; who afterwards was very loving to friends. When I came to that town again, both he and his wife came to ſee me.

Derbyſhire. After this I was moved to go into Derbyſhire, where the mighty

Cheſterfield. power of God was among friends. I went to Cheſterfield, where one Britland was prieſt. He ſaw beyond the common ſort of prieſts; for he had been partly convinced, and had ſpoken much on behalf of truth before he was prieſt there: but when the prieſt of that town died, he got the parſonage, and choked himſelf with it. I was moved to ſpeak to him and the people in the great love of God, that they might come off from all men's teaching unto God's teaching; and

and he was not able to gainſay. But they had me before the mayor, and threatened to ſend me, with ſome others, to the houſe of correction; and kept us in cuſtody till it was late in the night. Then the officers, with the watchmen, put us out of the town, leaving us to ſhift as we could. I bent my courſe towards Derby, having a friend or two with me. In our way we met with many profeſſors; and at Kidſey Park many were convinced. 1649. Kidſey Park.

Coming to Derby, I lay at a doctor's houſe, whoſe wife was convinced; and ſeveral more in the town. As I was walking in my chamber, the bell rung; and it ſtruck at my life at the very hearing of it. So I aſked the woman of the houſe, What the bell rung for? She ſaid, There was to be a great lecture there that day, and many officers of the army, prieſts, and preachers were to be there, and a colonel, that was a preacher. Then was I moved of the Lord to go up to them. When they had done, I ſpake to them what the Lord commanded me; and they were pretty quiet. But there came an officer, and took me by the hand, and ſaid, I muſt go before the magiſtrates, and the other two that were with me. It was about the firſt hour afternoon that we came before them. They aſked me, Why we came thither? I ſaid, God moved us ſo to do; and told them, "God dwells not in temples made with hands." I alſo ſaid, All their preaching, baptiſm, and ſacrifices would never ſanctify them; and bid them look unto Chriſt in them, and not unto men; for it is Chriſt that ſanctifies. Then they ran into many words; but I told them, they were not to diſpute of God and Chriſt, but to obey him. The power of God thundered among them, and they did fly like chaff before it. They put me in and out of the room often, hurrying me backward and forward, for they were from the firſt hour till the ninth at night in examining me. Sometimes they would tell me in a deriding manner, that I was taken up in raptures. At laſt they aſked me, Whether I was ſanctified? I anſwered, Yes; for I was in the paradiſe of God. Then they aſked me, If I had no ſin? I anſwered, Chriſt my Saviour has taken away my ſin; and in him there is no ſin. They aſked, How we knew that Chriſt did abide in us? I ſaid, By his Spirit that he hath given us. They temptingly aſked, If any of us were Chriſt? I anſwered, Nay, we were nothing, Chriſt was all. They ſaid, If a Man ſteal, is it no ſin? I anſwered, All unrighteouſneſs is ſin. When they had wearied themſelves in examining me, they committed me and one other man to the houſe of correction in Derby for ſix months, as blaſphemers; as may appear by the mittimus, a copy whereof here followeth: Derby. 1650.

To the maſter of the houſe of correction in Derby, greeting.

WE have ſent you herewithal the bodies of George Fox, late of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham, and John Fretwell, late of Staniesby in the County of Derby, huſbandman, brought before us this preſent day, and charged with the avowed uttering and broaching of divers blaſphemous opinions, contrary to a late act of

1650. Derby priſon. parliament; which, upon their examination before us, they have confeſſed. Theſe are therefore to require you forthwith, upon ſight hereof, to receive them the ſaid George Fox and John Fretwell into your cuſtody, and them therein ſafely to keep during the ſpace of ſix months, without bail or mainprize, or until they ſhall find ſufficient ſecurity to be of the good behaviour, or be thence delivered by order from ourſelves. Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our hands and ſeals this 30th day of October 1650.

Ger. Bennet,
Nath. Barton.

Now did the prieſts beſtir themſelves in their pulpits to preach up ſin for term of life. Much of their work was, to plead for it; ſo that people ſaid, Never was the like heard. After ſome time, the perſon committed with me, not ſtanding faithful in his teſtimony, got in with the gaoler, and by him made way to the juſtice to have leave to go ſee his mother; and ſo got his liberty. It then was reported, that he ſaid I had bewitched and deceived him: but my ſpirit was ſtrengthened when he was gone. The prieſts, profeſſors, juſtices, and the gaoler, were all in a great rage againſt me. The gaoler watched my words and actions, often aſking me queſtions to enſnare me; and ſometimes he would aſk me ſuch ſilly queſtions, as, Whether the door was latched, or not? Thinking to draw ſome ſudden, unadviſed anſwer from me, from whence he might take advantage to charge ſin upon me: but I was kept watchful and chaſte, ſo that they could get no advantage of me; which they admired.

Not long after my commitment, I was moved to write to the prieſts and magiſtrates of Derby. And firſt to the prieſts,

'O Friends, I was ſent to you to tell you, That if you had received the goſpel freely, you would miniſter it freely without money or price: but you make a trade and ſale of what the prophets and apoſtles have ſpoken; and ſo you corrupt the truth. You are the men that lead ſilly women captive, who are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth: you have a form of godlineſs, but you deny the power. As Jannes and Jambres withſtood Moſes, ſo do you reſiſt the truth; being men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But you ſhall proceed no further; for your folly ſhall be made manifeſt to all men, as theirs was. Moreover the Lord ſent me to tell you, that he doth look for fruits. You aſked me, If the ſcripture was my rule? It is not your rule, to rule your lives by, but to talk of in words. You are the men that live in pleaſures, pride, and wantonneſs, in fulneſs of bread, and abundance of idleneſs: ſee if this be not the ſin of Sodom. Lot received the angels; but Sodom was envious. You ſhew forth the vain nature; you ſtand in the ſteps of them that crucified MY SAVIOUR, and mocked him. You are their children; you ſhew forth their fruit. They had the chief place in the aſſemblies; and ſo have you: they loved to be called Rabbi; and ſo do you.'

G. F.

I writ to the magiſtrates who committed me, to this effect: 1650.

'Friends,

'I AM forced, in tender love to your ſouls, to write unto you, and 'to beſeech you to conſider what you do, and what the commands 'of God call for. He doth require juſtice and mercy, to break 'every yoke, and to let the oppreſſed go free. But who calleth for 'juſtice? or loveth mercy? or contendeth for the truth? Is not 'judgment turned backward? Doth not juſtice ſtand afar off? Is not 'truth ſilenced in the ſtreets? or can equity enter? Do not they that 'depart from evil make themſelves a prey? Oh! conſider what ye 'do, in time, and take heed whom ye impriſon; for the magiſtrate 'is ſet for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them 'that do well. I intreat you, in time take heed what you do: for 'ſurely the Lord will come, and make manifeſt both the builders 'and the work. If it be of man, it will fail; but if it be of God, 'nothing will overthrow it. Therefore I deſire and pray that you 'would take heed and beware what you do, leſt ye be found fighters 'againſt God.'

G. F.

Having thus far cleared my conſcience to them, I waited in the holy patience, leaving the event to God, in whoſe will I ſtood. After ſome time I was moved to write again to the juſtices that had committed me, to lay their evils before them, that they might repent. One of them, Nathaniel Barton, was a colonel, a juſtice, and a preacher.

'Friends,

'YOU ſpoke of the good old way which the prophet ſpake of; 'but the prophet cried againſt the abominations which you 'hold up. Had you the power of God, ye would not perſecute the 'good way. He that ſpake of the good way, was ſet in the ſtocks. 'The people cried, "Away with him to the ſtocks," for ſpeaking 'the truth. Ah! fooliſh people, who have eyes and ſee not, ears 'and hear not, without underſtanding! "Fear ye not me, ſaith the "Lord, and will ye not tremble at my preſence?" O your pride 'and abominations are odious in the eyes of God! You that are 'preachers, have the chiefeſt place in the aſſemblies, and are called 'of men, Maſter. Such were and are againſt my Saviour and Maker: 'they ſhut up the kingdom of heaven from men; and neither go in 'themſelves, nor ſuffer others. Therefore ye ſhall receive the greater 'damnation, who have their places, and walk in their ſteps. You 'may ſay, If you had been in the days of the prophets, or Chriſt, 'ye would not have perſecuted them. Be ye witneſſes againſt your-'ſelves, that ye are the children of theſe, ſeeing ye now perſecute 'the way of truth. O conſider, there is a true Judge, that will 'give every one of you a reward according to your works. O mind 'where you are, you that hold up the abominations which the true 'prophet cried againſt! O come down, and ſit in the duſt! The

1650. 'Lord is coming with power, and he will throw down every one 'that is lifted up, that he alone may be exalted.'

As I had thus written to them jointly; after ſome time I writ to each by himſelf. To juſtice Bennet in this manner:

'Friend,

'THOU that doſt profeſs God and Chriſt in words, ſee how 'thou followeſt him. To take off burdens, to viſit them that 'are in priſon, to ſhew mercy, cloath thy own fleſh, and deal thy 'bread to the hungry; theſe are God's commandments. To re-'lieve the fatherleſs, to viſit the widows in their affliction, and to 'keep thyſelf unſpotted of the world, this is pure religion before 'God. But if thou profeſs Chriſt, and followeſt covetouſneſs and 'earthly-mindedneſs, thou denieſt him in life, deceiveſt thyſelf and 'others, and takeſt him for a cloak. Wo be to you, greedy men 'and rich men; weep and howl for your miſery that ſhall come! 'Take heed of covetouſneſs and extortion: God doth forbid that. 'Wo be to the man that coveteth an evil covetouſneſs, that he may 'ſet his neſt on high, and cover himſelf with thick clay. Oh! do 'not love that which God forbids. His ſervant thou art whom 'thou doſt obey, whether it be of ſin unto death, or of obedience 'unto righteouſneſs. Think upon Lazarus and Dives; the one 'fared ſumptuouſly every day, the other was a beggar. See if thou 'be not Dives? Be not deceived, God is not mocked with vain 'words. Evil communication corrupteth good manners. Awake 'to righteouſneſs, and ſin not.

G. F.'

That to juſtice Barton was in this manner:

'Friend,

'THOU that preacheſt Chriſt and the ſcriptures in words. 'When any come to follow that which thou haſt ſpoken of, 'and to live the life of the ſcriptures, thoſe that preach the ſcrip-'tures, but do not lead their lives according thereunto, perſecute 'them. Mind the prophets, Jeſus Chriſt, and his apoſtles, and all 'the holy men of God; what they ſpoke was from the life: but they 'that had not the life, but the words, perſecuted and impriſoned 'them that lived in the life which thoſe had backſlidden from.

G. F.'

Having written to the juſtices and the prieſts, it was upon me to write to the mayor of Derby alſo; who, though he did not ſign the mittimus, had a hand with the reſt in ſending me to priſon. To him I wrote after this manner:

'Friend,

1650.

'Friend,

'THOU art ſet in place to do juſtice; but, in impriſoning my 'body, thou haſt done contrary to juſtice, according to your 'own law. O take heed of pleaſing men more than God, for that's 'the way of the ſcribes and phariſees: they ſought the praiſe of 'men more than God. Remember who ſaid, "I was a ſtranger, "and ye took me not in; I was in priſon, and ye viſited me not." 'O friend, thy envy is not againſt me only, but againſt the power of 'truth: I had no envy to you, but love. O take heed of op-'preſſion; "for the day of the Lord is coming, that ſhall burn as "an oven; and all the proud, and all that do wickedly, ſhall be as "ſtubble; and the day that cometh ſhall burn them up, ſaith the "Lord of Hoſts: it ſhall leave them neither root nor branch." O 'friend, if the love of God were in thee, thou wouldſt love the 'truth, hear the truth ſpoken, and not impriſon unjuſtly. The love 'of God beareth and ſuffereth, and envieth no man. If the love of 'God had broken your hearts, you would ſhew mercy; but you 'ſhew what ruleth you. Every tree doth ſhew forth its fruit; you 'ſhew your fruits openly. For drunkenneſs, ſwearing, pride, and 'vanity rule among you, both in teacher and people. O friend, 'mercy, true judgment, and juſtice, are cried for in the ſtreets; 'oppreſſion, unmercifulneſs, cruelty, hatred, pride, pleaſures, wanton-'neſs, and fulneſs are in your ſtreets; but the poor is not regarded. 'Oh! take heed of the woe: "Woe be to the crown of pride! "Woe be to them that drink wine in bowls, and the poor is ready "to periſh." Oh! remember Lazarus and Dives! One fared deliciouſly 'every day, the other was a beggar. O friend, mind theſe things, 'for they are near; and ſee whether thou be not in Dives's ſtate.'

I wrote alſo to the Court at Derby thus:

'I AM moved to write unto you, to take heed of oppreſſing the 'poor in your courts, or laying burdens upon poor people which 'they cannot bear; and of impoſing falſe oaths, or making them 'take oaths which they cannot perform. The Lord ſaith, "I will "come near to judgment, and will be a ſwift witneſs againſt "the ſorcerers, againſt the falſe ſwearers, and againſt the idolaters, "and againſt thoſe that oppreſs widows and fatherleſs;" therefore 'take heed of all theſe things betimes. The Lord's judgments are 'all true and righteous, and he delighteth in mercy. So love 'mercy, dear people, and conſider in time.'

Likewiſe to the ringers, who uſed to ring the bells in the ſteeple-houſe called St. Peter's, in Derby, I ſent theſe few lines:

'Friends;

'TAKE heed of pleaſures, and prize your time now while 'you have it; do not ſpend it in pleaſures nor earthlineſs. 'The time may come that you will ſay, You had time, when 'it is paſt. Therefore look at the love of God now while 'you have time; for it bringeth to loath all vanities and

1650. ‘ worldly pleaſures. Oh! conſider, time is precious; fear God ‘ and rejoice in him, who hath made heaven and earth.’

While I was here in priſon, divers profeſſors came to diſcourſe with me. I had a ſenſe before they ſpoke, that they came to plead for ſin and imperfection. I aſked them, Whether they were believers and had faith? They ſaid, Yes. I aſked them, In whom? They ſaid, In Chriſt. I replied, If ye are true believers in Chriſt, you are paſſed from death to life; and if paſſed from death, then from ſin that bringeth death: and if your faith be true, it will give you victory over ſin and the devil, purify your hearts and conſciences (for the true faith is held in a pure conſcience) and bring you to pleaſe God, and give you acceſs to him again. But they could not endure to hear of purity, and of victory over ſin and the devil. They ſaid, “ They could not believe any could be free from ſin on this “ ſide the grave.” I bid them give over babbling about the ſcriptures, which were holy mens words, whilſt they pleaded for unholineſs. At another time a company of profeſſors came, who alſo began to plead for ſin. I aſked them, Whether they had hope? They ſaid, Yes: God forbid but we ſhould have hope. I aſked them, What hope is it that you have? Is Chriſt in you the hope of your glory? Doth it purify you, as he is pure? But they could not abide to hear of being made pure here. Then I bid them forbear talking of the ſcriptures, which were the holy mens words; for the holy men that wrote the ſcriptures pleaded for holineſs in heart, life, and converſation here; but ſince you plead for impurity and ſin, which is of the devil, what have you to do with the holy mens words?

The keeper of the priſon, being an high profeſſor, was greatly enraged againſt me, and ſpoke very wickedly of me; but it pleaſed the Lord one day to ſtrike him ſo, that he was in great trouble, and under much terror of mind. And as I was walking in my chamber, I heard a doleful noiſe; and ſtanding ſtill, I heard him ſay to his wife, “ Wife, I have ſeen the day of judgment; and I ſaw GEORGE there, and “ I was afraid of him; becauſe I had done him ſo much wrong, and “ ſpoken ſo much againſt him to the miniſters and profeſſors, and “ to the juſtices, and in taverns and alehouſes.” After this, towards the evening, he came into my chamber, and ſaid to me, “ I “ have been as a lion againſt you; but now I come like a lamb, “ and like the gaoler that came to Paul and Silas trembling.” And he deſired he might lodge with me; I told him, I was in his power, he might do what he would: but he ſaid, “ Nay, he would have “ my leave; and he could deſire to be always with me, but not to “ have me as a priſoner.” He ſaid, “ He had been plagued, and “ his houſe had been plagued for my ſake.” So I ſuffered him to lodge with me. Then he told me all his heart, and ſaid, He believed what I had ſaid of the true faith and hope to be true; and he wondered that the other man, who was put in priſon with me, did not ſtand it; and ſaid, “ That man was not right, but I was an “ honeſt man.” He confeſſed alſo to me, that at thoſe times when I had aſked him to let me go forth to ſpeak the word of the Lord to the

the people, when he refuſed to let me go, and I laid the weight thereof upon him, that he uſed to be under great trouble, amazed, and almoſt diſtracted for ſome time after, and in ſuch a condition that he had little ſtrength left him. When the morning came, he roſe and went to the juſtices, and told them, "That he and his "houſe had been plagued for my ſake." One of the juſtices replied (as he reported to me) that the plagues were upon them too for keeping me. This was juſtice Bennet of Derby, who was the firſt that called us Quakers, becauſe I bid them tremble at the word of the Lord. This was in the year 1650. 1650.

After this the juſtices gave leave, that I ſhould have liberty to walk a mile. I perceived their end, and told the gaoler, If they would ſet down to me how far a mile was, I might take the liberty of walking it ſometimes. For I had a ſenſe that they thought I would go away. And the gaoler confeſſed afterwards they did it with that intent to have me go away, to eaſe them of their plague; but I told him I was not of that ſpirit.

This gaoler had a ſiſter, a ſickly young woman. She came up into my chamber to viſit me; and after ſhe had ſtaid ſome time, and I had ſpoken the words of truth to her, ſhe went down, and told them, "we were an innocent people, and did none any hurt, but "did good to all, even to them that hated us;" and deſired them to be tender towards me.

As by reaſon of my reſtraint I had not the opportunity of travelling about to declare and ſpread truth through the countries, it came upon me to write a paper, and ſend it forth to be ſpread amongſt friends and other tender people, for the opening of their underſtandings in the way of truth, and directing them to the true teacher in themſelves. It was after this manner:

'THE Lord doth ſhew unto man his thoughts, and diſcovereth 'all the ſecret workings in man. A man may be brought to 'ſee his evil thoughts, running mind, and vain imaginations, and 'may ſtrive to keep them down, and to keep his mind in; but can-'not overcome them, nor keep his mind within to the Lord. In 'this ſtate and condition ſubmit to the Spirit of the Lord that ſhews 'them, and that will bring to wait upon the Lord; and he that hath 'diſcovered them will deſtroy them. Therefore ſtand in the faith 'of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt (who is the author of the true faith) and 'mind him; for he will diſcover the root of luſts, evil thoughts, 'and vain imaginations; how they are begotten, conceived, and 'bred; how they are brought forth, and how every evil member 'doth work. He will diſcover every principle from its own nature 'and root.

'So mind the faith of Chriſt, and the anointing which is in you, 'to be taught by it, which will diſcover all workings in you. As 'he teacheth you, ſo obey and forſake; elſe you will not grow in 'the faith, nor in the life of Chriſt, where the love of God is re-'ceived. Love begetteth love, its own nature and image: and when 'mercy and truth meet, what joy there is! Mercy triumphs in 'judgment; and love and mercy bear the judgment of the world in 'patience.

1650. ‘ patience. That which cannot bear the world's judgment is not the
‘ love of God; for love beareth all things, and is above the world's
‘ judgment; for the world's judgment is but fooliſhneſs. Though
‘ it be the world's judgment and practice to caſt all the filthineſs
‘ that is among themſelves upon the ſaints, yet their judgment is
‘ falſe. The chaſte virgins follow Chriſt the lamb, that takes away
‘ the ſins of the world; but they that are of that ſpirit which is not
‘ chaſte, will not follow Chriſt the lamb in his ſteps, but are diſobe-
‘ dient to him in his commands. The fleſhly mind doth mind the
‘ fleſh, talketh fleſhly, and its knowledge is fleſhly, and not ſpiritual;
‘ but ſavours of death, not of the Spirit of life. Some men have the
‘ nature of ſwine wallowing in the mire. Some have the nature of
‘ dogs, to bite both the ſheep and one another. Some have the
‘ nature of lions, to tear, devour, and deſtroy. Some the nature of
‘ wolves, to tear and devour the lambs and ſheep of Chriſt: and ſome
‘ the nature of the ſerpent (that old adverſary) to ſting, envenom, and
‘ poiſon. “ He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear,” and learn
‘ theſe things within himſelf. Some men have the natures of other
‘ beaſts and creatures, minding nothing but earthly and viſible things,
‘ and feeding without the fear of God. Some have the nature of a
‘ horſe, to praunce and vapour in their ſtrength, and to be ſwift in doing
‘ evil. Some have the nature of tall ſturdy oaks, to flouriſh and
‘ ſpread in wiſdom and ſtrength, who are ſtrong in evil, which muſt
‘ periſh and come to the fire. Thus evil is but one in all, but worketh
‘ many ways; and whatſoever a man or woman's nature is addicted to
‘ that is outward, the evil one will ſuit him, and pleaſe his nature and
‘ appetite, to keep his mind in his inventions, and in the creatures from
‘ the Creator. O therefore let not the mind go from God; for if it do,
‘ it will be ſtained, venomed, and corrupted. If the mind go forth
‘ from the Lord, it is hard to bring it in again: therefore take heed of
‘ the enemy, and keep in the faith of Chriſt. Oh! therefore mind that
‘ which is eternal and inviſible, and him who is the Creator and Mover
‘ of all things: for the things that are made, are not made of things
‘ that appear; for the viſible covereth the inviſible ſight in you. But
‘ as the Lord, who is inviſible, doth open you by his inviſible power
‘ and ſpirit, and brings down the carnal mind in you; ſo the inviſible
‘ and immortal things are brought to light in you. O therefore you
‘ that know the light, walk in the light! for there are children of
‘ darkneſs that will talk of the light, and of the truth, yet not walk in
‘ it; but the children of light love the light, and walk in the light.
‘ But the children of darkneſs walk in darkneſs, and hate the light.
‘ In them the earthly luſts and carnal mind choke the ſeed of faith,
‘ which bringeth oppreſſion on the ſeed, and death over themſelves.
‘ O therefore mind the pure Spirit of the everlaſting God, which will
‘ teach you to uſe the creatures in their right place, and which judgeth
‘ the evil. “ To thee, O God, be all glory and honour, who art
“ Lord of all viſibles and inviſibles! To thee be all praiſe, who
“ bringeſt out of the deep to thyſelf; O powerful God, who art worthy
“ of all glory!” For the Lord who created all, and gives life and
‘ ſtrength to all, is over all and merciful to all. “ So thou, who haſt
“ made all, and art over all, to thee be all glory! In thee is my

1650. Derby priſon.

'ſtrength, refreſhment, and life, my joy and my gladneſs, my re-
'joicing and glorying for evermore!' To live and walk in the Spirit
'of God is joy, peace, and life; but the mind going forth into the
'creatures, or into any viſible things from the Lord, this bringeth
'death. When the mind is got into the fleſh, and into death, the ac-
'cuſer gets within, and the law of ſin and death gets into the fleſh.
'Then the life ſuffers under the law of ſin and death, and then there
'is ſtraitneſs and failings. For then the good is ſhut up, and the
'ſelf-righteouſneſs is ſet a-top. Then man doth work in the outward
'law, though he cannot juſtify himſelf by the law, but is condemned
'by the light: for he cannot get out of that ſtate, but by abiding in
'the light, reſting in the mercy of God, and believing in him from
'whom all mercy flows. For there is peace in reſting in the Lord
'Jeſus. This is the narrow way that leads to him, the life; but few
'will abide in it. Keep in the innocency, and be obedient to the faith
'in him. Take heed of conforming to the world, and of reaſoning
'with fleſh and blood, for that bringeth diſobedience; and then ima-
'ginations and queſtionings ariſe, to draw from obedience to the truth
'of Chriſt. But the obedience of faith deſtroyeth imaginations,
'queſtionings, and reaſonings, with all the temptations in the fleſh,
'buffetings, lookings forth, and fetching up things that are paſt. But,
'not keeping in the life and light, not croſſing the corrupt will by the
'power of God, the evil nature grows up in man; then burdens will
'come, and man will be ſtained with that nature. But Eſau's moun-
'tain ſhall be laid waſte, and become a wilderneſs, where the dragons
'lie; but Jacob, the ſecond birth, ſhall be fruitful and ſhall ariſe.
'For Eſau is hated, and muſt not be lord; but Jacob, the ſecond birth,
'which is perfect and plain, ſhall be lord; for he is beloved of God.

G. F.'

I wrote another much about the ſame time, and ſent it amongſt the convinced people.

'THE LORD IS KING over all the earth! therefore, all peo-
'ple, praiſe and glorify your king in true obedience, in upright-
'neſs, and in the beauty of holineſs. Oh! conſider, in true obedi-
'ence the Lord is known, and an underſtanding from him is received.
'Mark and conſider in ſilence, in lowlineſs of mind, and thou wilt
'hear the Lord ſpeak unto thee in thy mind. His voice is ſweet and
'pleaſant; his ſheep hear his voice, and will not hearken to another.
'When they hear his voice, they rejoice and are obedient; they alſo
'ſing for joy. Oh! their hearts are filled with everlaſting triumph!
'they ſing and praiſe the eternal God in Zion. Their joy man ſhall
'never take from them. Glory to the Lord God for evermore!'

But many, who had been convinced of the truth, turned aſide, be-cauſe of the perſecution that aroſe: whereupon I writ a few lines for the comfort and encouragement of the faithful.

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'COME, ye bleſſed of the Lord, rejoice together, keep in unity and oneneſs of ſpirit. Triumph above the world! be joyful in the Lord; reigning above the world, and above all things that draw from the Lord; that in clearneſs, righteouſneſs, pureneſs, and joy, you may be preſerved to the Lord. O hear! O hearken to the call of the Lord! Come out of the world, and keep out of it for evermore! Come, ſing together, ye righteous ones, the ſong of the Lord, the ſong of the Lamb; which none can learn, but they who are redeemed from the earth, and from the world.'

While I was in the houſe of correction, my relations came to ſee me; and being troubled for my impriſonment, they went to the juſtices that caſt me into priſon, and deſired to have me home with them; offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others of Derby in fifty pounds apiece with them, that I ſhould come no more thither to declare againſt the prieſts. So I was had up before the juſtices; and becauſe I would not conſent that they or any ſhould be bound for me (for I was innocent from any ill behaviour, and had ſpoken the word of life and truth unto them) juſtice Bennet roſe up in a rage; and as I was kneeling down to pray to the Lord to forgive him, he ran upon me, and ſtruck me with both his hands, crying, "Away with him, gaoler: take him away, gaoler." Whereupon I was had again to priſon, and there kept, till the time of my commitment for ſix months was expired. But I had now the liberty of walking a mile by myſelf; which I made uſe of as I felt freedom. Sometimes I went into the market and ſtreets, and warned the people to repent of their wickedneſs; and returned to priſon again. And there being perſons of ſeveral ſorts of religion in the priſon, I ſometimes viſited them in their meetings on firſt days.

After I had been before the juſtices, and they had required ſureties for my good behaviour (which I could not conſent ſhould be given, to blemiſh my innocency) it came upon me to write to the juſtices again, which I did in the following manner:

'Friends,

'SEE what it is in you that doth impriſon. See, who is head in you. See, if ſomething do not accuſe you. Conſider, you muſt be brought to judgment. Think upon Lazarus and Dives; the one fared ſumptuouſly every day, the other a beggar. Now you have time, prize it while you have it. Would you have me bound to my good behaviour? I am bound to my good behaviour, and cry for good behaviour of all people, to turn from the vanities, pleaſures, oppreſſion, and deceits of this world. There will come a time, that you ſhall know it. Therefore take heed of pleaſures, deceits, and pride; and look not at man, but at the Lord: for, "Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye ſaved, ſaith the "Lord."

Some little time after, I wrote to them again:

'Friends,

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Friends,

'WOULD you have me bound to my good behaviour from drunkenneſs, or ſwearing, or fighting, or adultery, and the like? The Lord hath redeemed me from all theſe things; and the love of God hath brought me to loath all wantonneſs, bleſſed be his name. Drunkards, fighters, and ſwearers, have their liberty without bonds; and you lay your law upon me, whom neither you nor any other can juſtly accuſe of theſe things; praiſed be the Lord! I can look at no man for my liberty, but at the Lord alone, who hath all mens hearts in his hand.'

After ſome time, not finding my ſpirit clear of them, I wrote to them again:

'Friends,

'HAD you known who ſent me to you, ye would have received me; for the Lord ſent me to you, to warn you of the woes that are coming upon you; and to bid you look at the Lord, and not at man. But when I had told you my experience, what the Lord had done for me, then your hearts were hardened, and you ſent me to priſon, where you have kept me many weeks. If the love of God had broke your hearts, then would ye ſee what ye have done: ye would not have impriſoned me, had not my Father ſuffered you; and by his power I ſhall be looſed: for he openeth and ſhutteth; to him be all glory! In what have I miſbehaved myſelf, that any ſhould be bound for me? All men's words will do me no good, nor their bonds neither, to keep my heart, if I have not a guide within, to keep me in the upright life to God. But I believe in the Lord, that through his ſtrength and power I ſhall be preſerved from ungodlineſs and worldly luſts. The ſcripture ſaith, "Receive ſtrangers;" but you impriſon ſuch. As you are in authority, take heed of oppreſſion, oaths, injuſtice, and gifts or rewards, for God loaths all ſuch. But love mercy and true judgment, for that the Lord delights in. I do not write with hatred to you, but to keep my conſcience clear: take heed how you ſpend your time.'

I was moved alſo to write again to the prieſts of Derby; which I did after this manner:

'Friends,

'YOU profeſs to be the miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt in words, but you ſhew by your fruits what your miniſtry is. Every tree ſhews its fruit: the miniſtry of Jeſus Chriſt is in mercy and love, to looſe them that are bound, to bring out of bondage, and to let them that are captivated go free. Now, friends, where is your example, if the ſcriptures be your rule, to impriſon for religion? Have you any command for it from Chriſt? If that were in you, which you profeſs, you would walk in their ſteps who ſpake the ſcriptures. But he is not a Jew who is one outward, whoſe praiſe is of Men; but he is a Jew who is one inward, whoſe praiſe is

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'of God. But if you build upon the prophets and apoſtles in words, 'and pervert their life, remember the woes which Jeſus Chriſt ſpake 'againſt ſuch. They that ſpoke the prophets words, but denied 'Chriſt, they profeſſed a Chriſt to come; but had they known him, 'they would not have crucified him. The ſaints, whom the love 'of God did change, were brought thereby to walk in love and 'mercy; for he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God. But where 'envy, pride, and hatred rule, the nature of the world rules, not 'the nature of Jeſus Chriſt. I write with no hatred to you; but 'that you may weigh yourſelves, and ſee how you paſs your time.'

Thus having cleared my conſcience to the prieſts, it was not long before a concern came upon me to write again to the juſtices, which I did as followeth:

'I AM moved to warn you to take heed of giving way to your own 'wills. Love the croſs; ſatisfy not your own minds in the fleſh; 'but prize your time while you have it, and walk up to that you 'know, in obedience to God; then you ſhall not be condemned for 'that you know not, but for that you know, and do not obey. Con-'ſider betimes, weigh yourſelves, ſee where you are, and whom you 'ſerve. For if ye blaſpheme God, and take his name in vain, if ye 'ſwear and lie, if ye give way to envy, hatred, covetouſneſs, and 'greedineſs, pleaſures and wantonneſs, or any other vices, be aſſured 'that ye ſerve the devil; but if ye fear the Lord and ſerve him, ye 'will loath all theſe things. He that loveth God, will not blaſpheme 'his name: but where there is oppoſing of God, and ſerving the 'devil, that profeſſion is ſad and miſerable. O prize your time; do 'not love that which God forbids; lying, wrath, malice, envy, hatred 'greedineſs, covetouſneſs, oppreſſion, gluttony, drunkenneſs, whore-'dom, and all unrighteouſneſs, God doth forbid. So conſider, Evil 'communication corrupts good manners. Be not deceived, God will 'not be mocked with vain words: the wrath of God is revealed 'from heaven againſt all ungodlineſs. Therefore obey that which 'convinceth you of all evil, and telleth you that you ſhould do no 'evil: it will lead to repentance, and keep you in the fear of the 'Lord. O look at the mercies of God, prize them, and do not 'turn them into wantonneſs. O eye the Lord, and not earthly 'things!'

Beſides this, I wrote the following to Colonel Barton, who was both a juſtice and a preacher:

'Friend,

'DO not cloak and cover thyſelf; there is a God who knoweth thy 'heart, and will uncover thee. He ſeeth thy way. "Wo be to him "that covereth, and not with my Spirit, ſaith the Lord." Doſt thou do 'contrary to the law, and then put it from thee. Mercy and true judg-'ment thou neglecteſt; look what was ſpoken againſt ſuch. My Saviour 'ſaid to ſuch, "I was ſick and in priſon, and ye viſited me not; I was "hungry, and ye fed me not; I was a ſtranger, and ye took me not in."

'And

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'And when they ſaid, "When ſaw we thee in priſon, and did not come "to thee," &c. He replied, "Inaſmuch as ye did it not to one of "theſe little ones, ye did it not to me." Friend, thou haſt impriſoned 'me for bearing witneſs to the life and power of truth, and yet pro-'feſſeſt to be a miniſter of Chriſt; but if Chriſt had ſent thee, thou 'wouldſt bring out of priſon, out of bondage, and wouldſt receive 'ſtrangers. Thou haſt been wanton upon earth, thou haſt lived plen-'teouſly, and nouriſhed thy heart as in a day of ſlaughter. Thou 'haſt killed the juſt. O look where thou art, and how thou haſt 'ſpent thy time! O remember thyſelf, and now while thou haſt time, 'prize it. Do not ſlight the free mercy of God, and deſpiſe his long-'ſuffering, which is great ſalvation; but mind that in thee which doth 'convince thee, and would not let thee ſwear, nor lie, nor take God's 'name in vain. Thou knoweſt thou ſhouldſt do none of theſe things; 'thou haſt learned that which will condemn thee; therefore obey the 'light which doth convince thee, forſake thy ſins, look at the mercies 'of God, and prize his love in ſparing thee till now. The Lord ſaith, "Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye ſaved;" and, "Ceaſe from man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils." Friend, prize thy 'time, and ſee whom thou ſerveſt; for his ſervant thou art whom 'thou doſt obey, whether of ſin unto death, or obedience unto righ-'teouſneſs. If thou ſerveſt God and feareſt him, thou wilt not blaſ-'pheme his name, nor curſe, nor ſwear, nor take his name in vain, 'nor follow pleaſures and wantonneſs, whoredom and drunkenneſs, 'or wrath, or malice, or revenge, or raſhneſs, or headineſs, pride or 'gluttony, greedineſs, oppreſſion or covetouſneſs, or fooliſh jeſting, or 'vain ſongs; God doth forbid theſe things, and all unrighteouſneſs. If 'thou profeſſeſt God, and acteſt any of theſe things, thou takeſt him 'for a cloak, and ſerveſt the devil. Conſider with thyſelf, and do not 'love that which God hateth. He that loveth God, keepeth his 'commandments. The devil will tell thee, It is an hard thing to 'keep God's commandments; but it is an eaſy thing to keep the devil's 'commandments, and to live in all unrighteouſneſs and ungodlineſs, 'turning the grace of God into wantonneſs. But let the unrighteous 'man forſake his ways, and turn unto me, ſaith the Lord, and I will 'have mercy; "Turn ye, why will ye die? ſaith the Lord."

'Howl, ye great ones, for the plagues are pouring out upon you! 'Howl, ye oppreſſors, for recompence and vengeance is coming upon 'you! Wo unto them that covetouſly join one houſe to another, and 'bring one field ſo nigh unto another that the poor can get no more 'ground; that ye may dwell upon the earth alone. Theſe things are 'in the ears of the Lord of Hoſts. Wo unto him that covetouſly get-'teth evil-gotten goods into his houſe, that he may ſet his neſt on 'high, to eſcape from the power of evil.'

While I was in the houſe of correction, there came a trooper, and ſaid, As he was ſitting in the ſteeple-houſe, hearing the prieſt, exceeding great trouble fell upon him; and the voice of the Lord came to him, ſaying, "Doſt thou not know that my ſervant is in priſon? Go to "him for direction." So I ſpake to his condition, and his underſtanding was opened. I told him, That which ſhewed him his ſins, and

1650. Derby priſon. troubled him for them, would ſhew him his ſalvation; for he that ſhews a man his ſin, is the ſame that takes it away. While I was ſpeaking to him, the Lord's power opened him, ſo that he began to have a good underſtanding in the Lord's truth, and to be ſenſible of God's mercies. He ſpoke boldly in his quarters amongſt the ſoldiers, and to others, concerning truth (for the ſcriptures were very much opened to him) inſomuch that he ſaid, "His colonel was as blind as Nebuchadnezzar, to "caſt the ſervant of the Lord into priſon." Upon this, his colonel conceived a ſpight againſt him; and at Worceſter fight the year after, when the two armies lay near one another, two came out from the king's army, and challenged any two of the parliament army to fight with them; his colonel made choice of him and another to anſwer the challenge. And when in the encounter his companion was ſlain, he drove both his enemies within muſket-ſhot of the town, without firing a piſtol at them. This, when he returned, he told me with his own mouth. But when the fight was over, he ſaw the deceit and hypocriſy of the officers; and being ſenſible how wonderfully the Lord had preſerved him, and ſeeing alſo to the end of fighting, he laid down his arms.

The time of my commitment to the houſe of correction being very near out, and there being many new ſoldiers raiſed, the commiſſioners would have made me captain over them; and the ſoldiers cried, They would have none but me. So the keeper of the houſe of correction was commanded to bring me before the commiſſioners and ſoldiers in the market-place; where they offered me that preferment, as they called it, aſking me, If I would not take up arms for the commonwealth againſt Charles Stuart? I told them, I knew from whence all wars aroſe, even from the luſts, according to James's doctrine; and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occaſion of all wars. Yet they courted me to accept of their offer, and thought I did but compliment them. But I told them I was come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and ſtrifes were. They ſaid, They offered it in love and kindneſs to me, becauſe of my virtue; and ſuch-like flattering words they uſed. But I told them, If that was their love and kindneſs, I trampled it under my feet. Then their rage got up, and they ſaid, "Take him away, gaoler, and put him into "the priſon amongſt the rogues and felons." So I was put into a louſy ſtinking place, without any bed, amongſt thirty felons, where I was kept almoſt half a year; yet at times they would let me walk to the garden, believing I would not go away. When they had got me into Derby priſon, it was the ſaying of people that I ſhould never come out; but I had faith in God that I ſhould be delivered in his time: for the Lord had given me to believe that I was not to be removed from that place yet, being ſet there for a ſervice which he had for me to do.

After it was bruited abroad that I was in Derby priſon, my relations came to ſee me again; and were much troubled that I ſhould be in priſon; for they looked upon it to be a great ſhame to them for me to lie in gaol. It was a ſtrange thing then to be impriſoned for religion; and ſome thought I was mad, becauſe I ſtood for purity, righteouſneſs, and perfection.

Among

Among others that came to ſee and diſcourſe with me, there was a certain perſon from Nottingham, a ſoldier, who had been a baptiſt, as I underſtood, and with him came ſeveral others. In diſcourſe, this perſon ſaid to me, "Your faith ſtands in a man that died at Jeruſalem, "and there never was any ſuch thing." Being exceedingly grieved to hear him, I ſaid, "How! did not Chriſt ſuffer without the gates of "Jeruſalem, through the profeſſing Jews, chief prieſts, and Pilate?" He denied that ever Chriſt ſuffered there outwardly. Then I aſked him, Whether there were not chief prieſt, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly? When he could not deny that, I told him, As certainly as there was a chief prieſt, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly, ſo certainly was Chriſt perſecuted by them, and did ſuffer there outwardly under them. Yet from this man's words was a ſlander raiſed upon us, That the Quakers ſhould deny Chriſt, that ſuffered and died at Jeruſalem: which was all utterly falſe; the leaſt thought of it never entered our hearts. The ſame perſon alſo ſaid, That never any of the prophets, nor apoſtles, nor holy men of God, ſuffered any thing outwardly, but all their ſufferings were inward. I inſtanced to him many of the prophets and apoſtles, how and by whom they ſuffered. So the power of the Lord was brought over his wicked imaginations and whimſies. 1651. Derby priſon.

There came alſo another company to me, that pretended they were triers of ſpirits: I aſked them, What was the firſt ſtep to peace? And what it was by which a man might ſee his ſalvation? They were preſently up in the airy mind, and ſaid, I was mad. Thus they came to try ſpirits, who did not know themſelves nor their own ſpirits.

In this time of my impriſonment I was exceedingly exerciſed about the proceedings of the judges and magiſtrates in their courts of judicature, and was moved to write to the judges concerning their putting men to death for ſmall matters; and to ſhew them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time; for I was under great ſuffering in my ſpirit becauſe of it, and under the very ſenſe of death; but, ſtanding in the will of God, an heavenly breathing aroſe in my ſoul to the Lord. Then did I ſee the heavens opened, and I rejoiced, and gave glory to God. So I wrote to the judges in manner following:

'I AM moved to write unto you, to take heed of putting men to 'death for ſtealing cattle, or money, &c. for thieves in old time 'were to make reſtitution; and if they had not wherewith, they were 'to be ſold for their theft. Mind the laws of God in the ſcriptures, 'and the Spirit that gave them forth; let them be your rule in exe-'cuting judgment; and ſhew mercy, that you may receive mercy from 'God, the judge of all. Take heed of gifts and rewards, and of 'pride; for God doth forbid them, and they blind the eyes of the 'wiſe. I do not write to give liberty to ſin, God hath forbidden it; 'but that you ſhould judge according to his laws, and ſhew mercy; 'for he delighteth in true judgment, and in mercy. I beſeech you, 'mind theſe things, prize your time, now you have it; fear God, and 'ſerve him; for he is a conſuming fire.'

Beſides this, I wrote another letter to the judges, to this effect:

1651. Derby priſon. To the judges of the bench at Derby.

'I AM moved to write unto you, that ye do true juſtice to every man; ſee that none be oppreſſed nor wronged, nor any oaths impoſed; for the land mourneth becauſe of oaths, adulteries, ſorceries, drunkenneſs, and prophaneneſs. O conſider, ye that are in authority: be moderate, and in lowlineſs conſider theſe things. Shew mercy to the fatherleſs, to the widows, and to the poor. Take heed of rewards or gifts, for they blind the eyes of the wiſe; the Lord doth loath all ſuch. Love mercy and true judgment, juſtice and righteouſneſs; for the Lord delighteth in ſuch. Conſider theſe things in time, and take heed how ye ſpend your time. Now ye have time, prize it; and ſhew mercy, that ye may receive mercy from the Lord: for he is coming to try all things, and will plead with all fleſh as by fire.'

Moreover, I laid before the judges what an hurtful thing it was that priſoners ſhould lie ſo long in gaol; ſhewing how they learned wickedneſs one of another, in talking of their bad deeds; therefore ſpeedy juſtice ſhould be done. For I was a tender youth, and dwelt in the fear of God; and, being grieved to hear their bad language, I was often made to reprove them for their wicked words, and evil carriage towards each other. People admired that I was ſo preſerved and kept; for they never could catch a word or action from me, to make any thing of againſt me, all the time I was there; for the Lord's infinite power upheld and preſerved me all that time; to him be praiſes and glory for ever!

While I was here, there was a young woman in the gaol for robbing her maſter. When ſhe was to be tried for her life, I wrote to the judge and jury, ſhewing them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time to put people to death for ſtealing; and moving them to ſhew mercy. Yet ſhe was condemned to die, and a grave was made for her; and at the time appointed ſhe was carried forth to execution. Then I wrote a few words, warning all to beware of greedineſs or covetouſneſs, for it leads from God; and that all ſhould fear the Lord, avoid earthly luſts, and prize their time while they have it: this I gave to be read at the gallows. And though they had her upon the ladder, with a cloth bound over her face, ready to be turned off, yet they did not put her to death, but brought her back to priſon, where ſhe afterwards came to be convinced of God's everlaſting truth.

There was alſo in the gaol, while I was there, a wicked ungodly man who was reputed a conjurer. He threatened he would talk with me, and what he would do; but he never had power to open his mouth to me. And the gaoler and he falling out, he threatened to raiſe the devil, and break his houſe down; ſo that he made the gaoler afraid. I was moved of the Lord to go in his power and rebuke him, and to ſay to him, "Come, let's ſee what thou canſt do; do thy worſt." I told him, "The devil was raiſed high enough in him already; but the "power of God chained him down;" ſo he ſlunk away from me.

The time of Worceſter fight coming on, juſtice Bennet ſent conſtables to preſs me for a ſoldier, ſeeing I would not voluntarily accept of a command. I told them, that I was brought off from outward wars.

They

They came again to give me preſs-money; but I would take none. Then I was brought up to ſerjeant Holes, kept there a while, and taken down again. Afterwards the conſtables brought me a ſecond time before the commiſſioners, who ſaid I ſhould go for a ſoldier; but I told them I was dead to it. They ſaid I was alive. I told them, where envy and hatred is, there is confuſion. They offered me money twice, but I refuſed it. Being diſappointed, they were angry, and committed me cloſe priſoner, without bail or mainprize. Whereupon I wrote to them again, directing my letter to colonel Barton, a preacher, and the reſt that were concerned in my commitment. I wrote thus: 1651. Derby priſon.

'YOU who are without Chriſt, and yet uſe the words which he and his ſaints have ſpoken, conſider neither he nor his apoſtles did ever impriſon any; but our Saviour is merciful even to the unmerciful and rebellious. He brings out of priſon and bondage; but men, while the carnal mind rules, oppreſs and impriſon. My Saviour ſaith, "Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that deſpitefully uſe and perſecute you." For the love of God doth not perſecute any, but loveth all where it dwelleth. "He that hateth his brother is a murderer." You profeſs to be Chriſtians, and one of you a miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt; yet you have impriſoned me, who am a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt. The apoſtles never impriſoned any, but were impriſoned themſelves. Take heed of ſpeaking of Chriſt in words, and denying him in life and power. O friends, the impriſoning my body is to ſatisfy your wills; but take heed of giving way to your wills, for that will hurt you. If the love of God had broken your hearts, you would not have impriſoned me; but my love is to you, as to all my fellow-creatures: and that you may weigh yourſelves, and ſee how you ſtand, is this written.'

About this time I was moved to give forth the following lines, to go amongſt the convinced and tender people to manifeſt the deceits of the world, and how the prieſts have deceived the people.

To all that love the Lord Jeſus Chriſt with a pure and naked heart, and the generation of the righteous.

'CHRIST was ever hated; and the righteous for his ſake. Mind who they were that did ever hate them. He that was born after the fleſh perſecuted him that was born after the Spirit; ſo it is now. Mind who were the chiefeſt againſt Chriſt; even the great learned men, the heads of the people, rulers, and teachers, that profeſſed the law and the prophets, and looked for Chriſt. They looked for an outwardly-glorious Chriſt, to hold up their outward glory: but Chriſt ſpoke againſt the works of the world, and againſt the prieſts, ſcribes, and phariſees, and their hypocritical profeſſion. He that is a ſtranger to Chriſt, is an hireling; but the ſervants of Chriſt are free men. Falſe teachers always laid burdens upon the people; and the true ſervants of the Lord declared againſt

1651. Derby priſon.

'them. Jeremiah ſpoke againſt hirelings, and ſaid, It was an horrible thing; and, What will ye do in the end? For the people and 'prieſts were given to covetouſneſs. Paul ſpoke againſt ſuch as made 'gain upon the people, and exhorted the ſaints to turn away from 'ſuch as were covetous and proud, ſuch as loved pleaſures more than 'God, ſuch as had a form of godlineſs, but denied the power 'thereof. "For of this ſort," ſaid he, "are they, that creep into "houſes, and lead captive ſilly women, who are ever learning but "never able to come to the knowledge of the truth; men of cor-"rupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith, and as Jannes and "Jambres withſtood Moſes, ſo do theſe reſiſt the truth; but they "ſhall proceed no farther, for their folly ſhall be made manifeſt unto "all men." Moſes forſook honours and pleaſures, which he might 'have enjoyed. The apoſtle in his time ſaw this corruption entering, 'which now is ſpread over the world, of having a form of godlineſs 'but denying the power. Aſk any of your teachers, whether you 'may ever overcome your corruptions or ſins? None of them be-'lieve that; but "as long as man is here, he muſt (ſay they) carry "about with him the body of ſin." Thus pride is kept up, and 'that honour and maſterſhip which Chriſt denied, and all un-'righteouſneſs. Yet multitudes of teachers! heaps of teachers! 'the golden cup full of abominations! Paul did not preach for 'wages, but laboured with his hands, that he might be an example 'to all that follow him. O people, ſee who follow Paul! The pro-'phet Jeremiah ſaid, "The prophets propheſy falſly, and the prieſts "bear rule by their means;" but now the prieſts bear rule by the 'means they get from the people: take away their means, and they 'will bear rule over you no longer. They are ſuch as the apoſtle 'ſaid, "Intruded into thoſe things which they never ſaw, being "vainly puffed up with a fleſhly mind;" and, as the ſcriptures de-'clare of ſome of old, "They go in the way of Cain, who was a "murderer, and in the way of Balaam, who coveted the wages of "unrighteouſneſs." The prophet Micah alſo cried againſt the 'judges that judged for reward, and the prieſts that taught for hire, 'and the prophets that propheſied for money; yet leaned on the 'Lord, ſaying, "Is not the Lord amongſt us?" Gifts blind the 'eyes of the wiſe. The gift of God was never purchaſed with 'money. All the holy ſervants of God did ever cry againſt deceit; 'and where the Lord hath manifeſted his love, they loath it, and 'that nature which holdeth it up.'

Again a concern came upon me to write to the magiſtrates of Derby.

'Friends,

'I DESIRE you to conſider in time whom ye impriſon; for the ma-'giſtrate is ſet for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the 'praiſe of them that do well. But when the Lord ſends his meſ-'ſengers to warn you of the woes that will come upon you except you 'repent, you perſecute them, put them in priſon, and ſay, "We

"have

1651. Derby prison.

" have a law, and by our law we may do it." For you indeed juſtify ' yourſelves before men, but God knoweth your hearts. He will ' not be worſhipped with your forms, profeſſions, and ſhews of reli- ' gion. Therefore conſider, ye that talk of God, how ye are ſub- ' ject to him; for thoſe are his children that do his will. What ' doth the Lord require of you, but to do juſtice, to love and ſhew ' mercy, to walk humbly with him, and to help the widows and ' fatherleſs to their right? But inſtead thereof ye oppreſs the poor. ' Do not your judges judge for rewards, and your prieſts teach for ' hire? The time is coming, that he who ſeeth all things will diſ- ' cover all your ſecrets, Know this aſſuredly, The Lord will deliver ' his ſervants out of your hands, and he will recompenſe all your ' unjuſt dealings towards his people. I deſire you to conſider of ' theſe things; ſearch the ſcriptures, and ſee, whether any of the ' people of God did ever impriſon any for religion. They were ' themſelves impriſoned. I deſire you to conſider, that it is written, " When the church is met together ye may all propheſy one by one, " that all may hear, learn, and be comforted;" and then, " If any " thing be revealed to him that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace." ' Thus it was in the true church, and thus it ought now to be; but ' it is not ſo in your aſſemblies. He that teaches for hire may ſpeak, ' and none may contradict him. Again, conſider the liberty given ' to the apoſtles, even among the unbelieving Jews, when after the ' reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the ſynagogue ' ſaid unto them, " Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of " exhortation for the people, ſay on." I deſire you to conſider in ' ſtilneſs, and ſtrive not againſt the Lord; for he is ſtronger than ' you. Though ye hold his people faſt for a time, yet when he ' cometh, he will make known who are his; for his coming is like ' the refiner's fire, and like fuller's ſoap. Then the ſtone that is ſet ' at nought by you builders ſhall be the head-ſtone of the corner. ' O friends, lay theſe things to heart. Let them not ſeem light ' things to you. I wrote to you in love, to mind the laws of God, ' and your own ſouls, and to do as the holy men of God did.'

Great was the exerciſe and travail in ſpirit that I underwent during my impriſonment here, becauſe of the wickedneſs that was in this town; for though ſome were convinced, yet the generality were a hardened people. I ſaw the viſitation of God's love paſs away from them. I mourned over them; and it came upon me to give forth the following lines, as a lamentation for them:

' AS the waters run away when the flood-gates are up, ſo doth the ' viſitation of God's love paſs away from thee, O Derby! ' Therefore look where thou art, and how thou art grounded; and ' conſider, before thou art utterly forſaken. The Lord moved me ' twice before I came to cry againſt the deceits and vanities that are ' in thee, and to warn all to look at the Lord, and not at man. The ' woe is againſt the crown of pride, againſt drunkenneſs and vain ' pleaſures, and againſt them that make a profeſſion of religion in ' words, yet are high and lofty in mind, and live in oppreſſion and

1651. Derby priſon.

'envy. O Derby! thy profeſſion and preaching ſtinks before the 'Lord. You profeſs a ſabbath in words, and meet together, 'dreſſing yourſelves in fine apparel, and you uphold pride. Thy 'women go with ſtretched-forth necks and wanton eyes, &c. which 'the true prophets of old cried againſt. Your aſſemblies are odious, 'an abomination to the Lord: pride is ſet up and bowed down to, 'covetouſneſs abounds, and he that doth wickedly is honoured. So 'deceit bears with deceit, yet they profeſs Chriſt in words. Oh! 'the deceit that is within thee! It even breaks my heart to ſee how 'God is diſhonoured in thee, O Derby!'

After I had ſeen the viſitation of God's love paſs away from this place, I knew that my impriſonment here would not continue long; but I ſaw that when the Lord ſhould bring me forth, it would be as the letting of a lion out of a den amongſt the wild beaſts of the foreſt. For all profeſſions ſtood in a beaſtly ſpirit and nature, pleading for ſin, and for the body of ſin and imperfection, as long as they lived. They raged, and ran againſt the life and ſpirit which gave forth the ſcriptures, yet profeſſed them in words, as will appear hereafter.

There was a great judgment upon the town, and the magiſtrates were uneaſy about me; but could not agree what to do with me. One while they would have ſent me up to the parliament; another while they would have baniſhed me to Ireland. At firſt they called me a deceiver, a ſeducer, and a blaſphemer. Afterwards, when God had brought his plagues upon them, they ſtiled me an honeſt virtuous man. But their good report and bad report were nothing to me; for the one did not lift me up, nor the other caſt me down: praiſed be the Lord! At length they were made to turn me out of gaol, about the beginning of winter in the year 1651, after I had been a priſoner in Derby almoſt a year; ſix months in the houſe of correction, and the reſt of the time in the common gaol.

Leiceſterſhire.

Being at liberty I went on, as before, in the work of the Lord, paſſing through the country into Leiceſterſhire, having meetings as I went; and the Lord's Spirit and power accompanied me. Afterwards I went near Burton upon Trent, where ſome were convinced; and to Buſhel-Houſe, where I had a meeting. I went into the country, where there were friendly people; yet an outrageous wicked profeſſor had an intent to have done me a miſchief, but the Lord prevented him: bleſſed be the Lord!

Burton upon Trent. Buſhel-Houſe.

Lichfield.

As I was walking with ſeveral friends, I lifted up my head, and ſaw three ſteeple-houſe ſpires, and they ſtruck at my life. I aſked them what place that was? They ſaid, Lichfield. Immediately the word of the Lord came to me, that I muſt go thither. Being come to the houſe we were going to, I wiſh'd friends to walk into the houſe, ſaying nothing to them whither I was to go. As ſoon as they were gone I ſtept away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch till I came within a mile of Lichfield; where, in a great field, ſhepherds were keeping their ſheep. Then was I commanded by the Lord to pull off my ſhoes. I ſtood ſtill, for it was winter; and the word of the Lord was like a fire in me. So I put off my ſhoes,

and left them with the ſhepherds; and the poor ſhepherds trembled, and were aſtoniſhed. Then I walked on about a mile, and as ſoon as I was got within the city, the word of the Lord came to me again, ſaying; Cry, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" So I went up and down the ſtreets, crying with a loud voice, WOE TO THE BLOODY CITY OF LICHFIELD! It being market-day, I went into the market-place, and to and fro in the ſeveral parts of it, and made ſtands, crying as before, WOE TO THE BLOODY CITY OF LICHFIELD! And no one laid hands on me. As I went thus crying through the ſtreets, there ſeemed to me to be a channel of blood running down the ſtreets, and the market-place appeared like a pool of blood. When I had declared what was upon me, and felt myſelf clear, I went out of the town in peace; and returning to the ſhepherds gave them ſome money, and took my ſhoes of them again. But the fire of the Lord was ſo in my feet, and all over me, that I did not matter to put on my ſhoes again, and was at a ſtand whether I ſhould or no, till I felt freedom from the Lord ſo to do: then, after I had waſhed my feet, I put on my ſhoes again. After this a deep conſideration came upon me, for what reaſon I ſhould be ſent to cry againſt that city, and call it THE BLOODY CITY! For though the parliament had the minſter one while, and the king another, and much blood had been ſhed in the town during the wars between them, yet that was no more than had befallen many other places. But afterwards I came to underſtand, that in the emperor Diocleſian's time a thouſand chriſtians were martyr'd in Lichfield. So I was to go, without my ſhoes, through the channel of their blood, and into the pool of their blood in the market-place, that I might raiſe up the memorial of the blood of thoſe martyrs, which had been ſhed above a thouſand years before, and lay cold in their ſtreets. So the ſenſe of this blood was upon me, and I obeyed the word of the Lord. Ancient records teſtify how many of the chriſtian Britons ſuffered there. Much I could write of the ſenſe I had of the blood of the martyrs, that hath been ſhed in this nation for the name of Chriſt, both under the ten perſecutions and ſince; but I leave it to the Lord, and to his book, out of which all ſhall be judged; for his book is a moſt certain record, and his Spirit a true recorder.

1651. Lichfield.

Then I paſſed through the countries, having meetings amongſt friendly people in many places; but my relations were offended at me. After ſome time I returned into Nottinghamſhire, to Mansfield, and into Derbyſhire, viſiting friends. Then paſſing into Yorkſhire, I preached repentance through Doncaſter, and ſeveral other places; and came to Balby, where Richard Farnſworth and others were convinced. So travelling through ſeveral places, preaching repentance, and the word of life to the people, I came into the parts about Wakefield, where James Nayler lived; who, with Thomas Goodyear, came to me, and were both convinced, and received the truth. William Dewſbury alſo and his wife, with many more, came to me, who were convinced, and received the truth. From thence I paſſed towards captain Purſloe's by Selby, and viſited John Leek, who had been to ſee me in Derby priſon, and was convinced. I had a horſe, but was fain to leave him, not knowing what to do with him; for I was moved

Nottinghamſhire. Mansfield. Derbyſhire. Yorkſhire. Doncaſter. Balby. Wakefield. Selby.

1651. to go to many great houſes, to admoniſh and exhort the people to turn to the Lord. I was moved of the Lord to go to Beverly ſteeple-houſe, which was a place of high profeſſion. Being very wet with rain, I went firſt to an inn. As ſoon as I came to the door, a young woman of the houſe ſaid, "What! is it you? Come in," as if ſhe had known me before; for the Lord's power bowed their hearts. So I refreſhed myſelf, and went to bed. In the morning, my cloaths being ſtill wet, I got ready, and having paid for what I had, went up to the ſteeple-houſe, where was a man preaching. When he had done, I was moved to ſpeak to him and to the people in the mighty power of God, and turned them to their teacher, Chriſt Jeſus. The power of the Lord was ſo ſtrong, that it ſtruck a mighty dread amongſt the people. The mayor came, and ſpoke a few words to me; but none had power to meddle with me. So I paſſed out of the town, and in the afternoon went to another ſteeple-houſe about two miles off. When the prieſt had done I was moved to ſpeak to him, and to the people very largely, ſhewing them the way of life and truth, and the ground of election and reprobation. The prieſt ſaid, he was but a child, and could not diſpute with me. I told him, I did not come to diſpute, but to hold forth the word of life and truth unto them, that they might all know the one ſeed which the promiſe of God was to, both in the male and in the female. Here the people were very loving, and would have had me come again on a week-day, and preach among them: but I directed them to their teacher, Chriſt Jeſus; and the next day went to Crantſick, to captain Purſloe's, who accompanied me to juſtice Hotham's. Juſtice Hotham was a pretty tender man, and had ſome experience of God's workings in his heart. After ſome diſcourſe with him of the things of God, he took me into his cloſet; where ſitting together, he told me he had known that principle theſe ten years, and was glad that the Lord did now ſend his ſervants to publiſh it abroad to the people. After a while a prieſt came to viſit him, with whom I had ſome diſcourſe concerning truth. His mouth was quickly ſtopt; for he was nothing but a notioniſt, and not in poſſeſſion of what he talked of.

Beverly.

Crantſick.

While I was there, a great woman of Beverly came to juſtice Hotham about ſome buſineſs. In diſcourſe ſhe told him, "The laſt "ſabbath-day, as ſhe called it, there was an angel or ſpirit came into "the church at Beverly, and ſpoke the wonderful things of God, to "the aſtoniſhment of all that were there; and when it had done, it "paſſed away, and they did not know whence it came nor whither it "went; but it aſtoniſhed all, prieſt, profeſſors, and magiſtrates." This relation juſtice Hotham gave me afterwards; and then I gave him an account that I had been that day at Beverly ſteeple-houſe, and had declared truth to the prieſt and people there.

In the country thereabouts were ſome noted prieſts and doctors that juſtice Hotham had acquaintance with. He would fain have them ſpeak with me, and offered to ſend for them, under pretence of ſome buſineſs he had with them; but I wiſh'd him not to do ſo.

When firſt day was come, juſtice Hotham walked out with me into the fields; and captain Purſloe coming after us, juſtice Hotham left us,

and

and returned home; but captain Purſloe went with me into the ſteeple-houſe. When the prieſt had done, I ſpoke to both prieſt and people; declared to them the word of life and truth, and directed them where they might find their teacher, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Some were convinced, received the truth, and ſtand faſt in it, and have a fine meeting to this day. 1651. Crantſick.

In the afternoon I went to another ſteeple-houſe, about three miles off, where preached a great high prieſt, called a doctor, one of them whom juſtice Hotham would have ſent for to have ſpoken with me. I went into the ſteeple-houſe, and ſtaid till the prieſt had done. The words which he took for his text were theſe: "Ho, every one that thirſteth, come ye to the waters; and he that "hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and "milk without money and without price." Then was I moved of the Lord God to ſay to him, "Come down, thou deceiver; doſt "thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, "and yet thou takeſt three hundred pounds a year of them for "preaching the ſcriptures to them? Mayſt thou not bluſh for ſhame? "Did the prophet Iſaiah and Chriſt do ſo, who ſpake the words, and "gave them forth freely? Did not Chriſt ſay to his miniſters, whom "he ſent to preach, Freely ye have received, freely give?" The prieſt, like a man amazed, haſted away. After he had left his flock, I had as much time as I could deſire to ſpeak to the people. I directed them from darkneſs to the light, and to the grace of God that would teach them, and bring them ſalvation; to the Spirit of God in their inward parts, which would be a free teacher unto them.

Having cleared myſelf amongſt that people, I returned to juſtice Hotham's that night; who, when I came in, took me in his arms, and ſaid, His houſe was my houſe, for he was exceeding glad at the work of the Lord, and that his power was revealed. Then he told me why he went not with me to the ſteeple-houſe in the morning, and what reaſonings he had in himſelf about it: for he thought, if he had gone with me to the ſteeple-houſe, the officers would have put me to him; and then he ſhould not have known what to have done: but he was glad, he ſaid, when captain Purſloe came up to go with me; yet neither of them was dreſſed, nor had their bands about their necks. It was a ſtrange thing then to ſee a man come into a ſteeple-houſe without a band; yet captain Purſloe went in with me without his band, the Lord's power and truth had ſo affected him that he minded it not.

From hence I paſſed on, and came at night to an inn where was a company of rude people. I bid the woman of the houſe, if ſhe had any meat, to bring me ſome; but becauſe I ſaid Thee and Thou to her, ſhe looked ſtrangely on me. I aſked her if ſhe had any milk? She ſaid, No. I was ſenſible ſhe ſpake falſely; and, being willing to try her further, I aſked her, If ſhe had any cream? She denied that ſhe had any. There ſtood a churn in the room, and a little boy playing about, put his hands into it, and pulled it down, and threw all the cream on the floor before my eyes. Thus was the woman manifeſted to be a liar. She was amazed, bleſſed herſelf, took up the child, and whipped it ſorely: but I reproved her for her lying

1651. Crantſick. and deceit. After the Lord had thus diſcovered her deceit and perverſeneſs, I walked out of the houſe, and went away till I came to a ſtack of hay, and lay in the hay-ſtack that night, in rain and ſnow; it being but three days before the time called Chriſtmas.

York. The next day I came into York, where were ſeveral very tender people. Upon the firſt day following, I was commanded of the Lord to go and ſpeak to prieſt Bowles and his hearers in their great cathedral. Accordingly I went. When the prieſt had done, I told them I had ſomething from the Lord God to ſpeak to the prieſt and people. "Then ſay on quickly," ſaid a profeſſor, for it was froſt and ſnow, and very cold weather. Then I told them, This was the word of the Lord God unto them, that they lived in words, but God Almighty looked for fruits amongſt them. As ſoon as the words were out of my mouth, they hurried me out, and threw me down the ſteps. But I got up again without hurt, and went to my lodging, and ſeveral were convinced there. For what aroſe from the weight and oppreſſion that was upon the Spirit of God in me, would open people, ſtrike them, and make them confeſs that the groans which brake forth through me did reach them: for my life was burthened with their profeſſion without poſſeſſion, and words without fruit.

After I had done my preſent ſervice in York, and ſeveral were convinced there, received the truth of God, and were turned to his teaching; I looked towards Cleaveland, and ſaw there was a people that had taſted of the power of God. I ſaw there was a ſeed in that country, and that God had an humble people there. Paſſing onwards that night, a papiſt overtook me, and talked to me of his religion, and of their meetings; and I let him ſpeak all that was in his mind. That night I ſtaid at an alehouſe. Next morning I was moved to ſpeak the word of the Lord to this papiſt. So I went to his houſe, and declared againſt all their ſuperſtitious ways; and told him, that God was come to teach his people himſelf. This put him into ſuch a rage, that he could not endure to ſtay in his own houſe.

Burraby. Next day I came to Burraby, where a prieſt and ſeveral friendly people were met together. Many of the people were convinced, and have continued faithful ever ſince. There is a great meeting of friends in that town. The prieſt alſo was forced to confeſs to truth, though he came not into it.

Cleaveland. The day following I went to Cleaveland, amongſt thoſe people that had taſted of the power of God. They had formerly had great meetings, but were then ſhattered to pieces, and the heads of them turned Ranters. I told them, That after they had ſuch meetings, they did not wait upon God to feel his power to gather their minds inward, that they might feel his preſence and power amongſt them in their meetings, to ſit down therein, and wait upon him: for they had ſpoken themſelves dry; they had ſpent their portions, and not living in that which they ſpake of, they were now become dry. They had ſome kind of meetings ſtill; but they took tobacco, and drank ale in their meetings, and were grown light and looſe. But my meſſage unto them from the Lord was, That they ſhould all come together again, and wait to feel the Lord's power and Spirit in them-

themſelves; to gather them to Chriſt, that they might be taught of him, who ſays, "Learn of me." For when they had declared that which the Lord had opened to them, then the people were to receive it; and both the ſpeakers and the hearers were to live in that themſelves. But when theſe had no more to declare, but went to ſeek forms without life, that made themſelves dry and barren, and the people alſo; and from thence came all their loſs: for the Lord renews his mercies and his ſtrength to them that wait upon him. The heads of them came to nothing: but moſt of the people were convinced, and received God's everlaſting truth, and continue a meeting to this day, ſitting under the teaching of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt their Saviour. 1651. Cleaven

Upon the firſt day of the next week, the word of the Lord came to me to go to the ſteeple-houſe; which I did. When the prieſt had done, I ſpake the truth to him and the people, and directed them to their teacher within, Chriſt Jeſus, their free teacher, who had bought them. The prieſt came to me, and I had a little diſcourſe with him: but he was ſoon ſtopped, and ſilent. Then, being clear of the place, I paſſed away, having had ſeveral meetings amongſt thoſe people.

Though the ſnow was very deep, I kept travelling; and came to a market-town, where I met with many profeſſors, with whom I had much reaſoning. I aſked them many queſtions, which they were not able to anſwer; ſaying, They never had ſuch deep queſtions put to them in their lives.

From them I went to Stath, where I met with many profeſſors, and ſome Ranters. I had large meetings amongſt them, and a great convincement there was. Many received the truth: amongſt whom, one was a man of an hundred years of age; another was a chief conſtable; a third was a prieſt, whoſe name was Philip Scafe. Him the Lord, by his free Spirit, did afterwards make a free miniſter of his free goſpel. Stath.

The prieſt of this town was a lofty one, who much oppreſſed the people for his tythes. If they went a fiſhing many leagues off, he would exact the tythe-money of what they made of their fiſh, though they catched them at a great diſtance, and carried them as far as Yarmouth to ſell. I was moved to go to the ſteeple-houſe there, to declare the truth, and lay open the prieſt. When I had ſpoken to him, and laid his oppreſſing of the people upon him, he fled away. The chief of the pariſh were very light and vain. After I had ſpoken the word of life to them, I turned away from them, becauſe they did not receive it; and left them. But the word of the Lord, which I had declared amongſt them, ſtuck with ſome, ſo that at night ſome of the heads of the pariſh came to me. Moſt of them were convinced and ſatisfied, and confeſſed to the truth. Thus the truth began to ſpread in that country, and great meetings we had; at which the prieſt began to rage, and the Ranters to be ſtirred; who ſent me word, they would have a diſpute with me; both the oppreſſing prieſt and the leader of the Ranters. A day was fixed, and the Ranter came with his company. Another prieſt, a Scotchman, came; but not the oppreſſing prieſt of Stath. Philip Scafe was with

1651. Stath. me; and a great number of people met. When we were ſettled, T. Buſhel, the Ranter, told me, He had had a viſion of me, that I was ſitting in a great chair, and that he was to come and put off his hat, and bow down to the ground before me; which he did. I told him, It was his own figure; and ſaid, "Repent, thou beaſt." He ſaid it was jealouſy in me to ſay ſo. I aſked him the ground of jealouſy, and how it came to be bred in man? And the nature of a beaſt, what made it, and how it was bred in man? For I ſaw him directly in that nature of the beaſt; and therefore I queried how that nature came to be bred in him? I told him, He ſhould give me an account of things done in the body, before we came to diſcourſe of things done out of the body. So I ſtopped his mouth, and his fellow Ranters were ſilenced: for he was the head of them. Then I called for the oppreſſing prieſt; but only the Scotch prieſt came, whoſe mouth was ſoon ſtopped with a very few words, he being out of the life of what he profeſſed. Then I had good opportunity with the people. I laid open the Ranters, ranking them with the old Ranters in Sodom. The prieſts I manifeſted to be of the ſame ſtamp with their fellow hirelings, the falſe prophets of old, and the prieſts that then bore rule over the people by their means, ſeeking their gain from their quarter, divining for money, and teaching for filthy lucre. I brought all the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles, over the heads of the prieſts, ſhewing how the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles, had long ſince diſcovered them by their marks and fruits. I directed the people to the inward teacher, Chriſt Jeſus their Saviour; and preached up Chriſt in the hearts of his people, when all theſe mountains were laid low. The people were all quiet, and the gainſayers mouths were ſtopped; for though they broiled inwardly, the divine power ſo bound them down, that they could not break out.

After the meeting, this Scottiſh prieſt deſired me to walk with him a-top of the cliffs. Whereupon I called a brother-in-law of his, who was in ſome meaſure convinced, and deſired him to go with me, telling him, I was willing to have ſomebody by to hear what we ſaid; leſt the prieſt, when I was gone, ſhould report any thing of me which I did not ſay. We went together, the prieſt aſking me many things concerning the light, and concerning the ſoul; all which I anſwered him fully. When he had done queſtioning, we parted; and he went his way; and meeting with Philip Scafe, he brake his cane againſt the ground in madneſs, and ſaid, If ever he met with me again, he would have my life, or I ſhould have his; adding, that he would give his head, if I was not knocked down within a month. By this, friends ſuſpected his intent was, in deſiring me to walk with him alone, either to have thruſt me down from the cliff, or to have done me ſome other miſchief; and being fruſtrated, it made him rage. But I neither regarded his prophecies, nor his threats; for I feared God Almighty. After ſome years, this very Scotch prieſt and his wife came to be convinced of the truth; and about twelve years after I was at their houſe.

Another prieſt came to a meeting where I was; one in repute above all the prieſts in the country. As I was declaring, that the goſpel was the power of God, and how it brought life and immortality to light

light in men, and was turning people from darkneſs to light; this high-flown prieſt ſaid, The goſpel was mortal. I told him, The true miniſter ſaid, The goſpel was the power of God; and would he make the power of God mortal? Upon that, the other prieſt, Philip Scafe, that was convinced, and had felt the immortal power of God in himſelf, took him up and reproved him; ſo a great diſpute aroſe between them: the convinced prieſt holding that the goſpel was immortal, and the other holding it was mortal. But the Lord's power was too hard for this oppoſer, and ſtopped his mouth; and many were convinced, ſeeing the darkneſs of the oppoſing prieſt, and the light that was in the convinced prieſt. 1651. Staith.

Another prieſt ſent to have a diſpute with me, and friends went with me to the houſe where he was; but when he underſtood we were come, he ſlipt out of the houſe, and hid himſelf under an hedge. The people went and found him, but could not get him to come to us. Then I went to a ſteeple-houſe hard by, where the prieſt and people were in a great rage: this prieſt had threatened friends what he would do; but when I came, he fled: for the Lord's power came over him and them. Yea, the Lord's everlaſting power was over the world, and reached to the hearts of people, and made both prieſts and profeſſors tremble. It ſhook the earthly and airy ſpirit, in which they held their profeſſion of religion and worſhip; ſo that it was a dreadful thing to them, when it was told them, "The man in leathern breeches is come." At the hearing thereof the prieſts in many places got out of the way; they were ſo ſtruck with the dread of the eternal power of God; and fear ſurpriſed the hypocrites.

We paſſed to Whitby and Scarborough, where we had ſome ſervice for the Lord: large meetings are ſettled there ſince. From thence I paſſed over the Woulds to Malton, where we had great meetings, as we had alſo at the towns thereabouts. At one town a prieſt ſent me a challenge to diſpute with me; but when I came, he would not come forth. I had a good opportunity with the people, and the Lord's power laid hold upon them. One, who had been a wild drunken man, was ſo reached, that he came to me as lowly as a lamb; though he and his companions had before ſent for drink, to make the people rude, on purpoſe that they might abuſe us. When I found the prieſt would not come forth, I was moved to go to the ſteeple-houſe, and he was confounded; the Lord's power coming over all. Whitby. Scarborough. Woulds. Malton.

On firſt day following, came one of the higheſt independent profeſſors, a woman, who had let in ſuch a prejudice againſt me, that ſhe ſaid, before ſhe came, She could willingly have gone to ſee me hanged. But coming, ſhe was convinced, and remains a friend.

I turned to Malton again, and very great meetings there were; to which ſeveral more would have come, but durſt not for fear of their relations; for it was thought a ſtrange thing then to preach in houſes, and not go to the church, as they called it; I was therefore much deſired to go and ſpeak in the ſteeple-houſes. One of the prieſts wrote to me, and invited me to preach in his ſteeple-houſe, calling me his brother: another prieſt, a noted man, kept a lecture there. Malton.

The

1651. Malton. The Lord ſhewed me, while I was in Derby priſon, that I ſhould ſpeak in ſteeple-houſes, to gather people from thence; and a concern ſometimes came upon my mind about the pulpits that the prieſts lolled in. For the ſteeple-houſes and pulpits were offenſive to my mind, becauſe both prieſts and people called them the houſe of God, and idolized them; reckoning that God dwelt in the outward houſe. Whereas they ſhould have looked for God and Chriſt to dwell in their hearts, and their bodies to be made the temples of God; for the apoſtle ſaid, "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands:" but by reaſon of the people's idolizing thoſe places, it was counted an heinous thing to declare againſt them. When I came into the ſteeple-houſe, there were not above eleven hearers, and the prieſt was preaching to them. But after it was known in the town that I was there, it was ſoon filled with people. When the prieſt had done, he ſent the other prieſt who had invited me thither, to bring me into the pulpit; but I ſent him word, that I needed not go into the pulpit. He ſent to me again, deſiring me to go up into it; for, he ſaid, it was a better place, and there I might be ſeen of the people. I ſent him word again, I could be ſeen and heard well enough where I was; and that I came not there to hold up ſuch places, nor their maintenance and trade. Upon this they began to be angry, and ſaid, "Theſe falſe prophets were to come in the laſt times." Their ſaying ſo grieved many of the people, and ſome began to murmur at it. Whereupon I deſired all to be quiet; and, ſtepping upon an high ſeat, declared to them the marks of the falſe prophets, ſhewing that they were already come; and ſet the true prophets, Chriſt, and his apoſtles over them; and manifeſted theſe to be out of the ſteps of the true prophets, of Chriſt and his apoſtles. I directed the people to their inward teacher, Chriſt Jeſus, who would turn them from darkneſs to light. And having opened divers ſcriptures to them, I directed them to the Spirit of God in themſelves, by which they might come to him, and by which they might alſo come to know who the falſe prophets were. So having had a large opportunity among them, I departed in peace.

Pickering. After ſome time, I came to Pickering, where in the ſteeple-houſe the juſtices held their ſeſſions, juſtice Robinſon being chairman. I had a meeting in the ſchool-houſe at the ſame time; and abundance of prieſts and profeſſors came to it, aſking queſtions, which were anſwered to their ſatisfaction. It being ſeſſions-time, four chief conſtables and many other people were convinced that day; and word was carried to juſtice Robinſon, that his prieſt was overthrown and convinced; whom he had a love to, more than to all the prieſts beſides. After the meeting, we went to an inn. Juſtice Robinſon's prieſt was very lowly and loving, and would have paid for my dinner; but I would by no means ſuffer it. Then he offered me his ſteeple-houſe to preach in; but I refuſed it, and told him and the people, that I came to bring them off from ſuch things to Chriſt.

The next morning I went with the four chief conſtables, and ſome others, to viſit juſtice Robinſon, who met me at his chamber-door. I told

I told him, I could not honour him with man's honour. He ſaid, he did not look for it. So I went into his chamber, and opened to him the ſtate of the falſe prophets, and of the true prophets; and ſet the true prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles, over the other; and directed his mind to Chriſt his teacher. I opened to him the parables, and how election and reprobation ſtood; as that reprobation ſtood in the firſt birth, and election in the ſecond birth. I ſhewed alſo what the promiſe of God was to, and what the judgment of God was againſt. He confeſſed to it all, and was ſo opened with the truth, that when another juſtice made ſome little oppoſition, he informed him. At our parting, he ſaid, It was very well that I did exerciſe that gift which God had given me. He took the chief conſtables aſide, and would have given them ſome money for me, ſaying, He would not have me be at any charge in their country; but they told him, they themſelves could not get me to take any money; and ſo accepting his kindneſs, I refuſed his money. 1651. Pickering.

From thence I paſſed into the country, and the prieſt that called me brother (in whoſe ſchool-houſe I had the meeting at Pickering) went along with me. When we came into a town to bait, the bells rang. I aſked what they rang for? They ſaid, For me to preach in the ſteeple-houſe. After ſome time I felt drawings that way: and as I walked to the ſteeple-houſe, I ſaw the people gathered together in the yard. The old prieſt would have had me gone into the ſteeple-houſe. I ſaid, It was no matter. But it was ſomething ſtrange to the people, that I would not go into that which they called the houſe of God. I ſtood up in the ſteeple-houſe yard, and declared to the people, That I came not to hold up their idol-temples, nor their prieſts, nor their tythes, nor their augmentations, nor their prieſts-wages, nor their Jewiſh and heatheniſh ceremonies and traditions (for I denied all theſe) and told them, that piece of ground was no more holy than another piece of ground. I ſhewed them, that the apoſtles going into the Jews ſynagogues and temples, which God had commanded, was to bring people off from that temple, and thoſe ſynagogues, and from the offerings, tythes, and covetous prieſts of that time; that ſuch as came to be convinced of the truth, converted to it, and believed in Jeſus Chriſt, whom the apoſtles preached, met together in dwelling-houſes; and that all who preach Chriſt, the Word of life, ought to preach freely, as the apoſtles did, and as he commanded. So I was ſent of the Lord God of heaven and earth to preach freely, and to bring people off from theſe outward temples made with hands, which God dwelleth not in; that they might know their bodies to become the temples of God and of Chriſt; and to draw people off from all their ſuperſtitious ceremonies, Jewiſh and heatheniſh cuſtoms, traditions, and doctrines of men; and from all the world's hireling teachers, that take tythes and great wages, preaching for hire, and divining for money, whom God and Chriſt never ſent, as themſelves confeſs, when they ſay, They never heard God's nor Chriſt's voice. I exhorted the people to come off from all theſe things, directing them to the Spirit and grace of God in themſelves, and to the light of Jeſus in their own hearts; that they might come to know Chriſt, their free teacher, to bring them ſalvation, and to

1651. Pickering. open the ſcriptures to them. Thus the Lord gave me a good opportunity to open things largely unto them. All was quiet, and many were convinced: bleſſed be the Lord.

I paſſed to another town, where was another great meeting, the old prieſt being with me; and there came profeſſors of ſeveral ſorts to it. I ſate on a hay-ſtack, and ſpoke nothing for ſome hours; for I was to famiſh them from words. The profeſſors would ever and anon be ſpeaking to the old prieſt, and aſking him when I would begin, and when I would ſpeak? He bade them wait; and told them, that the people waited upon Chriſt a long while before he ſpoke. At laſt I was moved of the Lord to ſpeak; and they were ſtruck by the Lord's power. The word of life reached to them, and there was a general convincement amongſt them.

From hence I paſſed on, the old prieſt being ſtill with me, and ſeveral others. As we went along, ſome people called to him and ſaid, "Mr. Boyes, we owe you ſome money for tythes, pray come and take "it." But he threw up his hands, and ſaid, "He had enough, he "would have none of it; they might keep it:" and, "he praiſed the "Lord he had enough."

The Moors. At length we came to his ſteeple-houſe in the Moors, and he went before me, and held open the pulpit door; but I told him I would not go into it. This ſteeple-houſe was very much painted. I told him and the people, the painted beaſt had a painted houſe. I opened to them the riſe of thoſe houſes, and their ſuperſtitious ways; ſhewing them, that as the end of the apoſtles going into the temple and ſynagogues, which God had commanded, was not to hold them up, but to bring them to Chriſt the ſubſtance; ſo the end of my coming there was not to hold up theſe temples, prieſts, and tythes, which God had never commanded, but to bring them from all theſe things to Chriſt the ſubſtance. I ſhewed them the true worſhip which Chriſt had ſet up, and diſtinguiſhed Chriſt the true way from all the falſe ways, opening the parables to them, and turning them from darkneſs to the true light, that by it they might ſee themſelves, their ſins, and Chriſt their Saviour; that believing in him they might be ſaved from their ſins.

After this we went to one Birdet's, where I had a great meeting; and this old prieſt accompanied me ſtill, leaving his ſteeple-houſe. He had been looked upon as a famous prieſt, above common-prayer-men, preſbyters, and independents too. Before he was convinced he went ſometimes into their ſteeple-houſes, and preached; for he had been a zealous man in his way: and when they complained of him to juſtice Hotham, he bid them diſtrain his horſe for travelling on the Lord's day, as he called it; but Hotham did that to put them off, for he knew the prieſt uſed no horſe, but travelled on foot.

Crantſick. Now I came towards Crantſick to captain Purſloe's and juſtice Hotham's, who received me kindly, being glad the Lord's power had ſo appeared, that truth was ſpread and ſo many had received it, and that juſtice Robinſon was ſo civil. Juſtice Hotham ſaid, If God had not raiſed up this principle of light and life, which I preached, the nation had been over-run with Ranteriſm, and all the juſtices in the nation could not have ſtopped it with all their laws; becauſe, ſaid he, they would

would have ſaid as we ſaid, and done as we commanded, and yet have kept their own principle ſtill. But this principle of truth overthrows their principle in the root and ground thereof; therefore he was glad the Lord had raiſed up this principle of life and truth. 1651. Crantſick.

From thence I travelled into Holderneſs, and came to a juſtice's houſe, whoſe name was Pearſon, where was a very tender woman, that believed in the truth, and was ſo affected therewith, that ſhe ſaid, "She could have left all and have followed me." Holderneſs.

Thence I went to Oram, to George Hartiſe's; where many of that town were convinced. On the firſt day I was moved to go into the ſteeple-houſe, where the prieſt had got another to help him: and many profeſſors and contenders were got together. But the Lord's power was over all; the prieſts fled away, and a great deal of good ſervice I had for the Lord amongſt the people. Some of thoſe great profeſſors were convinced, and became honeſt faithful friends; being men of account in that place. Oram.

The next day, friends and friendly people having left me, I travelled alone, declaring the day of the Lord amongſt people in the towns where I came, and warning them to repent. I came towards night into a town called Patrington. As I walked along the town, I warned both prieſts and people (for the prieſt was in the ſtreet) to repent and turn to the Lord. It grew dark before I came to the end of the town, and a multitude of people gathered about me, to whom I declared the word of life. Patrington.

When I had cleared myſelf I went to an inn, and deſired them to let me have a lodging; but they would not. I deſired a little meat or milk, and I would pay for it; but they refuſed. So I walked out of the town, and a company of fellows followed, and aſked me, What news? I bid them repent, and fear the Lord. After I was gone a pretty way, I came to another houſe, and deſired the people to let me have a little meat, drink, and lodging for my money; but they denied me. I went to another houſe, and deſired the ſame; but they refuſed me alſo. By this time it was grown ſo dark that I could not ſee the highway; but I diſcerned a ditch, and got a little water and refreſhed myſelf. Then I got over the ditch; and, being weary with travelling, I ſate down amongſt the furz buſhes till it was day. About break of day I got up, and paſſed on the fields. A man came after me with a great pikeſtaff, and went along with me to a town; and he raiſed the town upon me, with the conſtable and chief conſtable, before the ſun was up. I declared God's everlaſting truth amongſt them, warning them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all ſin and wickedneſs; and exhorted them to repent. But they ſeized me, and had me back to Patrington, about three miles, guarding me with watch-bills, pikes, ſtaves, and halberds. When I was come Patrington, all the town was in an uproar, and the prieſt and conſtables were conſulting together; ſo I had another opportunity to declare the word of life amongſt them, and warn them to repent. At laſt a profeſſor, a tender man, called me into his houſe, and there I took a little milk and bread, having not eaten for ſome days before. Then they guarded me about nine miles to a juſtice. When I was come near his houſe,

a man

1651. Patrington.

a man came riding after us, and aſked me, whether I was the man that was apprehended? I aſked him, wherefore he aſked? He ſaid, for no hurt. I told him, I was: ſo he rode away to the juſtice before us. The men that guarded me ſaid, It was well if the juſtice was not drunk before we got to him; for he uſed to get drunk early. When I was brought in before him, becauſe I did not put off my hat, and ſaid Thou to him, he aſked the man that rode thither before me, whether I was not mazed or fond? The man told him, no; it was my principle. I warned him to repent, and come to the light, which Chriſt had enlightened him withal; that by it he might ſee all his evil words and actions, and turn to Chriſt Jeſus whilſt he had time; and that whilſt he had time he ſhould prize it. Ay, ay, ſaid he, the light that is ſpoken of in the third of John. I deſired he would mind it, and obey it. As I admoniſhed him, I laid my hand upon him, and he was brought down by the power of the Lord; and all the watchmen ſtood amazed. Then he took me into a little parlour with the other man, and deſired to ſee what I had in my pockets of letters or intelligence. I plucked out my linen, and ſhewed him I had no letters. He ſaid, he is not a vagrant by his linen: then he ſet me at liberty. I went back to Patrington with the man that had rode before me to the juſtice; for he lived at Patrington. When I came there, he would have had me had a meeting at the croſs; but I ſaid, it was no matter, his houſe would ſerve. He deſired me to go to bed, or lie down upon a bed; which he did, that they might ſay they had ſeen me in or upon a bed, for they had got a report that I would not lie on any bed, becauſe I laid many times without doors. When firſt day was come I went to the ſteeple-houſe, and declared the truth to the prieſt and people; and the people did not moleſt me, for the power of God was come over them. Preſently after I had a great meeting at the man's houſe where I lay, and many were convinced of the Lord's everlaſting truth, who ſtand faithful witneſſes of it to this day; and they were exceedingly grieved that they did not receive me, nor give me lodging, when I was there before.

From hence I travelled through the country to the furtheſt part thereof, warning people in towns and villages to repent, and directing them to Chriſt Jeſus, their teacher.

On firſt day I came to colonel Overton's, and had a great meeting of the prime of the people of that country, where many things were opened out of the ſcriptures, which they had never heard before. Many were convinced, and received the word of life, and were ſettled in the truth of God.

I returned to Patrington again, and viſited thoſe friends that were convinced there; by whom I underſtood, that a taylor and ſome wild blades in that town had occaſioned my being carried before the juſtice. The taylor came to aſk me forgiveneſs, fearing I would complain of him. The conſtables alſo were afraid, leſt I ſhould trouble them. But I forgave them all, and warned them to turn to the Lord, and to amend their lives. That which made them the more afraid was this: when I was in the ſteeple-houſe at Oram not long before, a profeſſor gave me a puſh on the breaſt in the ſteeple-houſe, and bid me get out of the church. Alas! poor man!

man! ſaid I, doſt thou call the ſteeple-houſe the church? The church is the people whom God hath purchaſed with his blood, and not the houſe. It happened that juſtice Hotham came to hear of this man's abuſe, ſent his warrant for him, and bound him over to the ſeſſions; ſo affected was he with the truth, and ſo zealous to keep the peace: and indeed this juſtice had aſked me before, whether any had meddled with me or abuſed me? But I was not to tell him any thing of that kind; but was to forgive all. 1652. Patrington.

From Patrington I went to ſeveral great mens houſes, warning them to repent. Some received me lovingly, and ſome ſlighted me. At night I came to another town, where I deſired lodging and meat, and I would pay for it; but they would not lodge me, except I would go to the conſtable, which was the cuſtom (they ſaid) of all lodgers at inns, if ſtrangers. I told them, I would not go; for that cuſtom was for ſuſpicious perſons, I was an innocent man. After I had warned them to repent, declared to them the day of their viſitation, and directed them to the light of Chriſt and the Spirit of God, that they might come to know ſalvation, I paſſed away; and the people were ſomewhat tendered and troubled afterwards. When it grew dark, I ſpied a hay-ſtack, and went and ſate under it till morning.

The next day I paſſed into Hull, admoniſhing and warning people, as I went, to turn to Chriſt Jeſus, that they might receive ſalvation. That night I got a lodging; but was very ſore with travelling on foot ſo far. Hull.

Afterwards I came to Balby, viſited friends up and down in thoſe parts, and then paſſed into the edge of Nottinghamſhire, viſiting friends there: and ſo into Linconſhire, and viſited friends there. On firſt day I went to a ſteeple-houſe on this ſide of Trent, and in the afternoon to another on the other ſide of Trent, declaring the word of life to the people, and directing them to their teacher, Chriſt Jeſus, who died for them, that they might hear him and receive ſalvation by him. Then I went further into the country, and had ſeveral meetings. To one meeting came a great man, a prieſt, and many profeſſors; but the Lord's power came over them all, and they went their way peaceably. There came a man to that meeting, who had been at one before, and raiſed a falſe accuſation againſt me, and made a noiſe up and down the country, reporting, that I ſaid I was Chriſt; which was utterly falſe. When I came to Gainſborough, where a friend had been declaring truth in the market, the town and market-people were all in an uproar. I went into a friendly man's houſe, and the people ruſhed in after me; ſo that the houſe was filled with profeſſors, diſputers, and rude people. This falſe accuſer came in, and charged me openly before the people, "That I ſaid I was Chriſt, and "he had got witneſſes to prove it." Which put the people into ſuch a rage, that they had much to do to keep their hands off me. I was moved of the Lord to ſtand up upon the table, in the eternal power of God, and tell the people, "That Chriſt was in them, except they "were reprobates; and that it was Chriſt, the eternal power of God, "that ſpoke in me at that time unto them: NOT that I was CHRIST." And the people were greatly ſatisfied, except himſelf, a profeſſor, and Balby. Nottinghamſhire. Lincolnſhire. Trent. Gainſborough.

1652. Gainſborough.

his own falſe witneſſes. I called the accuſer Judas, and was moved to tell him that Judas's end ſhould be his; that was the word of the Lord and of Chriſt through me to him. The Lord's power came over all, and quieted the minds of the people, and they departed in peace. But this Judas ſhortly after hanged himſelf, and a ſtake was driven into his grave. Afterwards the wicked prieſts raiſed a ſcandal upon us, and reported that a Quaker had hanged himſelf in Lincolnſhire, and had a ſtake driven through him. This falſhood they printed to the nation, adding ſin to ſin; which the truth and we were clear of: for he was no more a Quaker than the prieſt that printed it, but one of their own people. Notwithſtanding this wicked ſlander, by which the adverſary deſigned to defame us, and turn people's minds againſt the truth we held forth, many in Lincolnſhire received the goſpel, being convinced of the Lord's everlaſting truth, and ſate down therein under his heavenly teaching.

Yorkſhire. Warnſworth.

I paſſed in the Lord's power into Yorkſhire, came to Warnſworth, and went to the ſteeple-houſe in the forenoon; but they ſhut the door againſt me: yet after a while they let in Thomas Aldam, and then ſhut it again; and the prieſt fell upon him, aſking him queſtions. At laſt they opened the door, and I went in. As ſoon as I was come in the prieſt's ſight he left preaching, though I ſaid nothing to him; and aſked me, "What have you to ſay?" and preſently cried out, "Come, come, I will prove them falſe prophets in Matthew." But he was ſo confounded, he could not find the chapter. Then he fell on me, aſking me many queſtions; and I ſtood ſtill all this while, not ſaying any thing amongſt them. At laſt I ſaid, "Seeing here "are are ſo many queſtions aſked, I may anſwer them." But as ſoon as I began to ſpeak, the people violently ruſhed upon me, thruſt me out of the ſteeple-houſe again, and locked the door againſt me. As ſoon as they had done their ſervice, and were come forth, the people ran upon me, knocked me ſorely with their ſtaves, threw clods and ſtones at me, and abuſed me much: the prieſt alſo, being in a great rage, laid violent hands on me himſelf. I warned them and him of the terrible day of the Lord, and exhorted them to repent and turn to Chriſt. Being filled with the Lord's refreſhing power, I was not ſenſible of much hurt I had received by their blows. In the afternoon I went to another ſteeple-houſe, but the prieſt had done before I got thither: ſo I preached repentance to the people that were left, and directed them to their inward teacher, Jeſus Chriſt.

Balby. Doncaſter.

From hence I went to Balby, and Doncaſter, where I had formerly preached repentance on the market-day; which had made a noiſe and alarm in the country. On firſt day I went to the ſteeple-houſe, and after the prieſt had done, I ſpoke to him and the people what the Lord commanded me; and they were in a great rage, hurried me out, threw me down, and haled me before the magiſtrates. A long examination they made of me, and much work I had with them. They threatened my life, if ever I came there again; and that they would leave me to the mercy of the people. Nevertheleſs I declared truth amongſt them, and directed them to the light of Chriſt in them; teſtifying unto them, "That God was come to "teach his people himſelf, whether they would hear or forbear."

After

After a while they put us out (for ſome friends were with me) among the rude multitude, and they ſtoned us down the ſtreets. An innkeeper, a bailiff, came and took us into his houſe; and they broke his head, ſo that the blood ran down his face, with the ſtones that they threw at us. We ſtaid a while in his houſe, and ſhewed the more ſober people the prieſt's fruits. Then we went away to Balby about a mile off. The rude people laid wait for us, and ſtoned us down the lane; but, bleſſed be the Lord, we did not receive much hurt. 1652. Doncaſter. Balby.

The next firſt-day I went to Tickhill, whither the friends of that ſide gathered together, and a mighty brokenneſs by the power of God there was amongſt the people. I went out of the meeting, being moved of God to go to the ſteeple-houſe. When I came there, I found the prieſt and moſt of the chief of the pariſh together in the chancel. I went up to them, and began to ſpeak; but they immediately fell upon me; the clerk up with his bible, as I was ſpeaking, and "ſtruck me on the face with it, ſo that my face guſhed out with "blood; and I bled exceedingly in the ſteeple-houſe." The people cried, "Let us have him out of the church." When they had got me out, they beat me exceedingly, threw me down, and turned me over a hedge. They afterwards dragged me through a houſe into the ſtreet, ſtoning and beating me as they dragged me along; ſo that I was all over beſmeared with blood and dirt. They got my hat from me, which I never had again. Yet when I was got upon my legs, I declared the word of life, ſhewed them the fruits of their teacher, and how they diſhonoured chriſtianity. After a while I got into the meeting again amongſt friends, and the prieſt and people coming by the houſe, I went with friends into the yard, and there ſpoke to the prieſt and people. The prieſt ſcoffed at us, and called us Quakers. But the Lord's power was ſo over them, and the word of life was declared in ſuch authority and dread to them, that the prieſt fell a trembling himſelf; and one of the people ſaid, "Look "how the prieſt trembles and ſhakes, he is turned a Quaker alſo." When the meeting was over, friends departed; and I went without my hat to Balby about ſeven or eight miles. Friends were much abuſed that day by the prieſt and his people: inſomuch that ſome moderate juſtices hearing of it, two or three of them came and ſate at the town to examine the buſineſs. He that had ſhed my blood was afraid of having his hand cut off, for ſtriking me in the church, as they called it; but I forgave him, and would not appear againſt him. Tickhill. Balby.

In the beginning of this year 1652, great rage got up in prieſts and people, and in ſome of the magiſtrates, in the weſt riding of Yorkſhire, againſt the truth and friends, inſomuch that the prieſt of Warnſworth procured a warrant from the juſtices againſt me and Thomas Aldam, to be executed in any part of the weſt riding of Yorkſhire. At the ſame time I had a viſion of a bear and two great maſtiff dogs; that I ſhould paſs by them, and they ſhould do me no hurt: and it proved ſo. For the conſtable took Thomas Aldam, and carried him to York. I went with Thomas twenty miles towards York, and the conſtable had a warrant for me alſo, and ſaid, Yorkſh. Weſt riding.

"He

1652. West riding. "He ſaw me, but he was loth to trouble ſtrangers;" but Thomas Aldam was his neighbour. So the Lord's power reſtrained him, that he had not power to meddle with me. We went to lieutenant Roper's, where we had a great meeting of many conſiderable men. The truth was powerfully declared amongſt them, the ſcriptures wonderfully opened, the parables and ſayings of Chriſt expounded, the ſtate of the church in the apoſtles days plainly ſet forth, and the apoſtaſy ſince from that ſtate diſcovered. The truth had great dominion that day: ſo that thoſe great men preſent did generally confeſs to it, ſaying, "They believed this principle muſt go over the "whole world." There were at this meeting James Nayler, Thomas Goodyear, and William Dewſbury, who had been convinced the year before, and Richard Farnſworth alſo. The conſtable ſtaid with Thomas Aldam till the meeting was over, and then went towards York priſon; but did not meddle with me.

Wakefield. From hence I went to Wakefield, and the firſt-day after to a ſteeple-houſe, where James Nayler had been a member of an independent church; but, upon his receiving truth, he was excommunicated. When I came in, and the prieſt had done, the people called me to come to the prieſt; which I did: but when I began to declare the word of life to them, and to lay open the deceit of the prieſt, they ruſhed upon me on a ſudden, thruſt me out at the other door, punching and beating me, and cried, "Let us have him to the "ſtocks." But the Lord's power was over them, and ſo reſtrained them, that they were not able to put me in. So I paſſed away to the meeting, where were a great many profeſſors and friendly people gathered, and a great convincement there was; for the people were mightily ſatisfied, that they were directed to the Lord's teaching in themſelves. Here we got lodging; for four of us had lain abroad under a hedge the night before, there being then few friends in that place.

The ſame day Richard Farnſworth went to another great ſteeple-houſe belonging to a high prieſt, and declared the word of truth unto the people; and great ſervice he had amongſt them: for the Lord's dread and power was mightily over all.

The prieſt of that church, which James Nayler had been a member of, whoſe name was Marſhal, raiſed many wicked ſlanders upon me, as, "That I carried bottles about with me, and made people "drink of my bottles, which made them follow me." And, "That I rid upon a great black horſe, and was ſeen in one country "upon my black horſe in one hour, and in the ſame hour in another "country threeſcore miles off;" and, "That I ſhould give a fellow "money to follow me when I was on my black horſe." With theſe helliſh lyes he fed his people, to make them think evil of the truth which I had declared amongſt them. But by theſe lyes he preached many of his hearers away from him; for I travelled on foot, and had no horſe at that time; and that the people generally knew. The Lord ſoon after met with this envious prieſt, and cut him off in his wickedneſs.

High-Town. After this I came to High-Town, where dwelt a woman who had been convinced a little before. We went to her houſe, and had a

meeting. The town's-people gathered together; we declared the truth to them, had ſome ſervice for the Lord amongſt them; and they paſſed away again peaceably. But there was a widow-woman in the town, whoſe name was Green, who, being filled with envy, went to one called a gentleman in the town, who was reported to have killed two men and one woman, and informed him againſt us, though he was no officer. The next morning we drew up ſome queries, to be ſent to the prieſt. When we had done, and were juſt going away, ſome of the friendly people of the town came running, and told us, That this murdering man had ſharpened a pike to ſtab us, and was coming with his ſword by his ſide. Being juſt paſſing away, we miſſed him. But he came to the houſe where we had been; and the people generally concluded, if we had not been gone, he would have murdered ſome of us. That night we lay in a wood, and were very wet, for it rained exceedingly. In the morning I was moved to return to that town, when we had a full relation of this wicked man. 1652. High-town.

From hence we paſſed to an houſe at Bradford, where we met with Richard Farnſworth, from whom we had parted a little before. When we came in, they ſet meat before us; but as I was going to eat, the word of the Lord came to me, ſaying, "Eat not the bread "of ſuch as have an evil eye." Immediately I aroſe from the table, and ate nothing. After I had exhorted the family to turn to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and hearken to his teachings in their own hearts, we departed thence. Bradford.

As we travelled through the country, preaching repentance to the people, we came into a market-town, where a lecture was held that day. I went into the ſteeple-houſe, where many prieſts, profeſſors, and people were. The prieſt that preached, took for his text thoſe words of Jeremiah, Chap. 5. ver. 31. "My people "love to have it ſo:" Leaving out the foregoing words, viz. "The "prophets propheſy falſely, and the prieſts bear rule by their means." I ſhewed the people his deceit; and directed them to Chriſt, the true teacher within; declaring, that God was come to teach his people himſelf, and to bring them off from all the world's teachers and hirelings; that they might come to receive freely from him. Then warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all fleſh, I paſſed from thence without much oppoſition.

At night we came to a country place, where there was no publick houſe near. The people deſired us to ſtay all night; which we did, and had good ſervice for the Lord, declaring his truth amongſt them.

The Lord had ſaid unto me, "If but one man or woman were raiſed "by his power, to ſtand and live in the ſame Spirit that the pro-"phets and apoſtles were in who gave forth the ſcriptures, that man "or woman ſhould ſhake all the country in their profeſſion for ten "miles round." For people had the ſcriptures, but were not in the ſame light, power, and Spirit, which thoſe were in who gave forth the ſcriptures; ſo they neither knew God, Chriſt, nor the ſcriptures aright; nor had they unity one with another, being out of the power and Spirit of God. Therefore we warned all, where-ever we met them, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

1652. Pendle-hill.

As we travelled, we came near a very great high hill, called Pendle-hill, and I was moved of the Lord to go up to the top of it; which I did with much ado, it was ſo very ſteep and high. When I was come to the top, I ſaw the ſea bordering upon Lancaſhire. From the top of this hill the Lord let me ſee in what places he had a great people to be gathered. As I went down, I found a ſpring of water in the ſide of the hill, with which I refreſhed myſelf; having eaten or drunk but little ſeveral days before.

At night we came to an inn, and declared truth to the man of the houſe, and wrote a paper to the prieſts and profeſſors, declaring 'the 'day of the Lord, and that Chriſt was come to teach people him-'ſelf, by his power and Spirit in their hearts, and to bring people off 'from all the world's ways and teachers, to his own free teaching 'who had bought them, and was the Saviour of all them that be-'lieved in him.' The man of the houſe ſpread the paper abroad, and was himſelf mightily affected with the truth. Here the Lord opened unto me, and let me ſee a great people in white raiment by a river-ſide, coming to the Lord. The place that I ſaw them in was about Wentzerdale and Sedbergh.

Wentzerdale.

The next day we travelled on, and at night got a little fern to put under us, and lay upon a common. Next morning we reached a town, where Richard Farnſworth parted from me; and then I travelled alone again. I came up Wentzerdale, and at the market-town in that dale there was a lecture on the market-day. I went into the ſteeple-houſe; and, after the prieſt had done, 'proclaimed the day 'of the Lord to the prieſt and people; warning them to turn from 'the darkneſs to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God, 'that they might come to know God and Chriſt aright, and to re-'ceive his teaching, who teacheth freely.' Largely and freely did I declare the word of life unto them, and had not much perſecution there. Afterwards I paſſed up the dales, warning people to fear God; and preaching the everlaſting goſpel. In my way I came to a great houſe, where was a ſchoolmaſter; and they got me into the houſe. I aſked them queſtions about their religion and worſhip; and afterwards declared the truth to them. They had me into a parlour, and locked me in, pretending I was mad, and had got away from my relations; and they would keep me till they could ſend to them. But I ſoon convinced them of their miſtake; and they let me forth, and would have had me to ſtay, but I was not to ſtay there. Having exhorted them to repentance, and directed them to the light of Chriſt Jeſus, that thro' it they might come unto him, and be ſaved, I paſſed from them, and came in the night to a little alehouſe on a common, where a company of rude fellows were drinking. Becauſe I would not drink with them, they ſtruck me with their clubs. But I reproved them, and brought them to be ſomewhat cooler; and then walked out of the houſe upon the common in the night. After ſome time one of theſe drunken fellows came out, and would have come cloſe up to me, pretending to whiſper me; but perceiving he had a knife, I kept off him, and bid him repent, and fear God. So the Lord by his power preſerved me from this wicked man; and he went into the houſe again. Next morning I went through other dales, warning

Yorkſhire dales.

and

and exhorting people every-where, as I paſſed, to repent and turn to the Lord; and ſeveral were convinced. At one houſe, the man of the houſe, whom I afterwards found to be a kinſman of John Blakelin's, would have given me money, but I would not receive it. 1652. Yorkſhire dales.

As I travelled through the dales, I came to another man's houſe, whoſe name was Tennant. I was moved to ſpeak to the family, and declare God's everlaſting truth to them; and as I was turning away from them, I was moved to turn again, and ſpeak to the man himſelf; who was convinced, with his family, and lived and died in the truth. Thence I came to major Bousfield's, who received me, as did ſeveral others. Some that were then convinced have ſtood faithful ever ſince. I went alſo through Gryſedale, and ſeveral other of thoſe dales; in which ſome were convinced. In Dent many were convinced alſo. From major Bousfield's I came to Richard Robinſon's, and declared the everlaſting truth to him. Gryſedale. Dent.

The next day I went to a meeting at juſtice Benſon's, where met a people that were ſeparated from the publick worſhip. This was the place that I had ſeen, where a people came forth in white raiment. A large meeting it was; the people were generally convinced, and continue a large meeting ſtill of friends near Sedbergh; which was then firſt gathered through my miniſtry in the name of Jeſus. Near Sedbergh.

The ſame week there was a great fair, at which ſervants uſed to be hired. I went and declared the day of the Lord through the fair. After I had done ſo, I went into the ſteeple-houſe yard; and many of the people of the fair came to me, with abundance of prieſts and profeſſors. 'There I declared the everlaſting truth of the Lord, 'and the word of life for ſeveral hours; ſhewing, that the Lord was 'come to teach his people himſelf, and to bring them off from all 'the world's ways and teachers to Chriſt the true teacher, and the 'true way to God. I laid open their teachers, ſhewing, that they 'were like thoſe that were of old condemned by the prophets, by 'Chriſt, and by the apoſtles. I exhorted the people to come off 'from the temples made with hands; and wait to receive the Spirit 'of the Lord, that they might know themſelves to be the temples 'of God.' Not one of the prieſts had power to open his mouth againſt what I declared. At laſt a captain ſaid, 'Why will you not 'go into the church? This is not a fit place to preach in.' I told him, I denied their church. Then ſtood up Francis Howgill, who was preacher to a congregation. He had not ſeen me before; yet he undertook to anſwer that captain; and ſoon put him to ſilence. Then ſaid Francis Howgill of me, 'This man ſpeaks with authority, and 'not as the ſcribes.' After this, I opened to the people, that that ground and houſe was no holier than another place; and that the houſe is not the church, but the people, whom Chriſt is the head of. After a while the prieſts came up to me, and I warned them to repent. One of them ſaid, I was mad; ſo they turned away. But many were convinced there that day, who were glad to hear the truth declared, and received it with joy. Amongſt theſe was captain Ward, who received the truth in the love of it, and lived and died in it.

The

1652. Weſtmorland. Firbank chapel.

The next firſt-day I came to Firbank Chapel in Weſtmorland, where Francis Howgill and John Audland had been preaching in the morning. The chapel was full of people, ſo that many could not get in. Francis ſaid, He thought I looked into the chapel, and his ſpirit was ready to fail, the Lord's power did ſo ſurprize him: but I did not look in. They made haſte, and had quickly done, and they and ſome of the people went to dinner; but abundance ſtaid till they came again. John Blakelin and others came to me, and deſired me not to reprove them publickly; for they were not pariſh-teachers, but pretty tender men. I could not tell them whether I ſhould or no, though I had not at that time any drawings to declare publickly againſt them; but I ſaid, They muſt leave me to the Lord's movings. While others were gone to dinner, I went to a brook, got a little water, and then came and ſat down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel. In the afternoon the people gathered about me, with ſeveral of their preachers. It was judged there were above a thouſand people; to whom I declared God's everlaſting truth and word of life freely and largely for about the ſpace of three hours, directing all to the Spirit of God in themſelves; that they might be turned from darkneſs to light, and believe in it, that they might become the children of it, and might be turned from the power of Satan unto God; and by the Spirit of truth might be led into all truth, and ſenſibly underſtand the words of the prophets, of Chriſt, and of the apoſtles; and might all come to know Chriſt to be their teacher to inſtruct them, their counſellor to direct them, their ſhepherd to feed them, their biſhop to overſee them, and their prophet to open divine myſteries to them; and might know their bodies to be prepared, ſanctified, and made fit temples for God and Chriſt to dwell in. In the openings of heavenly life, I explained unto them the prophets, and the figures and ſhadows, and directed them to Chriſt, the ſubſtance. Then I opened the parables and ſayings of Chriſt, and things that had been long hid; ſhewing the intent and ſcope of the apoſtles writings, and that their epiſtles were written to the elect. When I had opened that ſtate, I ſhewed alſo the ſtate of the apoſtaſy ſince the apoſtles days; that the prieſts have got the ſcriptures, but are not in the Spirit which gave them forth; and have put them into chapter and verſe, to make a trade of the holy mens words; that the teachers and prieſts now are found in the ſteps of the falſe prophets, chief prieſts, ſcribes and phariſees of old, and are ſuch as the true prophets, Chriſt and his apoſtles cried againſt, and ſo are judged and condemned by the Spirit of the true prophets, of Chriſt, and of his apoſtles; and that none in that Spirit could own them. Many old people went into the chapel, and looked out at the windows; thinking it a ſtrange thing to ſee a man preach on an hill or mountain, and not in their church, as they called it; whereupon I was moved to inform the people, 'That the ſteeple-houſe, and the ground whereon 'it ſtood, were no more holy than that mountain; and that thoſe tem-'ples, which they called the dreadful houſes of God, were not ſet 'up by the command of God and of Chriſt; nor their prieſts called, 'as Aaron's prieſthood was; nor their tythes appointed by God, as 'thoſe amongſt the Jews were: but that Chriſt was come, who ended 'both the temple and its worſhip, and the prieſts and their tythes;

'and all now ſhould hearken to him: for he ſaid, "Learn of me:" 1652.
'and God ſaid of him, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am Weſtmorland
"well pleaſed; hear ye him." I declared, that the Lord God had Firbank cha-
'ſent me to preach the everlaſting goſpel and word of life amongſt pel.
'them; and to bring them off from all theſe temples, tythes, prieſts,
'and rudiments of the world, which had got up ſince the apoſtles
'days, and had been ſet up by ſuch as had erred from the Spirit and
'power that the apoſtles were in.' Very largely was I opened at this meeting; the Lord's convincing power accompanied my miniſtry, and reached home to the hearts of the people; whereby many were convinced, and all the teachers of that congregation (who were many) were convinced of God's everlaſting truth.

After the meeting, I went to John Audland's, and from thence to Preſton Patrick Chapel. Preſton Patrick Chapel, where a great meeting was appointed; to which I went, and had a large opportunity to preach the everlaſting goſpel; acquainting the people that the end of my coming into that place was not to hold it up; no more than the apoſtles going into the Jewiſh ſynagogues and temple was to uphold thoſe; but to bring them off from all ſuch things (as the apoſtles brought the ſaints of old from off the Jewiſh temple and Aaron's prieſthood) that they might come to witneſs their bodies to be the temples of God, and Chriſt in them to be their teacher.

From this place I went to Kendal, where a meeting was appointed in the town-hall, in which I declared the word of life amongſt the people, ſhewing them, 'How they might come to the ſaving know-
'ledge of Chriſt, and to have a right underſtanding of the holy ſcrip-
'tures; opening to them what it was that would lead them into the
'way of reconciliation with God; and what would be their condemna-
'tion.' After the meeting I ſtaid awhile in the town: ſeveral were convinced there, and many appeared loving. One Cock met me in the ſtreet, and would have given me a roll of tobacco. I accepted his love, but did not receive the tobacco.

From thence I went to Under-barrow, to Miles Bateman's; and ſe- Under-bar-
veral going along with me, great reaſonings I had with them, eſpe- row.
cially with Edward Burrough. At night the prieſt and many profeſſors came to the houſe; and a great deal of diſputing I had with them. Supper being provided for the prieſt and the reſt of the company, I had not freedom to eat with them; but told them, If they would appoint a meeting for the next day at the ſteeple-houſe, and acquaint the people with it, I might meet them. They had a great deal of reaſoning about it; ſome being for, and ſome againſt it. In the morning, after I had ſpoken to them again concerning the meeting, as I walked upon a bank by the houſe, there came ſeveral poor travellers, aſking relief, who I ſaw were in neceſſity; and they gave them nothing, but ſaid they were cheats. It grieved me to ſee ſuch hard-heartedneſs amongſt profeſſors; whereupon, when they were gone in to their breakfaſt, I ran after the poor people about a quarter of a mile, and gave them ſome money. Mean while ſome that were in the houſe, coming out, and ſeeing me a quarter of a mile off, ſaid, I could not have gone ſo far in ſuch an inſtant, if I had not had wings. Hereupon the meeting was like to have been put by; for they were filled

1652. Under-barrow. with ſuch ſtrange thoughts concerning me, that many of them were againſt having a meeting with me. I told them, I ran after thoſe poor people to give them ſome money; being grieved at their hard-heartedneſs, who gave them nothing. Then came Miles and Stephen Hubberſty; who, being more ſimple-hearted men, would have the meeting held. So to the chapel I went, and the prieſt came. A great meeting there was, and the way of life and ſalvation was opened; and after a while the prieſt fled away. Many of Crook and Under-barrow were convinced that day, received the word of life, and ſtood faſt in it under the teaching of Chriſt Jeſus. After I had declared the truth to them for ſome hours, and the meeting was ended, the chief conſtable and ſome other profeſſors fell to reaſoning with me in the chapel yard. Whereupon I took a bible and opened the ſcriptures, and dealt tenderly with them, as one would do with a child. They that were in the light of Chriſt and Spirit of God, knew when I ſpake ſcripture, though I did not mention chapter and verſe, after the prieſts form to them.

From hence I went with an ancient man, whoſe heart the Lord had opened, and he invited me to his houſe: his name was James Dickinſon. He was convinced that day, received the truth, and lived and died in it.

Lancaſhire. Newton in Cartmel. I came the next day to James Taylor's, of Newton in Cartmel, in Lancaſhire. On firſt day I went to the chapel, where prieſt Camelford uſed to preach; and after he had done, I began to ſpeak the word of life to the people. But he was in ſuch a rage, did ſo fret, and was ſo peeviſh, that he had no patience to hear; but ſtirred up the rude multitude, who haled me out, ſtruck, and threw me headlong over a ſtone wall. Yet bleſſed be the Lord, his power preſerved me. He that did this violence to me, was John Knipe, a wicked man, whom afterwards the Lord cut off. There was a youth in the chapel, writing after the prieſt. I was moved to ſpeak to him, and he came to be convinced, and received a part of the miniſtry of the goſpel: his name was John Brathwait.

Then I went to an alehouſe, to which many reſorted betwixt the time of their morning and afternoon preaching; and had a great deal of reaſoning with the people, declaring to them, That God was come to teach his people himſelf, and to bring them off from all falſe teachers, ſuch as the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles cried againſt. Many received the word of life at that time, and abode in it.

In the afternoon I went about two or three miles to a ſteeple-houſe or chapel called Lyndal. When the prieſt had done, I ſpoke to him and the people what the Lord commanded me, and there were great oppoſers; but afterwards they came to be convinced. After this I went to captain Sands, who with his wife ſeemed ſomewhat affected with truth: and if they could have held the world and truth together, they would have received it; but they were hypocrites, and he a very chaffy light man. Wherefore I reproved him for his lightneſs and jeſting; telling him, It was not ſeemly in a great profeſſor as he was. Thereupon he told me, He had a ſon, who upon his death-bed had alſo reproved him for it, and warned him of it. But he neither regarded

garded the admonition of his dying ſon, nor the reproofs of God's Spirit in himſelf. 1652.

From hence I went to Ulverſtone, and to Swarthmore to judge Fell's; whither came one Lampitt, a prieſt, who was an high notioniſt. With him I had a great deal of reaſoning; for he would talk of high notions and perfection, and thereby deceived the people. He would have owned me, but I could not own nor join with him, he was ſo full of filth. He ſaid, He was above John; and made as though he knew all things. But I told him, 'Death reigned from Adam to 'Moſes; and that he was under death, and knew not Moſes: for 'Moſes ſaw the paradiſe of God; but he knew neither Moſes, nor 'the prophets, nor John.' For that crooked and rough nature ſtood in him, and the mountain of ſin and corruption; and the way was not prepared in him for the Lord. He confeſſed he had been under a croſs in things; but now he could ſing pſalms, and do any thing. I told him, 'Now he could ſee a thief, and join hand in hand with 'him: but he could not preach Moſes, nor the prophets, nor John, 'nor Chriſt, except he were in the ſame Spirit that they were in.' Margaret Fell had been abroad in the day-time; and at night her children told her, prieſt Lampitt and I had diſagreed; which ſomewhat troubled her, becauſe ſhe was in profeſſion with him; but he hid his dirty actions from them. At night we had great reaſoning; and I declared the truth to her and her family. Next day Lampitt came again, and I had a great deal of diſcourſe with him before Margaret Fell, who then clearly diſcerned the prieſt. A convincement of the Lord's truth came upon her and her family. Soon after a day was to be obſerved for an humiliation; and Margaret Fell aſked me to go with her to the ſteeple-houſe at Ulverſtone, for ſhe was not wholly come off from them: I replied, "I muſt do as I am ordered by the Lord." So I left her, and walked into the fields; and the word of the Lord came to me, ſaying, "Go to the ſteeple-houſe after them." When I came, Lampitt was ſinging with his people; but his ſpirit was ſo foul, and the matter they ſung ſo unſuitable to their ſtates, that after they had done ſinging, I was moved of the Lord to ſpeak to him and the people. The word of the Lord to them was, 'He is not a Jew that is one outward; but he is a Jew that is one inward, whoſe praiſe is not of man, 'but of God.' Then, as the Lord opened further, I ſhewed them, 'That He was come to teach his people by his Spirit, and to bring 'them off from all their old ways, religions, churches, and worſhips; 'for all their religions, worſhips, and ways were but talking of other 'men's words; but they were out of the life and Spirit which thoſe 'were in who gave them forth.' Then cried out one juſtice Sawrey, "Take him away;" but judge Fell's wife ſaid to the officers, "Let "him alone: why may he not ſpeak, as well as any other?" Lampitt alſo, the prieſt, in deceit, ſaid, "Let him ſpeak." So at length, when I had declared a pretty while, juſtice Sawrey cauſed the conſtable to put me out; and then I ſpoke to the people in the grave-yard. Ulverſtone. Swarthmore.

The firſt day after, I was moved to go to Aldenham ſteeple-houſe, and when the prieſt had done, I ſpoke to him; but he got away. Then I declared the word of life to the people, and warned them to turn to the Lord. Aldenham.

From

1652. Ramſide.

From thence I paſſed to Ramſide, where was a chapel, in which Thomas Lawſon uſed to preach, who was an eminent prieſt. He very lovingly acquainted his people in the morning of my coming in the afternoon; by which means many were gathered together. When I came, I ſaw there was no place ſo convenient as the chapel: wherefore I went into the chapel, and all was quiet. Thomas Lawſon went not up into his pulpit, but left all the time to me. The everlaſting day of the eternal God was proclaimed that day, and the everlaſting truth was largely declared; which reached and entered into the hearts of the people, and many received the truth in the love of it. This prieſt came to be convinced, left his chapel, threw off his preaching for hire, and came to preach the Lord Jeſus and his kingdom freely. After that ſome rude people caſt ſcandals upon him, and thought to have done him an injury; but he was carried over all, grew in the wiſdom of God mightily, and proved very ſerviceable in his place.

Swarthmore. Dalton ſteeple-houſe.

I returned to Swarthmore again, and the next firſt-day went to Dalton ſteeple-houſe; where, after the prieſt had done, I declared the word of life to the people, that they might be turned from darkneſs to light, from the power of Satan to God; and might come off from their ſuperſtitious ways, and from their teachers made by man, to Chriſt the true and living way, to be taught of him.

Iſland of Walnah.

From thence I went into the iſland of Walnah; and after the prieſt had done, I ſpoke to him, but he got away. Then I declared the truth to the people, but they were ſomething rude. I went to ſpeak with the prieſt at his houſe, but he would not be ſeen. The people ſaid, he went to hide himſelf in the hay-mow, and they looked for him there, but could not find him. Then they ſaid, he was gone to hide himſelf in the ſtanding corn, but they could not find him there neither. I went to James Lancaſter's, who was convinced in the iſland, and from thence returned to Swarthwore, where the Lord's power ſeized upon Margaret Fell, her daughter Sarah, and ſeveral others.

Swarthmore.

Becliff.

Then I went to Becliff, where Leonard Fell was convinced, and became a miniſter of the everlaſting goſpel. Several others were convinced there, and came into obedience to the truth. Here the people ſaid, they could not diſpute; and would fain have put ſome other to hold talk with me; but I bid them, "Fear the Lord; and "not in a light way hold a talk of the Lord's words, but put the "things in practice." 'I directed them to the Divine Light of 'Chriſt and his Spirit in their hearts, which would let them ſee all 'the evil thoughts, words, and actions, that they had thought, 'ſpoken, and acted; by which light they might ſee their ſin, and 'alſo their Saviour Chriſt Jeſus to ſave them from their ſins. This 'I told them was their firſt ſtep to peace, even to ſtand ſtill in the 'light that ſhewed them their ſins and tranſgreſſions; by which they 'might come to ſee they were in the fall of old Adam, in darkneſs 'and death, ſtrangers to the covenant of promiſe, and without God 'in the world: and by the ſame light they might ſee Chriſt that died 'for them to be their Redeemer and Saviour, and their way to 'God.'

After this I went to a chapel beyond Gleaſton; which was built, but never a prieſt had preached in it. Thither the country people came; and a quiet, peaceable meeting it was, in which the word of life was declared, and many were convinced of the truth about Gleaſton. 1652. Chapel beyond Gleaſton.

From thence I returned to Swarthmore again. After I had ſtaid a few days, and moſt of the family were convinced, I went into Weſtmoreland, where prieſt Lampitt had been amongſt the profeſſors on Kendal ſide, and had mightily incenſed them againſt me; telling them I held many ſtrange things. I met with thoſe that he had ſo incenſed, ſate up all night with them at James's Dickinſon's, and anſwered all their objections. They were both thoroughly ſatisfied with the truth I had declared, and diſſatisfied with him and his lies, ſo that he clearly loſt the beſt of his hearers and followers, who hereby came to ſee his deceit, and forſook him. Swarthmore. Weſtmoreland on Kendal ſide.

I paſſed to John Audland's and Gervaſe Benſon's, and had great meetings amongſt thoſe that had been convinced before. I paſſed to John Blakelin's and Richard Robinſon's, where I had mighty meetings, and then towards Griſedale.

Soon after, judge Fell being come home, Margaret his wife ſent to me, deſiring me to return thither; and I, feeling freedom from the Lord ſo to do, went back to Swarthmore. I found the prieſts and profeſſors, and juſtice Sawrey, had much incenſed judge Fell and captain Sands againſt the truth by their lies; but when I came to ſpeak with him, I anſwered all his objections, and ſo thoroughly ſatisfied him by the ſcriptures, that he was convinced in his judgment. He aſked me, "If I was that George Fox whom juſtice "Robinſon ſpoke ſo much in commendation of amongſt many of "the parliament men?" I told him, I had been with juſtice Robinſon, and juſtice Hotham, in Yorkſhire, who were very civil and loving to me; and that they were convinced in their judgment by the Spirit of God, that the principle which I bore teſtimony to was the truth, and they ſaw beyond the prieſts of the nation; ſo that they and many others were now come to be wiſer than their teachers. After we had diſcourſed a pretty while together, judge Fell himſelf was ſatisfied alſo, and came to ſee, by the openings of the Spirit of God in his heart, over all the prieſts and teachers of the world; and did not go to hear them for ſome years before he died: for he knew it was the truth that I declared, and that Chriſt was the teacher of his people, and their Saviour. He ſometimes wiſhed that I was a while with judge Bradſhaw to diſcourſe with him. There came to judge Fell's captain Sands before-mentioned, endeavouring to incenſe the judge againſt me; for he was an evil-minded man, and full of envy againſt me: yet he could ſpeak high things, uſe the ſcripture-words, and ſay, "Behold, I make all things new." But I told him, Then he muſt have a new God; for his God was his belly. Beſides him came alſo that envious juſtice John Sawrey. I told him, "His heart was rotten, and he was full of hypocriſy to "the brim." Several others alſo came, whoſe ſtates the Lord gave me a diſcerning of; and I ſpoke to their conditions. While I was in thoſe parts, Richard Farnſworth and James Nayler came to ſee Swarthmore.

1652. Swarthmore. me and the family; and judge Fell, being ſatisfied that it was the way of truth, notwithſtanding all their oppoſition, ſuffered the meeting to be kept at his houſe; and a great meeting was ſettled there in the Lord's power, which hath continued near forty years, until the year 1690, that a new meeting-houſe was erected near it.

Under-barrow. After I had ſtaid a while, and the meeting there was well ſettled, I departed to Under-barrow, where I had a great meeting. From

Kellet. thence I went to Kellet, and had a great meeting at Robert Withers's, to which ſeveral came from Lancaſter, and ſome from York; and

Lancaſter. many were convinced. On the market-day I went to Lancaſter, and ſpoke through the market in the dreadful power of God; declaring the day of the Lord to the people, and crying out againſt all their deceitful merchandize. I preached righteouſneſs and truth unto them, which all ſhould follow after, walk and live in; directing them how and where they might find and receive the Spirit of God to guide them thereinto. After I had cleared myſelf in the market, I went to my lodging, whither ſeveral people came; and many were convinced, who ſtood faithful to the truth.

The firſt-day following, in the forenoon, I had a great meeting in the ſtreet at Lancaſter, amongſt the ſoldiers and people, to whom I declared the word of life, and the everlaſting truth. I opened unto them, That all the traditions they had lived in, all their worſhips and religions, and the profeſſion they made of the ſcriptures, were good for nothing, while they lived out of the life and power which thoſe were in who gave forth the ſcriptures. I directed them to the light of Chriſt, the heavenly man, and to the Spirit of God in their own hearts, that they might come to be acquainted with God and Chriſt, receive him for their teacher, and know his kingdom ſet up in them.

In the afternoon I went to the ſteeple-houſe at Lancaſter, and declared the truth to the prieſt and people; laying open before them the deceit they lived in, and directing them to the power and Spirit of God which they wanted. But they haled me out, and ſtoned me along the ſtreet till I came to John Lawſon's houſe.

Another firſt-day I went to a ſteeple-houſe by the water-ſide, where one Whitehead was prieſt; to whom and to the people I declared the truth in the dreadful power of God. There came a doctor, ſo full of envy, that he ſaid, "He could find in his heart to "run me through with his rapier, though he was hanged for it the "next day;" yet this man came afterwards to be convinced of the truth, ſo far as to be loving to friends. Some were convinced thereabouts, who willingly ſate down under the miniſtry of Chriſt, their teacher; and a meeting was ſettled there in the power of God, which has continued to this day.

Weſtmoreland. Kendal. After this I returned into Weſtmoreland, and ſpoke through Kendal on a market-day. So dreadful was the power of God upon me, that people flew like chaff before me into their houſes. I warned them of the mighty day of the Lord, and exhorted them to hearken to the voice of God in their own hearts, who was now come to teach his people himſelf. When ſome oppoſed, many others took

my

my part. At laſt ſome fell to fighting about me; but I went and ſpoke to them, and they parted again. Several were convinced. 1652.

The firſt-day after I had a very large meeting in Under-barrow at Miles Bateman's, where I was moved to declare, 'That all people in the fall were gone from the image of God, righteouſneſs, and holineſs, and were become as wells without the water of life, as clouds without the heavenly rain, as trees without the heavenly fruit; and were degenerated into the nature of beaſts, of ſerpents, of tall cedars, of oaks, of bulls, and of heifers; ſo that they might read the natures of theſe creatures within, as the prophets deſcribed them to the people of old, that were out of truth. I opened to them, how ſome were in the nature of dogs and ſwine, biting and rending; ſome in the nature of briars, thiſtles, and thorns; ſome like the owls and dragons in the night; ſome like the wild aſſes and horſes, ſnuffing up the wind; and ſome like the mountains and rocks, and crooked and rough ways. Wherefore I exhorted them to read theſe things within in their own natures, as well as without: and that, when they read without of the wandering ſtars, they ſhould look within, and ſee how they have wandered from the bright and morning ſtar. And they ſhould conſider, that as the fallow ground in their fields muſt be plowed up before it would bear ſeed to them, ſo muſt the fallow ground of their hearts be plowed up before they could bear ſeed to God. All theſe names and things I ſhewed were ſpoken of and to man and woman, ſince they fell from the image of God; but as they come to be renewed again into the image of God, they come out of the natures of theſe things, and ſo out of the names thereof.' Many more ſuch things were declared to them, and they were turned to the light of Chriſt, by which they might come to know and receive him, and might witneſs him to be their ſubſtance, their way, their ſalvation and true teacher. Many were convinced at that time. Under-barrow.

After I had travelled up and down in thoſe countries, having great meetings, I came to Swarthmore again; and when I had viſited friends a while in thoſe parts, I heard of a great meeting the prieſts were to have at Ulverſtone on a lecture-day. I went to it, and into the ſteeple-houſe in the dread and power of the Lord. When the prieſt had done, I ſpoke among them the word of the Lord, which was as an hammer, and as a fire amongſt them. And though Lampitt, the prieſt of the place, had been at variance with moſt of the prieſts before, yet againſt the truth they all joined together. But the mighty power of the Lord was over all; and ſo wonderful was the appearance thereof, that prieſt Bennet ſaid, "The church ſhook;" inſomuch that he was afraid, and trembled. And after he had ſpoken a few confuſed words, he haſtened out for fear the ſteeple-houſe would fall on his head. There were many prieſts got together, but they had no power as yet to perſecute. Swarthmore. Ulverſton.

When I had cleared my conſcience amongſt them, I went to Swarthmore again. Thither came four or five of the prieſts. In diſcourſe, I aſked them, "Whether any one of them could ſay, he ever had "the word of the Lord to go and ſpeak to ſuch or ſuch a people?"

None

1652. Swarthmore. None of them durſt ſay he had; but one of them burſt into a paſſion, and ſaid, "He could ſpeak his experiences as well as I." I told him, experience was one thing; but to receive and go with a meſſage, and to have a word from the Lord as the prophets and apoſtles had, and as I had had to them, was another thing. And therefore I put it to them again; "Could any one of them ſay, he "ever had a command or word from the Lord immediately at "any time?" But none of them could ſay ſo. Then I told them, The falſe prophets, falſe apoſtles, and antichriſts, could uſe the words of the true prophets, true apoſtles, and of Chriſt, and would ſpeak of other men's experiences, though themſelves never knew nor heard the voice of God and Chriſt: and ſuch as they might get the good words and experiences of others. This puzzled them much, and laid them open. For at another time, when I was diſcourſing with ſeveral prieſts at judge Fell's houſe, and he was by, I aſked them the ſame queſtion, "Whether any of them ever heard the voice of God "or Chriſt, to bid him go to ſuch or ſuch a people, to declare his "word or meſſage unto them!" for any one, I told them, that could but read, might declare the experiences of the prophets and apoſtles, which were recorded in the ſcriptures. Hereupon Thomas Taylor, an ancient prieſt, did ingenuouſly confeſs before judge Fell, "That "he had never heard the voice of God, nor of Chriſt, to ſend him "to any people; but he ſpoke his experiences, and the experiences "of the ſaints in former ages, and that he preached." This very much confirmed judge Fell in the perſuaſion, "That the prieſts "were wrong;" for he had thought formerly, as the generality of people then did, "That they were ſent from God."

Weſtmoreland. Croſland. Thomas Taylor was convinced at this time, and travelled with me into Weſtmoreland. Coming to Croſland ſteeple-houſe, we found the people gathered; and the Lord opened Thomas Taylor's mouth (though he was convinced but the day before) ſo that he declared amongſt them, "How he had been before he was convinced," and, like the good ſcribe converted to the kingdom, he brought forth things new and old to the people, and ſhewed them, "how the "prieſts were out of the way:" which fretted the prieſt. Some little diſcourſe I had with them, but they fled away; and a precious meeting there was, wherein the Lord's power was over all, and the people were directed to the Spirit of God, by which they might come to know God and Chriſt, and to underſtand the ſcriptures aright. After this I paſſed on, viſiting friends, and had very large meetings in Weſtmoreland.

Now began the prieſts to rage more and more, and as much as they could to ſtir up perſecution. James Nayler and Francis Howgill were caſt into priſon in Appleby gaol, at the inſtigation of the malicious prieſts; ſome of whom propheſied, "That within a month "we ſhould be all ſcattered again, and come to nothing." But bleſſed for ever be the worthy name of the Lord, his work went on and proſpered; for about this time John Audland, Francis Howgill, John Camm, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Hubberſty, and Miles Halhead, with ſeveral others, being endued with power from on high, came forth in the

work of the miniſtry, and approved themſelves faithful labourers therein; travelling up and down, and preaching the goſpel freely; by means whereof multitudes were convinced, and many effectually turned to the Lord. Amongſt theſe, Chriſtopher Taylor was one, brother to Thomas Taylor before-mentioned, who had been preacher to a people as well as his brother; but after they had received the knowledge of the truth, they ſoon came into obedience thereunto, and left their preaching for hire or rewards; and having received a part of the miniſtry of the goſpel, they preached Chriſt freely, being often ſent by the Lord to declare his word in ſteeple-houſes and markets, and great ſufferers they were. 1652. Weſtmoreland.

After I had viſited friends in Weſtmoreland, I returned into Lancaſhire, and went to Ulverſtone, where Lampitt was prieſt; who though he had preached of a people that ſhould own the teachings of God, and had ſaid, "That men and women ſhould come and declare the goſpel;" yet when it came to be fulfilled, he perſecuted both it and them. To this prieſt's houſe I went, where abundance of prieſts and profeſſors were got together after their lecture, with whom I had great diſputings concerning Chriſt and the ſcriptures; for they were loth to let their trade go down, which they made of preaching Chriſt's, the apoſtles, and prophets words. But the Lord's power went over the heads of them all, and his word of life was held forth amongſt them; tho' many of them were exceeding envious and deviliſh. Yet after this, many prieſts and profeſſors came to me from far and near. Thoſe that were innocent and ſimple-minded were ſatisfied, and went away refreſhed; but the fat and full were fed with judgment, and ſent away empty: for that was the word of the Lord to be divided to them. Lancaſhire. Ulverſtone.

When meetings were ſet up, and we met in private houſes, Lampitt began to rage. He ſaid, "We forſook the temple, and "went to Jeroboam's calves houſes." So many profeſſors began to ſee how he was declined from that which he had formerly held and preached. Hereupon the caſe of Jeroboam's calves was opened to the profeſſors, prieſts, and people. It was manifeſted unto them, 'That their houſes (called churches) were more like Jeroboam's 'calves houſes, even the old maſs houſes, which were ſet up in the 'darkneſs of popery, which they who called themſelves proteſtants, 'and profeſſed to be more enlightened than the papiſts, did ſtill 'hold up, altho' God had never commanded them; whereas that 'temple, which God had commanded at Jeruſalem, Chriſt came to 'end the ſervice of; and thoſe that received and believed in him, 'their bodies came to be the temples of God, of Chriſt, and of the 'Holy Ghoſt, to dwell in them, and to walk in them. And ſuch 'were gathered into the name of Jeſus, whoſe Name is above 'every name, and there is no ſalvation by any other name under the 'whole heaven but by the name of Jeſus. And they that were 'thus gathered met together in ſeveral dwelling-houſes, which were 'not called the temple nor the church; but their bodies were the 'temples of God, and the believers were the church which Chriſt 'was the head of. So that Chriſt was not called the head of an 'old houſe, which was made by mens hands, neither did he come

1652. Ulverſtone.

'to purchaſe, ſanctify, and redeem with his blood an old houſe, 'which they called their church; but the people, which he is the 'head of.' Much work I had in thoſe days with prieſts and people, concerning their old maſs-houſes called churches; for the prieſts had perſuaded the people, that they were the houſes of God; whereas the apoſtle ſays, "Whoſe houſe we are," &c. Heb. iii. 6. The people in whom he dwells are God's houſe. The apoſtle ſaith, "Chriſt purchaſed his church with his own blood;" and Chriſt calls his church his ſpouſe, his bride, the lamb's wife: ſo that this title church and ſpouſe was not given to an old houſe, but to his people the true believers.

On a lecture-day I was moved to go to the ſteeple-houſe at Ulverſtone, where were abundance of profeſſors, prieſts, and people. I went near to prieſt Lampitt, who was bluſtering on in his preaching. After the Lord had opened my mouth to ſpeak, John Sawrey the juſtice came to me, and ſaid, "If I would ſpeak according to the "ſcriptures, I ſhould ſpeak." I admired at him for ſpeaking ſo to me, and told him, "I would ſpeak according to the ſcriptures, and "bring the ſcriptures to prove what I had to ſay; for I had ſome-"thing to ſpeak to Lampitt and to them. Then he ſaid, I ſhould not ſpeak; contradicting himſelf, who had ſaid juſt before, "I "ſhould ſpeak, if I would ſpeak according to the ſcriptures." The people were quiet, and heard me gladly, till this juſtice Sawrey (who was the firſt ſtirrer up of cruel perſecution in the north) incenſed them againſt me, and ſet them on to hale, beat, and bruiſe me. But now on a ſudden the people were in a rage, and fell upon me in the ſteeple-houſe before his face, knock'd me down, kick'd me, and trampled upon me. So great was the uproar, that ſome tumbled over their ſeats for fear. At laſt he came and took me from the people, led me out of the ſteeple-houſe, and put me into the hands of the conſtables and other officers; bidding them whip me, and put me out of the town. They led me about a quarter of a mile, ſome taking hold by my collar, ſome by my arms and ſhoulders, who ſhook and dragged me along. Many friendly people being come to the market, and ſome to the ſteeple-houſe to hear me, divers of theſe they knock'd down alſo, and broke their heads, ſo that the blood ran down from ſeveral; and judge Fell's ſon running after to ſee what they would do with me, they threw him into a ditch of water; ſome of them crying, "Knock the teeth out of his head." When they had haled me to the common moſs ſide, a multitude following, the conſtables and other officers gave me ſome blows over my back with their willow rods, and thruſt me among the rude multitude; who, having furniſhed themſelves with ſtaves, hedge-ſtakes, holm or holly buſhes, fell upon me, and beat me on my head, arms, and ſhoulders, till they had deprived me of ſenſe; ſo that I fell down upon the wet common. When I recovered again, and ſaw myſelf lying in a watry common, and the people ſtanding about me, I lay ſtill a little while, and the power of the Lord ſprang through me, and the eternal refreſhings revived me; ſo that I ſtood up again in the ſtrengthening power of the eternal God, and ſtretching out my arms amongſt them, I ſaid, with a loud voice, "Strike again; here are

Ulverſtone Common.

"my

" my arms, my head, and my cheeks." There was in the company a maſon, a profeſſor, but a rude fellow, who with his walking rule-ſtaff gave me a blow with all his might juſt over the back of my hand, as it was ſtretched out; with which blow my hand was ſo bruiſed, and my arm ſo benumbed, that I could not draw it to me again; ſo that ſome of the people cried, " He hath ſpoiled his hand for ever hav- " ing the uſe of it any more." But I looked at it in the love of God (for I was in the love of God to all that perſecuted me) and after a while the Lord's power ſprang through me again, and through my hand and arm, ſo that in a moment I recovered ſtrength in my hand and arm in the ſight of them all. Then they began to fall out among themſelves: ſome of them came to me, and ſaid, If I would give them money, they would ſecure me from the reſt. But I was moved of the Lord to declare the word of life, and ſhewed them their falſe chriſtianity, and the fruits of their prieſt's miniſtry; telling them, They were more like heathens and Jews, than true chriſtians. Then was I moved of the Lord to come up again through the midſt of the people, and go into Ulverſtone market. As I went, there met me a ſoldier, with his ſword by his ſide; " Sir," ſaid he to me, " I ſee you are " a man, and I am aſhamed and grieved that you ſhould be thus abuſed;" and offered to aſſiſt me in what he could. I told him, The Lord's power was over all, and I walked thro' the people in the market, none of whom had power to touch me then. But ſome of the market people abuſing ſome friends in the market, I turned about, and ſaw this ſoldier among them with his naked rapier; whereupon I ran, and, catching hold of the hand his rapier was in, bid him put up his ſword again, if he would go along with me: for I was willing to draw him out from the company, leſt ſome miſchief ſhould be done. A few days after, ſeven men fell upon this ſoldier, and beat him cruelly, becauſe he had taken part with friends and me. It was the manner of the perſecutors of that country, for twenty or forty people to run upon one man. They fell ſo upon friends in many places, that they could hardly paſs the highways, ſtoning, beating, and breaking their heads. When I came to Swarthmore, I found the friends there dreſſing the heads and hands of friends and friendly people, which had been broken or hurt that day by the profeſſors and hearers of Lampitt. My body and arms were yellow, black and blue, with the bruiſes I received amongſt them. Now began the prieſts to propheſy again, That within half a year we ſhould be all put down and gone.

1652. Ulverſtone common. Ulverſtone market. Swarthmore.

About two weeks after this, I went into Walney Iſland, and James Nayler with me. We ſtaid one night at a little town on this ſide, called Cockan, and had a meeting there, where one was convinced. After a while came a man with a piſtol: whereupon the people ran out of doors. He called for me; and when I came to him, he ſnapped his piſtol at me; but it would not go off. This cauſed the people to make a great buſtle about him; and ſome of them took hold of him, to prevent his doing miſchief. But I was moved in the Lord's power to ſpeak to him; and he was ſo ſtruck by divine power, that he trembled for fear, and went and hid himſelf. Thus the Lord's power came over them all, though there was a great rage in the country.

Walney Iſland. Cockan.

1652. Cockan.

Next morning I went in a boat to James Lancaſter's. As ſoon as I came to land, there ruſhed out about forty men, with ſtaves, clubs, and fiſhing-poles; who fell upon me, beating, punching me, and endeavouring to thruſt me backward into the ſea. When they had thruſt me almoſt into the ſea, and I ſaw they would have knocked me down in it, I went up into the middle of them; but they laid at me again, knocked me down, and ſtunned me. When I came to myſelf, I looked up and ſaw James Lancaſter's wife throwing ſtones at my face, and her huſband lying over me, to keep the blows and ſtones from me. For the people had perſuaded James's wife that I had bewitched her huſband; and had promiſed her, That if ſhe would let them know when I came thither, they would be my death; and having got knowlege of my coming, many of the town roſe up in this manner with clubs and ſtaves to kill me: but the Lord's power preſerved me, that they could not take away my life. At length I got upon my feet, but they beat me down again into the boat; which James Lancaſter obſerving, he preſently came into the boat to me, and ſet me over the water from them; but while we were on the water, within their reach, they ſtruck at us with long poles, and threw ſtones after us. By that time we were come to the other ſide, we ſaw them beating James Nayler: for whilſt they had been beating me, he walked into a field, and they never minded him till I was gone; then they fell upon him, and all their cry was, "Kill him, kill him."

When I was come over to the town again, on the other ſide of the water, the townſmen roſe up with pitchforks, flails, and ſtaves, to keep me out of the town, crying, "Kill him, knock him on the "head; bring the cart, and carry him away to the church-yard." So after they had abuſed me, they drove me a pretty way out of the town, and there left me. Then went James Lancaſter again, to look after James Nayler; and I being now left alone, went to a ditch; and having waſhed myſelf, walked about three miles to Thomas Hutton's, where lodged Thomas Lawſon, the prieſt that was convinced. When I came in, I could hardly ſpeak to them, I was ſo bruiſed; only I told them where I left James Nayler. Whereupon they took each of them a horſe, and went and brought him thither that night. The next day Margaret Fell hearing of it, ſent an horſe for me; but ſo ſore I was with bruiſes, that I was not able to bear the ſhaking of the horſe without much pain. When I was come to Swarthmore, juſtice Sawrey and juſtice Thompſon of Lancaſter granted a warrant againſt me; but judge Fell coming home, it was not ſerved upon me: for he was out of the country all this time that I was thus cruelly abuſed. When he came home, he ſent warrants into the iſle of Walney, to apprehend all thoſe riotous perſons; whereupon ſome of them fled the country. James Lancaſter's wife was afterwards convinced of the truth, and repented of the evil ſhe had done me; and ſo did ſome others of thoſe bitter perſecutors alſo; but the judgments of God fell upon ſome, and deſtruction is come upon many of them ſince. Judge Fell deſired me to give him a relation of my perſecution; but I told him, They could do no otherwiſe in the ſpirit wherein they were; and that they manifeſted the fruits of their prieſt's miniſtry, and their profeſſion and religion to be wrong. So he told his wife I made nothing of it; and

Swarthmore.

that

that I ſpake of it as a man that had not been concerned: for indeed the Lord's power healed me again. 1652.

After I was recovered, I went to Yelland, where was a great meeting. In the evening came a prieſt to the houſe, with a piſtol in his hand, under pretence to light a pipe of tobacco. The maid of the houſe ſeeing the piſtol, told her maſter: who thereupon, clapping his hands on both the door-poſts, told him, He ſhould not come in there. While he ſtood there, keeping the door way, he looked up, and ſpied over the wall a company of men coming, ſome armed with ſtaves, and one with a muſket. But the Lord prevented their bloody deſign; ſo that ſeeing themſelves diſcovered, they went their way, and did no harm. Yelland.

The time for the ſeſſions at Lancaſter being come, I went thither with judge Fell; who on the way told me, He never had ſuch a matter brought before him, and could not well tell what to do in the buſineſs. I anſwered when Paul was brought before the rulers, and the Jews and prieſts came down to accuſe him, and laid many falſe things to his charge, Paul ſtood ſtill all that while. When they had done, Feſtus the governor and king Agrippa beckoned to him to ſpeak for himſelf; which Paul did, and cleared himſelf of all thoſe accuſations: ſo he might do by me. Being come to Lancaſter, and juſtice Sawrey and juſtice Thompſon having granted a warrant to apprehend me, though I was not apprehended by it, yet hearing of it, I appeared at the ſeſſions; where there appeared againſt me about forty prieſts. Theſe had choſen one Marſhal, a prieſt of Lancaſter, to be their orator; and had provided one young prieſt and two prieſts ſons to bear witneſs againſt me, who had ſworn beforehand that I had ſpoken blaſphemy. When the juſtices were ſet, they heard all that the prieſts and their witneſſes could ſay and charge againſt me; their orator Marſhal ſitting by, and explaining their ſayings for them; but the witneſſes were ſo confounded, that they diſcovered themſelves to be falſe witneſſes. For when the court had examined one of them upon oath, and then began to examine another of them, he was at ſuch a loſs, he could not anſwer directly; but ſaid, The other could ſay it. Which made the juſtices ſay to him, "Have you ſworn it, and given it in already upon "oath, and now ſay, that he can ſay it? It ſeems, you did not "hear thoſe words ſpoken yourſelf, though you have ſworn it?" Lancaſter. Lancaſter ſeſſions.

There were then in court ſeveral who had been at that meeting, wherein the witneſſes ſwore I ſpoke thoſe blaſphemous words which the prieſts accuſed me of; and theſe, being men of integrity and reputation in the country, did declare and affirm in court, That the oath, which the witneſſes had taken againſt me, was altogether falſe; and that no ſuch words as they had ſworn againſt me were ſpoken by me at that meeting. Indeed, moſt of the ſerious men of that ſide of the country, then at the ſeſſions, had been at that meeting, and had heard me both at that and other meetings alſo. This was taken notice of by colonel Weſt, who being a juſtice of the peace, was then upon the bench; and having long been weak in body, bleſſed the Lord, and ſaid, The Lord had healed him that day; adding, That he never ſaw ſo many ſober people and good faces together in all his life. Then turning himſelf to me, he ſaid in the open ſeſſions, "George,

1652. Lancaſter ſeſſions.

" if thou haſt any thing to ſay to the people, thou mayeſt freely de-
" clare it." I was moved of the Lord to ſpeak: and as ſoon as I began, prieſt Marſhal, the orator for the reſt of the prieſts, went his way. That which I was moved to declare, was this: " That the
" holy ſcriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God; and all people
" muſt firſt come to the Spirit of God in themſelves, by which they
" might know God and Chriſt, of whom the prophets and apoſtles
" learnt; and by the ſame Spirit know the holy ſcriptures; for as the
" Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the ſcriptures, ſo the ſame
" Spirit muſt be in all them that come to underſtand the ſcriptures.
" By which Spirit they might have fellowſhip with the Father, with
" the Son, with the ſcriptures, and with one another: and without this
" Spirit they can know neither God, Chriſt, nor the ſcriptures, nor
" have a right fellowſhip one with another." I had no ſooner ſpoken theſe words, but about half a dozen prieſts, that ſtood behind me, burſt into a paſſion. One of them, whoſe name was Jackus, amongſt other things that he ſpake againſt the truth, ſaid, That the Spirit and the letter were inſeparable. I replied, " Then every one that
" hath the letter, hath the Spirit; and they might buy the Spirit with
" the letter of the ſcriptures." This plain diſcovery of darkneſs in the prieſt moved judge Fell and colonel Weſt to reprove them openly, and tell them, That according to that poſition, they might carry the Spirit in their pockets, as they did the ſcriptures. Upon this, the prieſts, being confounded and put to ſilence, ruſhed out in a rage againſt the juſtices, becauſe they could not have their bloody ends upon me. The juſtices, ſeeing the witneſſes did not agree, and perceiving they were brought to anſwer the prieſts envy, and finding that all their evidences were not ſufficient in law to make good their charge againſt me, diſcharged me. And after judge Fell had ſpoken to juſtice Sawrey and juſtice Thompſon concerning the warrant they had given forth againſt me, and ſhewing them the errors thereof, he and colonel Weſt granted a ſuperſedeas to ſtop the execution of it. Thus I was cleared in open ſeſſions of thoſe lying accuſations which the malicious prieſts had laid to my charge: and multitudes of people praiſed God that day, for it was a joyful day to many. Juſtice Benſon of Weſtmorland was convinced; and major Ripan, mayor of the town of Lancaſter, alſo. It was a day of everlaſting ſalvation to hundreds of people: for the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the way to the Father, the free Teacher, was exalted and ſet up; his everlaſting goſpel was preached, and the word of eternal life was declared over the heads of the prieſts, and all ſuch lucrative preachers. For the Lord opened many mouths that day to ſpeak his word to the prieſts, and ſeveral friendly people and profeſſors reproved them in their inns, and in the ſtreets, ſo that they fell, like an old rotten houſe: and the cry was among the people, That the Quakers had got the day, and the prieſts were fallen. Many were convinced that day, amongſt whom Thomas Briggs was one, who before had been ſo averſe to friends and truth, that diſcourſing with John Lawſon, a friend, concerning perfection, Thomas ſaid to him, " Doſt thou hold
" perfection?" and lift up his hand, to have given the friend a box on the ear. But Thomas, being convinced of the truth that day, declared

clared againſt his own prieſt Jackus; and afterwards became a faithful miniſter of the goſpel, and ſtood ſo to the end of his days. 1652. Lancaſter ſeſſions.

When the ſeſſions were over, James Nayler, who was preſent, gave a brief account of the proceedings thereof in a letter, which ſoon after he wrote to friends, and is here added for the reader's further ſatisfaction:

'DEAR friends and brethren in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, my dear love unto you all, deſiring you may be kept ſtedfaſt in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and in the power of his love, boldly to witneſs forth the truth, as it is revealed in you by the mighty working of the Father: to him alone be everlaſting praiſe and honour for evermore! Dear friends, the Lord doth much manifeſt his love and power in theſe parts. The ſecond day of the laſt week my brother George and I were at Lancaſter. There were abundance of friends from all parts; and a great many who ſided with the prieſts, giving out, They now hoped to ſee a ſtop put to that great work which had gone on ſo faſt, and with ſuch power, that their kingdom is much ſhaken. We were called before judge Fell, colonel Weſt, juſtice Sawrey, &c. to anſwer what was charged againſt George. There were three witneſſes to eight particulars, but they were much confuſed in themſelves; which gave much light to the truth: whereby the juſtices did plainly ſee, that it was envy; and they divers times told them ſo. One of the witneſſes was a young prieſt, who confeſſed, He had not meddled, had not another prieſt ſent for him, and ſet him on work. The other witneſſes were two prieſts ſons. It was proved there by many, that heard one of them ſay, If he had power, he would make George deny his profeſſion, and that he would take away his life. This was a ſingle witneſs to one of the greateſt untruths charged againſt George. The juſtices told him, They ſaw, becauſe he could not take away his life, he went about to take away his liberty. There was one prieſt choſen out of the whole number, as an orator, to plead againſt us; who ſpared no pains to ſhew his envy againſt the truth: and when he could not prevail, he went down in a rage; and there came a number of them into the room, among whom was one Jackus. George was then ſpeaking in the room (one of the judges having wiſhed, if he had any thing to ſay, that he would ſpeak:) at which prieſt Jackus was in ſuch a rage, that he brake forth into many high expreſſions againſt the truth ſpoken by my dear brother George; amongſt which this was one, That the letter and the Spirit were inſeparable. Hereupon the juſtices ſtood up, and bid him prove that, before he went any further. Then he ſeeing himſelf caught, would have denied it; and when he could not get off ſo, the reſt of the prieſts would have helped him to a meaning for his words: but the juſtices would admit no other meaning than the plain ſenſe of the words, and told him, He had laid down a poſition, and it was fit he ſhould prove it; preſſing the matter cloſe upon him. Whereupon the prieſts, being put to ſilence, went down in a greater rage than before; and ſome of them, after they were gone down, being aſked what they had done, lyed, and ſaid, They could not get into the room: thereby to hide their ſhame, and keep the people in blind-

'neſs.

1652. Lancaſter ſeſſions.

'neſs. The juſtices, judge Fell, and colonel Weſt, were much convinced of the truth, and did ſet up juſtice and equity; and have much ſilenced the rage of the people. Many bitter ſpirits were at Lancaſter, to ſee the event; but went home, and cried, The prieſts had loſt the day. Everlaſting praiſes be to him who fought the battle for us, who is our King for ever! There were others called, who the witneſſes confeſſed were in the room when the things charged on George were ſaid to have been ſpoken; but they all, as one man, denied that any ſuch words were ſpoken: which gave much light to the juſtices, and they durſt rely on what they witneſſed; for they ſaid, they knew many of them to be honeſt men. There was a warrant granted againſt us at Appleby; but juſtice Benſon told them it was not according to law; and ſo it ceaſed. I hear he is a faithful man to the truth. The prieſts began to preach againſt the juſtices, and ſaid, They were not to meddle in theſe things, but to end controverſy betwixt neighbour and neighbour. They are not pleaſed with the law, becauſe it is not in the ſtatute to impriſon us, as the prieſt that pleaded againſt us ſaid. The juſtices bid him go put it into the ſtatute, if he could; he ſaid, It ſhould want no will of his. They are much afraid that they ſhall loſe all. They are much diſcontented in theſe parts; and ſome of them cry, "All is gone." Dear friends, dwell in patience, and wait upon the Lord, who will do his own work. Look not at man, in the work; nor at man, who oppoſeth the work: but reſt in the will of the Lord, that ſo ye may be furniſhed with patience both to do and to ſuffer what ye ſhall be called unto; that your end in all things may be his praiſe. Take up his croſs freely, which keeps low the fleſhly man; that Chriſt may be ſet up and honoured in all things, the light advanced in you, and the judgment ſet up, which muſt give ſentence againſt all that oppoſeth the truth; that the captivity may be led captive, and the priſoner ſet free to ſeek the Lord; that righteouſneſs may rule in you, and peace and joy may dwell in you, wherein conſiſteth the kingdom of the Father; to whom be all praiſe for ever! Dear friends, meet often together; take heed of what exalteth itſelf above its brother; keep low, and ſerve one another in love for the Lord's ſake. Let all friends know how it is with us, that God may have the praiſe of all.'

'Written from Kellet, the 30th Day of the 8th month, 1652.' J. N.

At this time I was in a faſt, and was not to eat until this work of God, which then lay weighty upon me, was accompliſhed. But the Lord's power was wonderfully exalted, and he gave truth and friends dominion therein over all. His glory was freely preached that day, over the heads of about forty hireling prieſts. I ſtaid two or three days afterwards in Lancaſter, and had ſome meetings there. The rude and baſer ſort of people plotted together to have drawn me out of the houſe, and to have thrown me over Lancaſter Bridge, but the Lord prevented them. Then they invented another miſchief, which was this: After a meeting at Lancaſter, they

they brought down a diſtracted man, and another with him, having bundles of birchen rods, bound together like beſoms, with which they ſhould have whipped me: but I was moved to ſpeak to them in the Lord's mighty power, which chained down the diſtracted man, and the other alſo; and made them calm and quiet. Then I bid him throw his rods into the fire, and burn them; which he did. Thus the Lord's power being over them, they departed quietly. 1652. Lancaſter ſeſſions.

The prieſts, fretting to ſee themſelves overthrown at the ſeſſions at Lancaſter, got ſome of the envious juſtices to join with them; and at the following aſſize at Lancaſter informed judge Windham againſt me. Whereupon the judge made a ſpeech againſt me in open court; and commanded colonel Weſt, who was clerk of the aſſize, to iſſue a warrant for the apprehending of me; but colonel Weſt told the judge of my innocence, and ſpoke boldly in my defence. Yet the judge commanded him again, either to write a warrant, or go from his ſeat. Then he told the judge plainly, that he would not do it; but that he would offer up all his eſtate, and his body alſo for me. Thus he ſtopped the judge, and the Lord's power came over all; ſo that the prieſts and juſtices could not get their envy executed. The ſame night I came into Lancaſter, it being the aſſize-time: and, hearing of a warrant to be given out againſt me, I judged it better to ſhew myſelf openly, than for my adverſaries to ſeek me. So I went to judge Fell's and colonel Weſt's chambers. As ſoon as I came in, they ſmiled on me; and colonel Weſt ſaid, "What! are you "come into the dragon's mouth?" I ſtaid till the judge went out of town; and I walked up and down the town, but no one meddled with me, nor queſtioned me. Thus the Lord's bleſſed power, which is over all, carried me through and over this exerciſe, gave dominion over his enemies, and enabled me to go on in his glorious work and ſervice for his great name's ſake. For though the beaſt maketh war againſt the ſaints, yet the Lamb hath got and will get the victory. Lancaſter aſſize.

From Lancaſter I returned to Robert Withers's. From thence I went to Thomas Leper's, and a very bleſſed meeting we had there; after which, I walked in the evening to Robert Withers's again. No ſooner was I gone, but there came a company of diſguiſed men to Thomas Leper's with ſwords and piſtols; who ſuddenly entering the houſe, put out the candles, and ſwung their ſwords about amongſt the people of the houſe, ſo that they were fain to hold up the chairs before them, to ſave themſelves from being cut and wounded. At length they drove all the people out, and then ſearched the houſe for me, who it ſeems was the only perſon they looked for. They had laid wait before in the highway, by which I ſhould have gone if I had rid to Robert Withers's, and not meeting with me on the way, they thought to have found me in the houſe, but the Lord prevented them. Soon after I came to Robert Withers's, ſome friends from the town where Thomas Leper lived gave us a relation of this wicked attempt; and were afraid leſt they ſhould come and ſearch Robert Withers's houſe alſo for me, and do me a miſchief; but the Lord reſtrained them, that they came not. Theſe men were in diſguiſe, yet friends perceived ſome of them were Frenchmen, and ſuppoſed them to be ſervants belonging to one called Sir Robert Bindlas: for Meeting at T. Leper's.

1652. Meeting at T. Leper's.

ſome of them had ſaid, in their nation they uſed to tie the proteſtants to trees, and whip and deſtroy them. His ſervants often abuſed friends, both in, and going to and from their meetings. They once took Richard Hubberthorn and ſeveral others out of the meeting, carried them a long way into the fields, bound them, and left them in the winter ſeaſon. Another time one of his ſervants came to Francis Fleming's, and thruſt his naked rapier in at the door and windows; but a kinſman of Francis Fleming's, not a friend, came with a cudgel, and bid the ſerving man put up his rapier; which when he would not, but vapoured at him with it, and was rude, he knocked him down, took his rapier from him, and, had it not been for friends, would have run him through with it. So friends preſerved his life, that would have deſtroyed theirs.

From Robert Withers's I went to viſit juſtice Weſt, Richard Hubberthorn accompanying me. Not knowing the way, nor the danger of the ſands, we rode where, we were afterwards told, no man ever rode before, ſwimming our horſes over a very dangerous place. When we were come in, juſtice Weſt aſked us, If we did not ſee two men riding over the ſands? "I ſhall have their cloaths anon," ſaid he, "for they cannot eſcape drowning; and I am the coroner." But when we told him we were the men, he was aſtoniſhed, and wondered how we eſcaped drowning. Upon this the envious prieſts and profeſſors raiſed a ſlanderous report, That neither water could drown me, nor could they draw blood of me; and therefore I was a witch: indeed, ſometimes when they beat me with great ſtaves, they did not much draw my blood, though they bruiſed my body very ſorely. But all theſe ſlanders were nothing to me with reſpect to myſelf; though I was concerned on the truth's behalf, which I ſaw they endeavoured by theſe means to prejudice people againſt; for I conſidered that their forefathers, the apoſtate Jews, called the maſter of the houſe Beelzebub; and theſe apoſtate chriſtians from the life and power of God could do no leſs to his ſeed. But the Lord's power carried me over their ſlanderous tongues, and their bloody murderous ſpirits; who had the ground of witchcraft in themſelves, which kept them from coming to God and to Chriſt.

Swarthmore. Having viſited juſtice Weſt, I went to Swarthmore, viſiting friends, and the Lord's power was over all the perſecutors there. I was moved to write letters to the magiſtrates, prieſts, and profeſſors thereabouts, who had raiſed perſecution before. That to juſtice Sawrey was after this manner:

'Friend,

'THOU waſt the firſt beginner of all the perſecution in the north. 'Thou waſt the beginner and maker of the people tumultuous. 'Thou waſt the firſt ſtirrer of them up againſt the righteous ſeed, 'and againſt the truth of God; the firſt ſtrengthener of the hands 'of evil-doers againſt the innocent and harmleſs: and thou ſhalt not 'proſper. Thou waſt the firſt ſtirrer up of ſtrikers, ſtoners, perſe-'cutors, ſtockers, mockers, and impriſoners in the north, and of 'revilers, ſlanderers, railers, and falſe accuſers. This was thy work; 'this thou ſtirredſt up. So thy fruits declare thy ſpirit. Inſtead of

1652. Swarthmore.

'ſtirring up the pure mind in people, thou haſt ſtirred up the wicked, 'malicious, and envious; and taken hand with the wicked. Thou 'haſt made the people's minds envious up and down the country: 'this was thy work. But God hath ſhortened thy days, limited and 'ſet thy bounds, broken thy jaws, diſcovered thy religion to the 'ſimple and babes, and brought thy deeds to light. How is thy ha-'bitation fallen, and become the habitation of devils! How is thy 'beauty loſt, and thy glory withered! How haſt thou ſhewed thy evil, 'that thou haſt ſerved God but with thy lips, and thy heart far from 'him, and thou in the hypocriſy! How hath the form of thy teaching 'diſcovered itſelf to be the mark of the falſe prophets, whoſe fruit declares 'itſelf! for by their fruits they are known. How are the wiſe men 'turned backward! View thy ways; take notice with whom thou haſt 'taken part. That of God in thy conſcience will tell thee. The Ancient 'of days will reprove thee. How hath thy zeal appeared to be the blind 'zeal of a perſecutor, which Chriſt and his apoſtles forbad Chriſtians to 'follow! How haſt thou ſtrengthened the hands of evil-doers, and been 'a praiſe to them, and not to thoſe that do well! How like a madman 'and a blind man didſt thou turn thy ſword backward againſt the 'ſaints, againſt whom there is no law! How wilt thou be gnawed and 'burned one day, when thou ſhalt feel the flame, and have the plagues 'of God poured upon thee, and thou begin to gnaw thy tongue for 'pain, becauſe of the plagues! Thou ſhalt have thy reward according 'to thy works. Thou canſt not eſcape; the Lord's righteous judg-'ment will find thee out, and the witneſs of God in thy conſcience 'ſhall anſwer it. How haſt thou cauſed the heathen to blaſpheme, 'gone with the multitude to do evil, and joined hand in hand with the 'wicked! How is thy latter end worſe than thy beginning, who art 'come with the dog to bite, and art turned as a wolf to devour the 'lambs! How haſt thou diſcovered thyſelf to be a man more fit to be 'kept in a place to be nurtured, than to be ſet in a place to nurture! 'How waſt thou exalted and puffed up with pride! And now art thou 'fallen down with ſhame, that thou comeſt to be covered with that 'which thou ſtirredſt up and broughteſt forth. Let not John Sawrey 'take the words of God into his mouth till he be reformed: let him 'not take his name into his mouth, till he depart from iniquity. Let 'not him and his teacher make a profeſſion of the ſaints words, ex-'cept they intend to proclaim themſelves hypocrites, whoſe lives are 'ſo contrary to the lives of the ſaints; whoſe church hath made itſelf 'manifeſt to be a cage of unclean birds. You having a form of god-'lineſs, but not the power, have made them that are in the power 'your deriſion, your by-word, and your talk at your feaſts. Thy ill 'ſavour, John Sawrey, the country about have ſmelled, and of thy 'unchriſtian carriage all that fear God have been aſhamed; and to 'them thou haſt been a grief: in the day of account thou ſhalt know 'it, even in the day of thy condemnation. Thou waſt mounted up, 'and hadſt ſet thy neſt on high, but never got higher than the fowls 'of the air. Now thou art run among the beaſts of prey, and art 'fallen into the earth; ſo that earthlineſs and covetouſneſs have ſwal-'lowed thee up. Thy conceitedneſs would not carry thee through, 'in whom was found the ſelfiſh principle which hath blinded thine

'eye.

1652. Swarthmore. 'eye. Thy back muſt be bowed down always; for thy table is already become thy ſnare.

G. F.'

This juſtice Sawrey, who was the firſt perſecutor in that country, was afterwards drowned.

I wrote alſo to William Lampitt, the prieſt of Ulverſtone, thus:

'THE word of the Lord to thee, O Lampitt! A deceiver, ſurfeited and drunk with the earthly ſpirit, rambling up and down in the ſcriptures, and blending thy ſpirit amongſt the ſaints conditions; who hadſt a prophecy, as thy father Balaam had, but art erred from it, as thy father did. One whoſe fruit hath withered (of which I am a witneſs) and many who have known thy fruit have ſeen the end of it, that it is withered; and do ſee where thou art, in the blind world, a blind leader of the blind; as a beaſt wallowing and tumbling in the earth, and in the luſt; one that is erred from the Spirit of the Lord, of old ordained to condemnation. Thou art in the ſeat of the phariſees, art called of men maſter, ſtandeſt praying in the ſynagogues, and haſt the chief ſeat in the aſſemblies; a right hypocrite in the ſteps of the phariſees, and in the way of thy fathers, the hypocrites, which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt cried woe againſt. Such with the light thou art ſeen to be, and by the light art comprehended; which is they condemnation who hateſt it, and will be ſo eternally except thou repent. To thee this is the word of God; for in Chriſt's way thou art not, but in that of the Phariſees, as thou mayeſt read, Mat. xxiii. All that own Chriſt's words may ſee thee there. Chriſt, who died at Jeruſalem, cried woe againſt ſuch as thou art; and Chriſt is the ſame yeſterday, to-day, and for ever. The woe remains upon thee, and from under it thou canſt never come, but through judgment, condemnation, and true repentance. To thee this is the word of God. To that of God in thy conſcience I ſpeak, which will witneſs the truth of what I write, and will condemn thee. When thou art in thy torment (though now thou ſwelleſt in thy vanity, and liveſt in wickedneſs) remember thou waſt warned in thy lifetime. When the eternal condemnation is ſtretched over thee, thou ſhalt witneſs this to be the word of the Lord God unto thee, and if ever thine eye ſhould ſee repentance, thou wilt witneſs me to have been a friend of thy ſoul.

G. F.'

Having thus cleared my conſcience to the juſtice and the prieſt of Ulverſtone, it was upon me to ſend this warning in writing to the people of Ulverſtone in general.

'CONSIDER, O people! who are within the pariſh of Ulverſtone, I was moved of the Lord to come into your publick places to ſpeak among you, being ſent of God to direct your minds to him, that you might know where to find your teacher; that your minds

'might

'might be ſtayed alone upon God, and you might not gad abroad 1652.
'without you for a teacher; for the Lord alone will teach his peo- Swarthmore.
'ple; he is coming to teach them, and to gather his people from
'idols temples, and from the cuſtomary worſhips which all the world
'is trained up in. God hath given to every one of you a meaſure of
'his Spirit according to your capacity; Liars, drunkards, whore-
'mongers, and thieves, and who follow filthy pleaſures, you all have
'this meaſure in you. This is the meaſure of the Spirit of God,
'that ſhews you ſin, evil, and deceit; which lets you ſee lying is
'ſin; theft, drunkenneſs, and uncleanneſs, to be the works of
'darkneſs. Therefore mind your meaſure (for nothing that is un-
'clean ſhall enter into the kingdom of God) and prize your time
'while you have it, leſt the time come that you will ſay, with
'ſorrow, we had time but it is paſt. Oh! why will ye die! Why
'will ye chuſe your own ways! Why will ye follow the courſe of
'the world! Why will ye follow envy, malice, drunkenneſs, and
'fooliſh pleaſures! Know ye not in your conſciences, that all theſe
'are evil and ſin? and that ſuch as act theſe things ſhall never enter
'into the kingdom of God? Oh! that ye would conſider and ſee
'how you have ſpent your time, and mind how ye ſpend your time,
'and obſerve whom ye ſerve; for the wages of ſin is death. Do not
'ye know, that whatſoever is more than yea and nay cometh of
'evil? Oh! ye drunkards, who live in drunkenneſs, do ye think to
'eſcape the fire, the judgment of God? Though ye ſwell in venom,
'and live in luſt for a while, yet God will find you out, and bring
'you to judgment. Therefore love the light which Chriſt hath en-
'lightened you withal, who ſaith, I am the light of the world, and
'who enlightens every one that cometh into the world. One loves
'the light, and brings his works to the light, and there is no occa-
'ſion at all of ſtumbling: the other hates the light, becauſe his
'deeds are evil, and the light will reprove him. Thou that hateſt
'this light, thou haſt it. Thou knoweſt, lying is evil, drunkenneſs is
'evil, ſwearing is evil, whoredom, theft, all ungodlineſs, and un-
'righteouſneſs, are evil. Chriſt Jeſus hath given thee light enough
'to let thee ſee theſe are evil. This light, if thou loveſt it, will
'teach thee holineſs and righteouſneſs, without which none ſhall
'ſee God; but if thou hateſt this light, it is thy condemnation.
'Thus are Chriſt's words found to be true, and fulfilled among
'you. You that hate this light ſet up hirelings and idols temples,
'and ſuch prieſts as bear rule by their means; ſuch ſhepherds as
'hold up ſuch things, ſuch as are called of men maſters and have
'the chiefeſt place in the aſſemblies, whom Chriſt cried woe
'againſt, Mat. xxiii. ſuch as go in the way of Cain, in envy, and
'after the error of Balaam for wages, gifts, and rewards, theſe
'have been your teachers, and theſe you have held up. But thoſe
'who love the light are taught of God, and the Lord is coming to
'teach his people himſelf, and to gather his from the hirelings,
'from ſuch as ſeek for their gain from their quarter, and from ſuch
'as bear rule by their means. The Lord is opening the eyes of
'people, that they ſhall ſee ſuch as bear rule over them. But all,
'whoſe eyes are ſhut, are ſuch as the prophet ſpoke of, "That have

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" eyes, and ſee not; but are fooliſh, upholding ſuch things." Therefore, poor people, as ye love your own ſouls, conſider the love of God to your ſouls while ye have time, and do not turn the grace of God into wantonneſs. That which ſhews you ungodlineſs and worldly luſts ſhould and would be your teacher, if you would hearken to it; for the ſaints of old witneſſed the grace of God to be their teacher, which taught them to live ſoberly and godly in this preſent world. You that are not ſober, this grace of God hath appeared unto you; but you turn it into wantonneſs, and ſet up teachers without you, who are not ſober, not holy, not godly. Here you are left without excuſe, when the righteous judgment of God ſhall be revealed upon all who live ungodlily. Therefore to the light in you I ſpeak; and when the book of conſcience ſhall come to be opened, then ſhall you witneſs what I ſay to be true, and you all ſhall be judged out of it. God Almighty direct your minds (ſuch of you eſpecially as love honeſty and ſincerity) that you may receive mercy in the time of need. Your teacher is within you; look not forth: it will teach you both lying in bed, and going abroad, to ſhun all occaſion of ſin and evil.

G. F.'

As the foregoing was directed to all the inhabitants of Ulverſtone in general, ſo it was upon me to write to thoſe more particularly that moſt conſtantly followed W. Lampitt. To theſe I wrote after this manner:

' THE word of the Lord God to all the people that follow prieſt Lampitt, who is a blind guide. Ye are ſuch as are turned from the light of Chriſt within, which he hath enlightened you withal: ye are ſuch as follow that which Chriſt cried woe againſt, that go not in Chriſt's way, but in the Phariſees way, as ye may read, Mat. xxiii. which our Lord cried woe againſt. He is the ſame yeſterday, to-day, and for ever; but him ye own not while ye follow ſuch as he cried woe againſt, though ye make a profeſſion, and Lampitt, your prieſt, makes a trade of Chriſt's and the ſaints words, as his fathers, the Phariſees, made a profeſſion of the prophets and of Moſes's words. Woe was unto them who had not the life, ſo woe is unto you who have not the life that gave forth the ſcriptures, as your fruits have made manifeſt. For when the Lord moved ſome to come amongſt you, to preach the truth freely, you knock'd them down, beat, punched, and haled them out of your aſſemblies. Such a people ſerves thee, O Lampitt, to make a prey upon, and theſe are thy fruits. Oh! let ſhame, ſhame ſtrike thee and you all in the faces, who make a profeſſion of Chriſt's words, yet are ſtoners, ſtrikers, mockers, and ſcoffers. Let all ſee, if this be not a cage of unclean birds, which they who had the life of the ſcriptures ſpoke of. Such a company of people thou deceiveſt, feedeſt them with thy fancies, makeſt a trade of the ſcriptures, and takeſt them for thy cloak. But thou art manifeſt to all the children of light, for that cloak will not cover thee, thy ſkirts are ſeen and thy nakedneſs appears. The Lord made one

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'to go naked among you, a figure of thy nakedneſs, and of your 'nakedneſs, and as a ſign amongſt you, before your deſtruction 'cometh; that you might ſee you were naked, and not covered 'with the truth. To the light in all your conſciences I ſpeak, 'which Chriſt Jeſus doth enlighten you withal. It will ſhew you 'the time you have ſpent, and all the evil you have done in that 'time, who follow ſuch a teacher, that acts contrary to this light, 'and leads you into the ditch. When you are in the ditch to-'gether, both teacher and people, remember ye were warned in 'your life-time. If ever your eye come to ſee repentance, and you 'obey the light of Jeſus Chriſt in you, you will witneſs me to have 'been a friend of your ſouls, and that I have ſought your eternal 'good, and written this in dear love to you. Then will you own 'your condemnation; which you muſt all own before you can come 'into that bleſſed life, of which there is no end. But ye, who hate 'the light, becauſe your deeds are evil, this light is your condem-'nation. Oh! that ye would love this light and hearken to it! It 'would teach you, as you walk up and down about your occaſions, 'and as you lie upon your beds, and would never let you ſpeak a 'vain word. In loving it, you love Chriſt; in hating it, you bring 'the condemnation thereof upon yourſelves. To you this is the 'word of God, from under which you can never paſs, nor ever 'eſcape the terror of the Lord in the ſtate you are in, who hate the 'light.

G. F.'

Amongſt the chief hearers and followers of prieſt Lampitt, was Adam Sands, a very wicked, falſe man, who would have deſtroyed the truth and its followers, if he could. To him I was moved to write on this wiſe:

'Adam Sands,

'TO the light in thy conſcience I appeal, thou child of the devil, 'thou enemy of righteouſneſs; the Lord will ſtrike thee down, 'though now for a while in thy wickedneſs thou may'ſt reign. The 'plagues of God are due to thee, who hardeneſt thyſelf in wicked-'neſs againſt the pure truth of God. With the pure truth of God, 'which thou haſt reſiſted and perſecuted, thou art to be threſhed 'down, which is eternal, and doth comprehend thee. With the 'light which thou deſpiſeſt thou art ſeen, and it is thy condemna-'tion. Thou as one brutiſh, thy wife as an hypocrite, and both as 'murderers of the juſt, in that which is eternal are ſeen and com-'prehended; and your hearts ſearched, tried, and condemned by 'the light. The light in thy conſcience will witneſs the truth of 'what I write to thee, and will let thee ſee that thou art not born 'of God, but art out of the truth, in the beaſtly nature. If ever thy 'eye ſee repentance, thou wilt witneſs me a friend of thy ſoul, and a 'ſeeker of thy eternal good.

G. F.'

This Adam Sands afterwards died miſerably.

I was

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I was moved alſo to write to prieſt Tatham.

'THE word of the Lord to thee prieſt Tatham, who art found out of the doctrine of Chriſt; having the chiefeſt place in the aſſembly, being called of men maſter, and ſtanding praying in the ſynagogue in the ſteps of the Phariſees, which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt cried woe againſt. In his way thou art not, but in the way of the Scribes and Phariſees; as thou mayeſt read, Matth. xxiii. There Chriſt's words judge thee, and the ſcriptures of truth condemn thee. For thou art ſuch a one as ſues men at law for tithes, yet profeſſeſt thyſelf to be a miniſter of Chriſt; which Chriſt never impowered his to do: neither did any of his apoſtles or miniſters ever do ſo. Here I charge thee in the preſence of the Living God as one out of their doctrine, and that thou art one of thoſe evil beaſts the ſcripture ſpeaks of, that mindeſt earthly things which the life of the ſcriptures is againſt. Thou art for deſtruction in the ſtate wherein thou ſtandeſt; and it will be thy portion eternally, if thou doſt not repent. To that of God in thy conſcience I ſpeak, which will witneſs the truth of what I ſay. Thou art one that goeſt in Cain's way, in envy, an enemy to God, and from the command of God. Thou art one that goeſt in Balaam's way, from the Spirit of God, for gifts and rewards, the wages of unrighteouſneſs. Thou ſon of Balaam, thou art worſe than thy father: for though he loved the wages of unrighteouſneſs, yet he durſt not take it; but thou not only takeſt it, but ſueſt men at law if they will not give it thee: which no true miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt ever did. Therefore ſtop thy mouth for ever, and make no mention of them, nor profeſs thyſelf one of them. With the light thou art ſeen and comprehended; who art light and vain, and ſpeakeſt a divination of thy own brain, and deceiveſt the people. That in thy conſcience will witneſs what I ſay, and will condemn thee, who art one of thoſe that bear rule by their means, which the Lord ſent Jeremiah to cry againſt, Jer. v. and ſo thou holdeſt up the "horrible and filthy thing, that is committed in the land." They that do not tremble at the word of the Lord are the fooliſh people that hold thee up, they are ſottiſh children without underſtanding. They are wiſe to do evil, but not to do good, who are deceived by thee. Thou art one of thoſe that ſeek their gain from their quarter; a greedy dumb dog that never hath enough, as thy practice makes manifeſt; ſuch the Lord ſent Iſaiah to cry againſt, Iſa. lvi. 11, 12. Thou art ſuch a one as the Lord ſent Ezekiel to cry againſt, who feedeſt of the fat, and clotheſt with the wool, and makeſt a prey of the people. But the Lord is gathering his ſheep from thy mouth, that to thee they ſhall be a prey no longer. Thou enemy of God, here this prophecy is fulfilled upon thee, Ezek. xxxiv. and thou art one of them. I charge it upon thee in the preſence of the Living God. A hireling thou art, and thoſe that put not into thy mouth, thou prepareſt war againſt. Thou hateſt the good, and loveſt the evil; which the Lord ſent Micah to cry againſt, Mic. iii. Cover thy lips, and ſtop thy mouth for ever, thou child of darkneſs; for with the light

'thou art comprehended, and ſeen to be among them which the 'holy men of God cried woe againſt; and by the Spirit of the 'Living God thou art judged. In the light, which is thy condem-'nation, thou art comprehended, Thy race is ſeen, and thy com-'paſs known, who art out of the commands of Chriſt, and out of the 'doctrine and life of the apoſtles. Thou art proved and tried. To 'thee this is the word of the Lord; to thee it ſhall be as an hammer, 'a fire, and a ſword; and from under it thou ſhalt never come, un-'leſs thou repent; who art with the light to be condemned, in that 'ſtate wherein thou ſtandeſt. If ever thine eye ſee repentance, this 'thy condemnation thou muſt own.

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G. F.'

I wrote alſo to —— Burton, prieſt of Sedberg, to the ſame purpoſe, he being in the ſame evil ground, nature, and practice. Many other epiſtles alſo and papers I wrote about that time, as the Lord moved me thereunto, which I ſent among the prieſts, profeſſors, and people of all ſorts, for the laying their evil ways open before them, that they might ſee and forſake them; and opening the way of truth unto them, that they might come to walk therein: which are too many and large to be inſerted in this place.

After I had cleared my conſcience to the prieſts and people near Swarthmore, I went again into Weſtmoreland. A company of men with pikes and ſtaves laid wait for me at a bridge in the way; and they met with ſome friends, but miſſed me. Afterwards they came to the meeting with their pikes and ſtaves; but juſtice Benſon being there, and many conſiderable people beſides, they were prevented from doing that miſchief they intended. So they went away in a great rage, without hurting any body.

Weſtmoreland.

I went from the meeting to Grayrigg, and held a meeting at Alexander Dickſon's; to which the prieſt, who was a baptiſt and a chapel-prieſt, came to oppoſe; but the Lord confounded him by his power. Some of the people tumbled down ſome milk-pails which ſtood upon the ſide of the houſe (which was much crowded) whereupon the prieſt, after he and his company were gone, raiſed a ſlander, "That the devil frighted him, and took "away a ſide of the houſe, while he was in the meeting." And though this was a known falſhood, yet it ſerved the prieſts and profeſſors to feed on for a while; and ſo ſhameleſs they were, that they printed and publiſhed it.

Grayrigg.

Another time this prieſt came to a meeting, and fell to jangling. Firſt he ſaid, "The ſcriptures were the word of God." I told him, they were the words of God, but not Chriſt, the Word; and bid him prove by ſcripture what he ſaid. Then he ſaid, it was not the ſcripture that was the word; and ſetting his foot upon the bible, ſaid, it was but copies bound up together. Many unſavory words came from him, but after he was gone we had a bleſſed meeting; the Lord's power and preſence was preciouſly manifeſted and felt among us. Soon after he ſent me a challenge to meet him at Kendal. I ſent him word he need not go ſo far as Kendal, for I would meet him in his own pariſh. The hour being fixed, we met,

1652. Grayrigg. and abundance of rude people gathered together (beſides the baptized people who were his own members) with intent to do miſchief, but God prevented them. I declared the day of the Lord to them, and directed them to Chriſt Jeſus. Then the prieſt out with his bible, and ſaid, It was the word of God. I told him it was the words of God, but not God the Word. His anſwer was, He would prove the ſcriptures to be the word before all the people. I let him go on, having a man there that could take down in writing both what he and I ſaid. When he could not prove it (for I kept him to ſcripture-proof, chapter and verſe for it) the people gnaſhed their teeth for anger, and ſaid, He would have me anon: but in going about to prove that one error, he ran into many. And when at length he ſaw he could not prove it, he ſaid, he would prove it a God: ſo he toiled himſelf afreſh, till he ſweat again; but could not prove what he had affirmed. And he and his company were full of wrath: for I kept his aſſertions on the head of him and them all; and told them, I owned what the ſcriptures ſaid of themſelves, namely, that they were the words of God, but Chriſt was the Word. So the Lord's power came over all, and they being confounded went away. The Lord diſappointed their miſchievous intentions againſt me; friends were eſtabliſhed in Chriſt, and many of the prieſt's followers ſaw the folly of their teacher.

Cartmel. After this prieſt Bennet, of Cartmel, ſent a challenge to diſpute with me. I came to his ſteeple-houſe on a firſt-day, and found him preaching. When he had done, I ſpoke to him and his people; yet the prieſt would not ſtand the trial, but went his way. After he was gone, I had a great deal of diſcourſe with the people: and when I was come into the ſteeple-houſe yard, diſcourſing further with the profeſſors and declaring truth unto them, one of them ſet his foot behind me, and two of them ran againſt my breaſt, and threw me down backwards againſt a grave-ſtone, wickedly and maliciouſly ſeeking to have hurt me: but I got up again, and was moved of the Lord to ſpeak to them. Then I went to the prieſt's houſe, and deſired him to come forth that I might diſcourſe with him, ſeeing he had challenged me; but he would not be ſeen. So the Lord's power came over them all, which was greatly manifeſt at that time. There was amongſt the prieſt's hearers one Richard Roper, one of the bittereſt profeſſors the prieſt had, who was very fierce and hot in contention; but afterwards he came to be convinced of God's eternal truth, became a miniſter thereof, and continued faithful to his death.

1653. Swarthmore. About the beginning of the year 1653 I returned to Swarthmore, and going to a meeting at Gleaſton, a profeſſor challenged a diſpute with me. I went to the houſe where he was, and called him to come forth; but the Lord's power was over him, ſo that he durſt not meddle. I departed thence, viſited the meetings of friends in Lancaſhire, and came back to Swarthmore. Great openings I had from the Lord, not only of divine and ſpiritual matters, but alſo of outward things relating to the civil government. Being one day in Swarthmore-hall, when judge Fell and juſtice Benſon were talking of the news, and of the parliament then ſitting (called the long parliament)

Lancaſhire. Swarthmore.

ment) I was moved to tell them, Before that day two weeks the parliament ſhould be broken up, and the ſpeaker plucked out of his chair; and that day two weeks juſtice Benſon told judge Fell, that now he ſaw George was a true prophet; for Oliver had broken up the parliament. 1653. Swarthmore.

About this time I was in a faſt for about ten days, my ſpirit being greatly exerciſed on truth's behalf: for James Milner and Richard Myer went out into imaginations, and a company followed them. This James Milner and ſome of his company had true openings at the firſt; but getting up into pride and exaltation of ſpirit, they ran out from truth. I was ſent for to them, and was moved of the Lord to go and ſhew them their out-goings: and they were brought to ſee their folly, and condemned it, and came into the way of truth again. After ſome time I went to a meeting at Arnſide, where Richard Myer was, who had been long lame of one of his arms. I was moved of the Lord to ſay unto him amongſt all the people, "Stand up upon thy legs," for he was ſitting down; and he ſtood up, and ſtretched out his arm that had been lame a long time, and ſaid, "Be it known unto you, "all people, that this day I am healed." Yet his parents could hardly believe it; but after the meeting was done, had him aſide, took off his doublet, and then ſaw it was true. He came ſoon after to Swarthmore meeting, and there declared how the Lord had healed him. Yet after this the Lord commanded him to go to York with a meſſage from him; which he diſobeyed, and the Lord ſtruck him again, ſo that he died about three quarters of a year after. Arnſide. Swarthmore.

Now were great threatenings given forth in Cumberland, That if ever I came there, they would take away my life. When I heard it, I was drawn to go into Cumberland; and went to Miles Wennington's, in the ſame pariſh from which thoſe threatenings came: but they had not power to touch me. Cumberland.

About this time Anthony Pearſon was convinced, who had been an oppoſer of friends. He came to Swarthmore; and I being then at colonel Weſt's, they ſent for me. Colonel Weſt ſaid, "Go, George, "for it may be of great ſervice to the man." So I went, and the Lord's power reached him.

About this time alſo the Lord opened ſeveral mouths to declare the truth to prieſts and people, and divers were caſt into priſon. I went again into Cumberland; and Anthony Pearſon and his wife, and ſeveral friends, went along with me to Bootle, where Anthony left me, and went to Carliſle ſeſſions: for he was a juſtice of the peace in three counties. Upon the firſt day I went into the ſteeple-houſe at Bootle; and when the prieſt had done, I began to ſpeak. The people were exceeding rude, and beat me in the ſteeple-houſe yard. One gave me a very great blow over my wriſt, ſo that the people thought he had broken my hand to pieces. The conſtable was very willing to have kept the peace, and would have ſet ſome of thoſe by the heels that ſtruck me, if I would have given way to it. After my ſervice amongſt them was over, I went to Joſeph Nicholſon's, and the conſtable accompanied us, to keep off the rude multitude. In the afternoon I went up again; and then the prieſt had got another prieſt to help him, that came from London, who was highly accounted of. Before Bootle.

1653. Bootle. I went into the ſteeple-houſe, I ſat a little upon the croſs, and friends with me; but they were moved to go into the ſteeple-houſe, and I went in after them. The London prieſt was preaching, who gathered up all the ſcriptures he could think of, that ſpake of falſe prophets, antichriſts, and deceivers, and threw them upon us. When he had done, I recollected all thoſe ſcriptures, and brought them back upon himſelf. Then the people fell upon me in a rude manner; but the conſtable charged them to keep the peace, and made them quiet again. Then the prieſt began to rage; and ſaid, I muſt not ſpeak there. I told him, He had his hour-glaſs, by which he had preached; and he having done, the time was free for me, as well as for him: for he was but a ſtranger there himſelf. So I opened the ſcriptures to them, and let them ſee, 'That thoſe ſcriptures, which ſpake of the falſe pro-'phets, antichriſts, and deceivers, deſcribed them and their generation, 'and belonged to them who were found walking in their ſteps, and 'bringing forth their fruits; and not unto us, who were not guilty of 'ſuch things.' I manifeſted to them, that they were out of the ſteps of the true prophets and apoſtles; and ſhewed them clearly, by the fruits and marks, that they, and not we, were ſuch as thoſe ſcriptures ſpoke of. And I declared the truth and the word of life to the people, and directed them to Chriſt their teacher. All was quiet while I was ſpeaking; but when I had done, and was come forth, the prieſts were in ſuch a fret and rage, that they foamed at the mouth for anger againſt me. The prieſt of the place made an oration to the people in the ſteeple-houſe yard, ſaying, 'This man hath gotten all the honeſt 'men and women in Lancaſhire to him, and now he comes here to 'do the ſame.' Then, ſaid I to him, 'What wilt thou have left? 'And what have the prieſts left them, but ſuch as themſelves? For 'if they be the honeſt that receive the truth and are turned to Chriſt, 'then they muſt be the diſhoneſt that follow thee, and ſuch as thou 'art.' Some alſo of the prieſt's people began to plead for their prieſt, and for tythes. I told them, It were better for them to plead for Chriſt, who had ended the tything prieſthood with the tythes, and had ſent forth his miniſters to give freely, as they had received freely. So the Lord's power came over, put to ſilence, and reſtrained the rude people, that they could not do the miſchief they intended. When I came down again to Joſeph Nicholſon's houſe, I ſaw a great hole in my coat, which was cut with a knife, but it was not cut through my waiſtcoat, for the Lord had prevented their miſchief. The next day there was a rude wicked man would have done violence to a friend, but the Lord's power ſtopped him.

Now was I moved to ſend James Lancaſter to appoint a meeting at John Wilkinſon's ſteeple-houſe near Cockermouth; a preacher in great repute, who had three pariſhes under him; wherefore I ſtaid at Milholm in Bootle till he came back again. In the mean time ſome of the gentry of the country had formed a plot againſt me, and had given a little boy a rapier to do me a miſchief with. They came with the boy to Joſeph Nicholſon's to ſeek me; but the Lord had ſo ordered it, I was gone into the fields. They met with James Lancaſter, but did not much abuſe him; and not finding me in the houſe, went away again. So I walked up and down in the fields that night, and did not

not go to bed, as very often I uſed to do. We came the next day to the ſteeple-houſe, where James Lancaſter had appointed the meeting. There were at this meeting twelve ſoldiers and their wives, from Carliſle; and the country people came in, like as it had been to a fair. I lay at an houſe ſomewhat ſhort of the place, ſo that many friends were got thither before me. When I came, I found James Lancaſter ſpeaking under a yew tree; which was ſo full of people, I feared they would break it down. I looked about for a place to ſtand upon, to ſpeak unto the people: for they lay all up and down, like people at a leaguer. After I was diſcovered, a profeſſor aſked, If I would not go into the church? I ſeeing no place abroad convenient to ſpeak to the people from, told him, Yes: whereupon the people ruſhed in; ſo that when I came, the houſe and pulpit was ſo full, I had much ado to get in. Thoſe that could not get in, ſtood abroad about the walls. When the people were ſettled, I ſtood up on a ſeat. 'And 'the Lord opened my mouth to declare his everlaſting truth and his 'everlaſting day; and to lay open their teachers, with the rudiments, 'traditions, and inventions they had been under in the night of apo-'ſtaſy ſince the apoſtles days. I turned them to Chriſt the true teacher, 'and to the true ſpiritual worſhip; directing them where to find the 'Spirit and truth, that they might worſhip God therein. I explained 'Chriſt's parables unto them, and directed them to the Spirit of God in 'themſelves, that would open the ſcriptures unto them. I ſhewed 'them, how all might come to know their Saviour, ſit under his 'teaching, come to be heirs of the kingdom of God, and know 'God's and Chriſt's voice, by which they might diſcover all the 'falſe ſhepherds and teachers they had been under, and be gathered 'to the true Shepherd, Prieſt, Biſhop, and Prophet Chriſt Jeſus, whom 'God commanded all to hear.'

1653. Meeting near Cockermouth.

When I had largely declared the word of life unto them for about the ſpace of three hours, I walked from amongſt the people, who paſſed away well ſatisfied. Among the reſt a profeſſor followed me, praiſing and commending me; but his words were like a thiſtle to me. At laſt I turned about, and bid him 'Fear the Lord;' whereupon prieſt Larkham of Cockermouth (for ſeveral prieſts were got together on the way, who came after the meeting was done) ſaid to me, 'Sir, why do you judge ſo? you muſt not judge.' I turned to him, and ſaid, 'Friend, doſt thou not diſcern an exhortation from a judg-'ment? I admoniſhed him to fear God; and doſt thou ſay I judge him?' So this prieſt and I falling into diſcourſe, I manifeſted him to be amongſt the falſe prophets and covetous hirelings; and ſeveral being moved to ſpeak to them, he and two other of the prieſts ſoon got away. When they were gone, John Wilkinſon, preacher of that pariſh, and of two other pariſhes in Cumberland, began to diſpute againſt his own conſcience for ſeveral hours, till the people generally turned againſt him: for he thought to have tired me out; but the Lord's power tired him out, and the Lord's truth came over him and them all. Many hundreds were convinced that day, who received the Lord Jeſus Chriſt and his free teaching with gladneſs; of whom ſome have died in the truth, and many ſtand faithful witneſſes thereof. The ſoldiers alſo were convinced and their wives, and continued with me till firſt day.

1653. Cocker-mouth.

On first day I went to the steeple-house at Cockermouth, where priest Larkham lived. When he had done, I began to speak, and the people began to be rude; but the soldiers told them, we had broken no law, and they became quiet. Then I turned to the priest, and laid him open among the false prophets and hirelings; at which word he went his way, saying, 'He calls me hireling;' which was true; all the people knew it. Some great men of the town said, 'Sir, we 'have no learned men to dispute with you.' I told them, I came not to dispute, but to shew the way of salvation to them, the way of everlasting life. I declared largely the way of life and truth to them, and directed them to Christ their teacher, who died for them, and bought them with his blood.

Brigham.

When I had done, I went about two miles to another great steeple-house of John Wilkinson's, called Brigham; where the people, having been at the other meeting, were mightily affected, and would have put my horse into the steeple-house yard: but I said, 'No; the priest 'claims that; have him to an inn.' When I came into the steeple-house yard, I saw the people coming in great companies, as to a fair; and abundance were already gathered in the lanes and about the steeple-house. I was very thirsty, and walked about a quarter of a mile to a brook, where I got some water, and refreshed myself. As I came up again, I met Wilkinson: who, as I passed by him, said, 'Sir, will 'you preach to-day? If you will,' said he, 'I will not oppose you in 'word or thought.' I replied, 'Oppose, if thou wilt; I have some-'thing to speak to the people. And,' said I, 'thou carriedst thyself 'foolishly the other day, and spakest against thy conscience and rea-'son, insomuch that thy hearers cried out against thee.' So I left him, and went on; for he saw it was in vain to oppose, the people were so affected with the Lord's truth. When I came into the steeple-house yard, a professor asked, If I would not go into the church? And I seeing no convenient place abroad, went in; and stood up on a seat, after the people were settled. The priest came in also, but did not go up to his pulpit. 'The Lord opened my mouth, and I declared his 'everlasting truth and word of life to the people; directing them to 'the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God, 'Christ, and the scriptures, and come to have heavenly fellowship in 'the Spirit. I declared to them, that every one that cometh into the 'world was enlightened by Christ the life; by which light they might 'see their sins, and Christ, who was come to save them from their 'sins, and died for them. And if they came to walk in this light, 'they might therein see Christ to be the author of their faith, and the 'finisher thereof; their Shepherd to feed them, their Priest to teach 'them, their great Prophet to open divine mysteries unto them, and to 'be always present with them. I explained also to them, in the open-'ings of the Lord, the first covenant, shewing them the figures, and 'the substance of those figures; bringing them on to Christ, the new 'covenant. I also manifested to them, that there had been a night of 'apostasy since the apostles days; but that now the everlasting gospel 'was preached again, which brought life and immortality to light; and 'the day of the Lord was come, and Christ was come to teach his 'people himself by his light, grace, power, and spirit.' A fine op-

portunity

portunity the Lord gave me to preach truth that day for about three hours, and all was quiet. Many hundreds were convinced; and ſome of them praiſed God, and ſaid, 'Now we know the firſt ſtep to peace.' 'The preacher alſo ſaid privately to ſome of his hearers, that I had broken them, and overthrown them. 1653. Brigham.

After this I went to a village, and many people accompanied me. As I was ſitting in an houſe full of people, declaring the word of life unto them, I caſt mine eye upon a woman, and diſcerned an unclean ſpirit in her. I was moved of the Lord to ſpeak ſharply to her; and told her, ſhe was under the influence of an unclean ſpirit. Whereupon the woman went out of the room. I being a ſtranger there, and knowing nothing of the woman outwardly, the people wondered, and told me afterwards, I had diſcovered a great thing: for all the country looked upon her to be a wicked perſon. The Lord had given me a Spirit of diſcerning, by which I many times ſaw the ſtates and conditions of people, and could try their ſpirits. Not long before, as I was going to a meeting, I ſaw ſome women in a field, and diſcerned an evil ſpirit in them; and I was moved to go out of my way into the field to them, and declare unto them their conditions. Another time there came one into Swarthmore hall in the meeting-time, and I was moved to ſpeak ſharply to her, and told her ſhe was under the power of an evil ſpirit; and the people ſaid afterwards, ſhe was generally accounted ſo to be. There came alſo another time a woman, and ſtood at a diſtance from me. I caſt mine eye upon her, and ſaid, 'Thou haſt been 'an harlot:' for I perfectly ſaw the condition and life of the woman. She anſwered, Many could tell her of her outward ſins, but none could tell her of her inward. I told her, Her heart was not right before the Lord; and that from the inward came the outward. This woman was afterwards convinced of God's truth, and became a friend. A village.

From the aforeſaid village we came to Thomas Bewley's, near Coldbeck; and from thence, having had ſome ſervice for the Lord there, I paſſed to a market-town, where I had a meeting at the croſs; and all was pretty quiet. When I had declared the truth unto them, and directed them to Chriſt their teacher, ſome received the truth. We had another meeting upon the borders, in a ſteeple-houſe yard, to which many profeſſors and contenders came; but the Lord's power was over all; and when the word of life had been declared amongſt them, ſome received the truth there alſo. Coldbeck. At a market town.

From thence we travelled to Carliſle, and the paſtor of the baptiſts, with moſt of his hearers, came to the abbey, where I had a meeting, and declared the word of life amongſt them. Many of the baptiſts and of the ſoldiers were convinced. After the meeting, the paſtor of the baptiſts, an high notioniſt, and a flaſhy man, aſked me, 'What 'muſt be damned?' I was moved immediately to tell him, 'That 'which ſpoke in him was to be damned.' This ſtopped his mouth; and the witneſs of God was raiſed up in him. I opened to him the ſtates of election and reprobation; ſo that he ſaid, He never heard the like in his life. He came afterwards to be convinced. Carliſle.

Then

1653. Carliſle.

Then I went to the caſtle among the ſoldiers; who beat a drum, and called the garriſon together. I preached the truth amongſt them, 'directing them to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt to be their teacher, and to 'the meaſure of his Spirit in themſelves, by which they might be 'turned from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto 'God. I warned them all, that they ſhould do no violence to any 'man, but ſhould ſhew forth a chriſtian life: telling them, that he 'who was to be their teacher, would be their condemner, if they were 'diſobedient to him.' So I left them, having no oppoſition from any 'of them, except the ſerjeants, who afterwards came to be con-'vinced.'

On the market-day I went to the croſs. The magiſtrates had both threatened, and ſent their ſerjeants; and the magiſtrates wives had ſaid, If I came there, they would pluck the hair off my head; and the ſerjeants ſhould take me up. Nevertheleſs I obeyed the Lord God, went upon the croſs, and declared unto them, 'That the day of the 'Lord was coming upon all their deceitful ways and doings, and de-'ceitful merchandize; that they ſhould put away all cozening and 'cheating, and keep to Yea and Nay, and ſpeak the truth one to an-'other: ſo the truth and the power of God was ſet over them.' After I had declared the word of life to the people, the throng being ſo great that the ſerjeants could not reach me, nor the magiſtrates wives come at me, I paſſed away quietly. Many people and ſoldiers came to me, and ſome baptiſts, that were bitter contenders; amongſt whom one of their deacons, an envious man, finding the Lord's power was over them, cried out for very anger. Whereupon I ſet my eyes upon him, and ſpoke ſharply to him in the power of the Lord: and he cried, 'Do not pierce me ſo with thy eyes; keep thy eyes off me.'

The firſt day following I went into the ſteeple-houſe: and after the prieſt had done, I preached the truth to the people, and declared the word of life amongſt them. The prieſt got away; and the magiſtrates deſired me to go out of the ſteeple-houſe. But I ſtill declared the way of the Lord unto them, and told them, I came to ſpeak the word of life and ſalvation from the Lord amongſt them. The power of the Lord was dreadful amongſt them, ſo that the people trembled and ſhook; and they thought the ſteeple-houſe ſhook; ſome of them feared it would have fallen down on their heads. The magiſtrates wives were in a rage, and ſtrove mightily to have been at me: but the ſoldiers and friendly people ſtood thick about me. At length the rude people of the city roſe, and came with ſtaves and ſtones into the ſteeple-houſe, crying, 'Down with theſe round-headed 'rogues:' and they threw ſtones. Whereupon the governor ſent a file or two of muſqueteers into the ſteeple-houſe, to appeaſe the tumult; and commanded all the other ſoldiers out. So thoſe ſoldiers took me by the hand in a friendly manner, and ſaid, they would have me along with them. When we came into the ſtreet, the city was in an uproar; the governor came down; and ſome of thoſe ſoldiers were put in priſon for ſtanding by me againſt the town's-people. A lieutenant, who had been convinced, came and brought me to his houſe, where there was a baptiſts meeting, and thither came friends alſo.

alſo. We had a very quiet meeting; they heard the word of life gladly, and many received it. The next day, the juſtices and magiſtrates of the town being gathered together in the town-hall, they granted a warrant againſt me; and ſent for me before them. I was then gone to a baptiſt's; but hearing of it, I went up to the hall, where many rude people were: ſome of whom had ſworn ſtrange falſe things againſt me. I had a great deal of diſcourſe with the magiſtrates, wherein I laid open the fruits of their prieſts preaching; ſhewed them how they were void of Chriſtianity; and that, though they were ſuch great profeſſors (for they were independents and preſbyterians) they were without the poſſeſſion of that which they profeſſed. After a large examination, they committed me to priſon as a blaſphemer, an heretick, and a ſeducer; though they could not juſtly charge any ſuch thing againſt me. The gaol at Carliſle had two gaolers, an upper and an under, who looked like two bear-wards. When I was brought in, the upper gaoler had me up into a great chamber, and told me, I ſhould have what I would in that room. But I told him, he ſhould not expect any money from me, for I would neither lie in any of his beds, nor eat any of his victuals. Then he put me into another room; where after a while I got ſomething to lie upon. There I lay till the aſſizes came; and then all the talk was, that I was to be hanged. The high ſheriff, Wilfred Lawſon, ſtirred them much up to take away my life; and ſaid, He would guard me to my execution himſelf. They were in a rage, and ſet three muſqueteers for guard upon me; one at my chamber-door, another at the ſtairs-foot, and a third at the ſtreet-door; and they would let none come at me, except one ſometimes, to bring me ſome neceſſary things. At night they would bring up prieſts to me, ſometimes as late as the tenth hour; who were exceeding rude and deviliſh. There were a company of bitter Scotch prieſts, preſbyterians, made up of envy and malice, who were not fit to ſpeak of the things of God, they were ſo foul-mouthed; but the Lord by his power gave me dominion over them all, and I let them ſee both their fruits and their ſpirits. Great ladies alſo (as they were called) came to ſee the man that they ſaid was to die. While the judge, juſtices, and ſheriff were contriving together how they might put me to death, the Lord diſappointed their deſigns by an unexpected way. For the judge's clerk, as I was informed, ſtarted a queſtion among them, which confounded all their counſels; after which, they had not power to call me before the judge.

1653. Carliſle.

G. Fox committed to Carliſle priſon.

Carliſle aſſize.

Anthony Pearſon being then in Carliſle, and perceiving they did not intend to bring me upon my trial, wrote a letter to the judges, as followeth:

'To the judges of aſſize and gaol-delivery for the northern parts, 'ſitting at Carliſle.

'YOU are raiſed up to do righteouſneſs and juſtice, and ſent forth 'to puniſh him that doth evil, and to encourage him that doth 'well, and to ſet the oppreſſed free. I am therefore moved to lay

1653. Carliſle aſſizes.

'before you the condition of GEORGE FOX, whom the magiſtrates 'of this city have caſt into priſon for words that he is accuſed to have 'ſpoken, which they call blaſphemy. He was ſent to the gaol, till 'he ſhould be delivered by due courſe of law; and it was expected 'he ſhould have been proceeded againſt in the common law-courſe 'at this aſſizes. The informations againſt him were delivered into 'court, and the act allows and appoints that way of trial. How 'hardly and unchriſtianly he hath been hitherto dealt with, I ſhall 'not now mention; but you may conſider, that nothing he is ac-'cuſed of is nice and difficult. And, to my knowledge, he utterly 'abhors and deteſts every particular which by the act againſt blaſ-'phemous opinions is appointed to be puniſhed, and differs as much 'from thoſe people againſt whom the law was made, as light from 'darkneſs. Though he be committed, judgment is not given 'him, nor have his accuſers been face to face, to affirm before him 'what they have informed againſt him; nor was he heard as to the 'particulars of their accuſation, nor doth it appear that any word 'they charge againſt him is within the act. But indeed I could not 'yet ſo much as ſee the information, no not in court, though I de-'ſired it both of the clerk of the aſſizes and of the magiſtrate's clerk; 'nor hath he had a copy of them. This is very hard; and that he 'ſhould be ſo cloſe reſtrained, that his friends may not ſpeak with 'him, I know no law nor reaſon for. I do therefore claim for him 'a due and lawful hearing, and that he may have a copy of his 'charge, and freedom to anſwer for himſelf; and that rather before 'you, than to be left to the rulers of this town, who are not com-'petent judges of blaſphemy, as by their mittimus appears; who 'have committed him upon an act of parliament, and mention 'words as ſpoken by him at his examination which are not within 'the act, and which he utterly denies. The words mentioned in the 'mittimus he denies to have ſpoken, and hath neither profeſſed nor 'avowed them.

'Anthony Pearſon.'

Notwithſtanding this letter, the judges were reſolved not to ſuffer me to be brought before them; but reviling and ſcoffing at me behind my back, left me to the magiſtrates of the town: giving them what encouragement they could to exerciſe their cruelty upon me. Whereupon (though I had been kept ſo cloſe in the gaoler's houſe that friends were not ſuffered to come at me, and colonel Benſon and juſtice Pearſon were denied to ſee me, yet) the next day, after the judges were gone out of town, an order was ſent to the gaoler to put me down into the priſon amongſt the moſs-troopers, thieves, and murderers; which accordingly he did. A filthy, naſty place it was, where men and women were put together in a very uncivil manner, and never a houſe of office to it; and the priſoners ſo louſy, that one woman was almoſt eaten to death with lice. Yet as bad as the place was, the priſoners were all made very loving and ſubject to me, and ſome of them were convinced of the truth, as the publicans and harlots were of old; ſo that they were able to confound any prieſt that might come to the grates to diſpute. But the gaoler was cruel,

Carliſle priſon.

and the under-gaoler very abuſive both to me and to friends that came to ſee me; for he would beat friends with a great cudgel, who did but come to the window to look in upon me. I could get up to the grate, where ſometimes I took in my meat; at which the gaoler was often offended. Once he came in a great rage, and beat me with his cudgel, though I was not at the grate at that time; and as he beat me, he cried, come out of the window, though I was then far from it. While he ſtruck me, I was moved to ſing in the Lord's power, which made him rage the more. Then he fetched a fidler, and ſet him to play, thinking to vex me; but while he played, I was moved in the everlaſting power of the Lord God to ſing; and my voice drowned the noiſe of the fiddle, ſtruck and confounded them, and made them give over fiddling and go their way. 1653. Carliſle priſon.

Juſtice Benſon's wife was moved of the Lord to come to viſit me, and to eat no meat but what ſhe eat with me at the bars of the priſon window. She was afterwards herſelf impriſoned at York, when ſhe was great with child, for ſpeaking to a prieſt; and was kept in priſon, and not ſuffered to go out when the time of her travail was come: ſo ſhe was delivered of her child in the priſon. She was an honeſt, tender woman, and continued faithful to the truth until ſhe died.

Whilſt I was in priſon at Carliſle, James Parnel, a little lad about ſixteen years of age, came to ſee me, and was convinced. The Lord quickly made him a powerful miniſter of the word of life, and many were turned to Chriſt by him, though he lived not long. For travelling into Eſſex in the work of the miniſtry, in the year 1655, he was committed to Colcheſter caſtle, where he endured very great hardſhips and ſufferings; being put by the cruel gaoler into a hole in the caſtle wall, called the oven, ſo high from the ground that he went up to it by a ladder, which being ſix feet too ſhort, he was obliged to climb from the ladder to the hole by a rope that was faſtened above. And when friends would have given him a cord and a baſket to have drawn up his victuals in, the inhuman gaoler would not ſuffer them, but forced him to go down and up by that ſhort ladder and rope to fetch his victuals (which for a long time he did) or elſe he might have famiſhed in the hole. At length his limbs being much benumbed with lying in that place, yet being obliged to go down to take up ſome victuals, as he came up the ladder again with his victuals in one hand, and catched at the rope with the other, he miſſed the rope and fell down from a very great height upon the ſtones; by which fall he was ſo wounded in his head, arms, and body, that he died in a ſhort time after. When he was dead the wicked profeſſors, to cover their cruelty, wrote a book of him, and ſaid, "He faſted himſelf to death;" which was an abominable falſhood, and was manifeſted ſo to be by another book, wrote in anſwer to that, called, "The Lamb's Defence againſt "Lies."

When I ſaw that I was not like to be brought to a publick hearing and trial (although I had before anſwered in writing the particular matters charged againſt me at the time of my firſt examination and commitment) I was moved to ſend the following paper, as a publick

1653. Carliſle priſon.

publick challenge to all thoſe that belied the truth and me behind my back, to come forth and make good their charge.

'IF any in Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, or elſewhere, that profeſs chriſtianity and pretend to love God and Chriſt, are not 'ſatisfied concerning the things of God which I George Fox have 'ſpoken and declared, let them publiſh their diſſatisfaction in writ-'ing, and not backbite, lie, and perſecute in ſecret. This I de-'mand of you all in the preſence of the Living God, as ye will an-'ſwer it to him. For the exaltation of the truth, and the con-'founding of the deceit, is this given forth. To that of God in 'your conſciences I ſpeak; declare or write your diſſatisfaction to 'any of them whom you call Quakers, that truth may be exalted, 'and all may come to the light, with which Chriſt hath enlightened 'every one that cometh into the world; that nothing may be hid in 'darkneſs, in priſons, holes, or corners; but that all things may be 'brought to the light of Chriſt, and by it may be tried. This I am 'moved of the Lord to write, and publiſh to be ſet upon the 'market-croſſes in Weſtmoreland and elſewhere. To the light of 'Chriſt in you I ſpeak, that none of you may ſpeak evil of the 'things of God, which you know not; nor act contrary to the 'light that gave forth the ſcriptures: leſt you be found fighters 'againſt God, and the hand of the Lord be turned againſt you.

G. F.'

While I thus lay in priſon, the report raiſed at the time of the aſſizes, "That I ſhould be put to death," was gone far and near; inſomuch that the parliament then ſitting, which I think was called the little parliament, hearing that a young man at Carliſle was to die for religion, cauſed a letter to be ſent to the ſheriff and magiſtrates concerning me. Much about the ſame time I wrote alſo to the juſtices at Carliſle, who had caſt me into priſon, and perſecuted friends at the inſtigation of the prieſts for tithes; expoſtulating the matter with them thus:

'Friends, Thomas Craſton and Cuthbert Studholm,

'YOUR noiſe is gone up to London before the ſober people. What 'impriſoning, what gagging, what havock and ſpoiling the 'goods of people have you made within theſe few years! Unlike 'men; as though you had never read the ſcriptures, or had not 'minded them! Is this the end of Carliſle's religion? Is this the 'end of your miniſtry? Is this the end of your church, and of your 'profeſſion of chriſtianity? You have ſhamed it by your folly, 'madneſs, and blind zeal. Was it not always the work of the blind 'guides, watchmen, leaders, and falſe prophets, to prepare war 'againſt them that could not put into their mouths? Have not you 'been the prieſts pack-horſes and executioners? When they ſpur 'you up to bear the ſword againſt the juſt, do not you run on 'againſt thoſe that cannot hold up ſuch as the ſcriptures always teſti-'fied againſt? Yet will you lift up your unholy hands, and call

upon

1653. Carliſle priſon.

'upon God with your polluted lips, and pretend a faſt, who are full of ſtrife and debate. Did your hearts never burn within you? Did you never come to queſtion your conditions? Are you wholly given up to do the devil's luſts, to perſecute? Where is your loving enemies? Where is your entertaining ſtrangers? Where is your overcoming evil with good? Where are your teachers, that can ſtop the mouths of gain-ſayers, convince gain-ſayers, and ſuch as oppoſe themſelves? Have you no miniſters of the Spirit, no ſoldiers with ſpiritual weapons, diſplaying Chriſt's colours? But all the dragon's, the murderer's, the perſecutor's, arm of fleſh, Cain's weapons, chief prieſts taking counſel, Judas and the multitude with ſwords and ſtaves, Sodom's company raging about Lot's houſe, like the prieſts and princes againſt Jeremiah, like the dragon, beaſt, and great whore, and the falſe church, which John ſaw ſhould caſt into priſon, kill, and perſecute? Whoſe weapons are you bearing? Doth not the falſe church, the whore, make merchandize of cattle, corn, wine, and oil, even to the very ſouls of men? Hath not all this been ſince the true church went into the wilderneſs? Read Revelations the 12th, with the 18th: do you not read and ſee what a ſpirit you are of, and what a bottomleſs pit you are in? Have not you diſhonoured the place of juſtice and authority? What! turned your ſword backward, like madmen, who are a praiſe to the evil-doer, and would be a terror to the good, with all force and might to ſtop the way of juſtice! Doth not the Lord, think you, behold your actions? How many have you wronged? How many have you impriſoned, perſecuted, and put out of your ſynagogues? Are you they that muſt fulfil the prophecy of Chriſt, Matth. xxiii. John xvi. Read the ſcriptures, ſee how unlike you are to the prophets, Chriſt, and his apoſtles, and what a viſage you have, like unto them that perſecuted the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles. You are found in their ſteps, wreſtling with fleſh and blood, not with principalities and powers, and ſpiritual wickedneſs; your teachers impriſoning and perſecuting for outward things, you being their executioners; the like whereof hath not been in all the nations. The havock that hath been made, the ſpoiling of peoples goods, taking away their oxen and fatted beeves, their ſheep, corn, wool, and houſhold goods, and giving them to the prieſts that have done no work for them. More like moſs-troopers than miniſters of the goſpel, they take them from friends; ſuing them in your courts, and fining them becauſe they will not break the command of Chriſt; that is, becauſe they will not ſwear. Thus you act againſt them that do not lift up a hand againſt you, and as much as you turn againſt them you turn againſt Chriſt. But he is riſen that will plead their cauſe, and you cannot be hid. Your works are come to light, and the end of your miniſtry is ſeen, what it is for; for means. You have diſhonoured the truth, the goſpel; and are of thoſe that make it chargeable. You have loſt your glory. You have diſhonoured yourſelves. Perſecution was ever blind and mad. Read the apoſtle, what he ſaith of himſelf, when he was in your nature. Exaltation and pride, and your lifting up yourſelves, hath brought you to this; not being humble, not doing

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'juſtice, not loving mercy. When ſuch as have been beaten and bruiſed by your rude company, to whom you are a praiſe and encouragement, have come and laid things before you, that you might have done juſtice, preſerved and kept peace, you, knowing they could not ſwear, have put an oath to them. This hath been your trick and cover, that ye might not do juſtice to the juſt; but by this means go on ſtill further to encourage the evil-doer. But the Lord ſees your hearts! If ye were not men paſt feeling, ye would fear and tremble before the God of the whole earth; who is riſen, and will ſtain your glory, mar your pride, deface your beauty, and lay it in the duſt. Though for a time you may ſwell in your pride, glory in your ſhame, and make a mock of God's meſſengers, who, for reproving ſin in the gate, are become your prey; you will feel the heavy hand of God and his judgments at the laſt. This is from a lover of the truth, of righteouſneſs, and of your ſouls; but a witneſs againſt all ſuch as make a trade of the prophets, Chriſt's, and the apoſtles words, and are found in the ſteps of them who perſecuted the prophets, Chriſt's, and the apoſtles life; who perſecute thoſe that will not hold you up, put into your mouths, and give you means. Tithes were before the law, and tithes were in the law; but tithes ſince the days of the apoſtles have been only ſince the falſe church got up. Chriſt, who is come to end the law, and to end war, redeems men out of the tenths, and out the nines alſo. The redeemed of the Lord ſhall reign upon the earth, and know the election which was before the world began. Since the days of the apoſtles, tithes have been ſet up by the papiſts, and by them that went from the apoſtles into the world; ſet up by the falſe church that made merchandize of the people, ſince the true church went into the wilderneſs. But now is the judgment of the great whore come; the beaſt and falſe prophet (the old dragon) ſhall be taken and caſt into the fire, and the Lamb and his ſaints ſhall have the victory. Now is Chriſt come who will make war in righteouſneſs, and deſtroy with the ſword of his mouth all theſe inventers and inventions that have been ſet up ſince the days of the apoſtles, and ſince the true church went into the wilderneſs. And the everlaſting goſpel, which is the power of God, ſhall be preached again to all nations, kindreds, and tongues in this the Lamb's day; before whom you ſhall appear to judgment. You have no way to eſcape. For he hath appeared who is the Firſt and the Laſt, the Beginning and the Ending, the Alpha and the Omega: he that was dead is alive again, and lives for evermore!'

I mentioned before, that Gervaſe Benſon and Anthony Pearſon, though they had been juſtices of the peace, were not permitted to come to me in the priſon; whereupon they jointly wrote a letter to the magiſtrates, prieſts, and people at Carliſle, concerning my impriſonment: thus,

HE

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'HE who is called George Fox, who is perſecuted by rulers and magiſtrates, by juſtices, prieſts, and people, and who ſuffers the impriſonment of his body at this preſent as a blaſphemer, an heretick, and a ſeducer, him do we witneſs (who in meaſure are made partakers of the ſame life which lives in him) to be a miniſter of the eternal word of God, by whom the everlaſting goſpel is preached; by the powerful preaching whereof the eternal Father of the ſaints hath opened the blind eyes, unſtopped the deaf ears, let the oppreſſed go free, and hath raiſed the dead out of the graves. Chriſt is now preached in and among the ſaints, the ſame that ever he was; and becauſe his heavenly image is borne up in this his faithful ſervant, therefore doth fallen man (rulers, prieſts, and people) perſecute him. Becauſe he lives up out of the fall, and teſtifies againſt the works of the world, that the deeds thereof are evil, he ſuffers by you magiſtrates, not as an evil-doer. Thus it was ever where the ſeed of God was kept in priſon under the curſed nature, that nature ſought to impriſon them in whom it was raiſed. The Lord will make him to you as a burthenſome ſtone; for the ſword of the Spirit of the Almighty is put into the hands of the ſaints, which ſhall wound all the wicked; and ſhall not be put up till it hath cut down all corrupt judges, juſtices, magiſtrates, prieſts, and profeſſors; till he hath brought his wonderful thing to paſs in the earth, which is to make new heavens and a new earth, wherein ſhall dwell righteouſneſs; which now he is about to do. Therefore fear the Lord God Almighty, ye judges, juſtices, commanders, prieſts, and people; ye that forget God, ſuddenly will the Lord come and deſtroy you with an utter deſtruction, and will ſweep your names out of the earth, and will reſtore his people judges as at the firſt, and counſellors as at the beginning. And all perſecutors ſhall partake of the plagues of the whore, who hath made the kings of the earth and the great men drunk with the wine of her fornications, and hath drunk the blood of the ſaints; and therefore ſhall you be partakers of her plagues. We are not ſuffered to ſee our friend in priſon, whom we witneſs to be a meſſenger of the Living God. Now, all people, mind whether this be according to law, or from the wicked, perverſe, envious will of the envious rulers and magiſtrates, who are of the ſame generation that perſecuted Jeſus Chriſt; for he ſaid, "as they have done to me, ſo will they do to you." And as he took the love, the kindneſs, and ſervice that was ſhewed and performed to any of his afflicted ones in their ſufferings and diſtreſs, as done unto himſelf; ſo the injuries and wrongs that were done by any to any of his little ones, he reſented as done unto himſelf alſo. Therefore you, who are ſo far from viſiting him yourſelves in his ſuffering ſervant that ye will not ſuffer his brethren to viſit him, ye muſt depart, ye workers of iniquity, into the lake that burns with fire. The Lord is coming to threſh the mountains, and will beat them to duſt; and all corrupt rulers, corrupt officers, and corrupt laws, the Lord will take vengeance on, by which the tender conſciences of his people are oppreſſed. He will give his people his law, and will judge his people himſelf, not according to the ſight of the eye and hearing

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'of the ear, but with righteouſneſs and equity. Now are your 'hearts made manifeſt to be full of envy againſt the living truth of 'God, which is made manifeſt in his people, who are contemned 'and deſpiſed of the world, and ſcornfully called Quakers. You are 'worſe than the heathens that put Paul in priſon, for none of his 'friends or acquaintance were hindered to come to him by them: 'therefore they ſhall be witneſſes againſt you. Ye are made mani-'feſt to the ſaints to be of the ſame generation that put Chriſt to 'death, and that put the apoſtle in priſon, on the ſame pretence as 'you act under; in calling truth error, and the miniſters of God 'blaſphemers, as they did. But the day is dreadful and terrible 'that ſhall come upon you, ye evil magiſtrates, prieſts, and people, 'who profeſs the truth in words outwardly, and yet perſecute the 'power of truth and them that ſtand in and for the truth. While ye 'have time, prize it, and remember what is written, Iſa. liv. 17.

'Gervaſe Benſon,
'Anthony Pearſon.'

Not long after this the Lord's power came over the juſtices, and they were made to ſet me at liberty. But ſome time before the governor and Anthony Pearſon came down into the priſon to ſee the place where I was kept, and underſtand what uſage I had. They found the place ſo bad, and the ſavour ſo ill, that they cried ſhame of the magiſtrates for ſuffering the gaoler to do ſuch things. They called for the gaolers into the priſon, and required them to find ſureties for their good behaviour; and the under-gaoler, who had been ſuch a cruel fellow, they put into the priſon with me amongſt the moſs-troopers.

Cumberland. At T. B's.

After I was ſet at liberty I went to Thomas Bewley's, where came a baptiſt-teacher to oppoſe me; who was convinced. Robert Widders being with me was moved to go to Coldbeck ſteeple-houſe, and the baptiſt-teacher went along with him the ſame day. The people fell upon them, almoſt killed Robert Widders, and took the baptiſt's ſword from him and beat him ſorely. This baptiſt had the inheritance of an impropriation of tithes, and he went home and gave it up freely. Robert Widders was ſent to Carliſle gaol, where having lain a while he was ſet at liberty. William Dewſbury alſo went to a ſteeple-houſe hard by, and the people almoſt killed him, they beat him ſo; but the Lord's power was over all and healed them again. In that day many friends went to the ſteeple-houſes to declare the truth to the prieſts and people; and great ſufferings they underwent, but the Lord's power ſuſtained them.

Now I went into the country, and had mighty great meetings. The everlaſting goſpel and word of life flouriſhed, thouſands were turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt and to his teaching. Several who had taken tithes as impropriators denied the receiving of them any longer, and delivered them up freely to the pariſhioners. Paſſing into Weſtmoreland I had many great meetings. At Strickland-head I had a large meeting, where Henry Draper, a juſtice of peace out of Biſhoprick, came, and many contenders were there. The prieſts and magiſtrates were in a great rage againſt me in Weſtmoreland,

Weſtmoreland. Strickland-head.

and

and had a warrant to apprehend me; which they renewed from time to time. Yet the Lord did not ſuffer them to ſerve it upon me. I travelled amongſt friends, viſiting meetings till I came to Swarthmore, where I heard the baptiſts and profeſſors in Scotland had ſent to have a diſpute with me. I ſent them word, I would meet them in Cumberland at Thomas Bewley's; whither accordingly I went, but none of them came. Some dangers at this time I underwent in my travels. Going through Wigton on a market-day, the people of the town had ſet a guard with pitch-forks; and though ſome of their own neighbours were with us, they kept us out of the town, and would not let us paſs through it, under a pretence of preventing the ſickneſs, which there was no occaſion for. However, they fell upon us, and had like to have ſpoiled us and our horſes; but the Lord reſtrained them, that they did not much hurt; and we paſſed away. Another time, as we were paſſing between two friends houſes, ſome rude fellows lay in wait in a lane, and exceedingly ſtoned and abuſed us; but at laſt, through the Lord's aſſiſtance, we got through them, and had not much hurt. But this ſhewed the fruits of the prieſt's teaching, which ſhamed their profeſſion of chriſtianity.

1653. Strickland-head. Swarthmore. Cumberland. Wigton.

After I had viſited friends in that county, I went into Biſhoprick, having large meetings by the way. A very large meeting I had at Anthony Pearſon's, where many were convinced. From thence I paſſed through Northumberland to Derwentwater, where we had great meetings; and the prieſts threatened they would come, but none came. The everlaſting word of life was freely preached, and freely received; hundreds being turned to Chriſt, their teacher.

Biſhoprick of Durham. Northumberland. Derwentwater.

In Northumberland many came to diſpute. Some pleaded againſt perfection; to whom I declared, 'That Adam and Eve were perfect 'before they fell: and all that God made was perfect; and that the 'imperfection came by the devil and the fall: but Chriſt, who came 'to deſtroy the devil, ſaid, "Be ye perfect." One of the profeſſors alledged, that Job ſaid, 'Shall mortal man be more pure than his 'Maker? The heavens are not clean in his ſight. God charged his 'angels with folly.' I ſhewed him his miſtake, and let him ſee, 'it 'was not Job that ſaid ſo, but one of thoſe that contended againſt 'him; for Job ſtood for perfection, and held his integrity; and they 'were called miſerable comforters.' Theſe profeſſors ſaid, The outward body was the body of death and ſin. I diſcovered their miſtake in that alſo, ſhewing them, 'That Adam and Eve had each of them 'an outward body, before the body of death and ſin got into them; 'and that man and woman will have bodies, when the body of ſin 'and death is put off again; when they are renewed up into the image 'of God again by Chriſt Jeſus, which they were in before they fell.' They ceaſed at that time from oppoſing, and glorious meetings we had in the Lord's power.

Then paſſed we to Hexam, where we had a great meeting a-top of an hill. The prieſt threatened he would come and oppoſe us, but he came not; ſo all was quiet: 'And the everlaſting day and renowned 'truth of the everliving God was founded over thoſe dark countries, 'and his Son exalted over all. It was proclaimed amongſt the people, 'that the day was now come, wherein all that made a profeſſion of

Hexam.

1653. Hexam.

'the Son of God, might receive him; and that to as many as would 'receive him, he would give power to become the ſons of God, as 'he had done to me.' It was further declared, 'That he who had 'the Son of God, had life eternal; but he that had not the Son of 'God (though he profeſſed all the Scriptures, from the firſt of Ge-'neſis to the laſt of the Revelations) had no life.' So after all were directed to the light of Chriſt, by which they might ſee him, receive him, and know where their true teacher was, and the everlaſting truth had been largely declared amongſt them, we paſſed through Hexam peaceably, and came into Gilſland, a country noted for thieving.

Gilſland. Here a friend ſpying the prieſt, went to ſpeak to him; whereupon he came to our inn, and the town's-people gathered about us. The prieſt ſaid, He would prove us deceivers out of the bible, but could find no ſcripture for his purpoſe. Then he went into the inn, and after a while came out again, and brought ſome broken ſentences of ſcripture, that mention the doctrines and commandments of men, &c. and Touch not, Taſte not, &c. for they periſh with the uſing. All which, poor man! was his own condition; whereas we were perſecuted becauſe we would not taſte, nor touch, nor handle their doctrines and traditions, which we knew periſhed with uſing. I aſked him, What he called the ſteeple-houſe? 'Oh,' ſaid he, 'the dread-'ful houſe of God, the temple of God.' I ſhewed him, and the poor, dark people, 'That their bodies ſhould be the temples of God, 'and that Chriſt never commanded theſe temples, but ended that 'temple at Jeruſalem which God had commanded.' While I was ſpeaking, the prieſt got away: and afterwards the people made as if they feared we would take their purſes, or ſteal their horſes; judging us like themſelves, who are naturally given to thieving.

Cumberland. Langlands. The next day we came into Cumberland again, where we had a general meeting of thouſands of people a-top of an hill near Langlands. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was; for the glory of the Lord did ſhine over all; and there were as many as one could well ſpeak over, the multitude was ſo great. Their eyes were turned to Chriſt their teacher; and they came to ſit under their own vine; inſomuch that Francis Howgill, coming afterwards to viſit them, found they had no need of words; for they were ſitting under their teacher Chriſt Jeſus; in the ſenſe whereof he ſat down amongſt them, without ſpeaking any thing. A great convincement there was in Cumberland, Biſhoprick, Northumberland, Weſtmorland, Lancaſhire, and Yorkſhire; and the plants of God grew and flouriſhed, the heavenly rain deſcending, and God's glory ſhining upon them: many mouths were opened by the Lord to his praiſe; yea, to babes and ſucklings he ordained ſtrength.

Brigham. After my releaſe from Carliſle priſon, I was moved to go to prieſt Wilkinſon's ſteeple-houſe again: and being got in before him, when he came, I was declaring the truth to the people, though they were but few; for the moſt and beſt of his hearers were turned to Chriſt's free teaching; and we had a meeting of friends hard-by, where Thomas Stubbs was declaring the word of life amongſt them. As ſoon as the prieſt came in, he oppoſed me: and there we ſtaid moſt part of the day: for when I began, he oppoſed me; ſo if any law was broken, he

he broke it. When his people would be haling me out, I manifeſted his fruits to be ſuch as Chriſt ſpake of, when he ſaid, 'They ſhall hale 'you out of their ſynagogues:' and then he would be aſhamed, and they would let me alone. There did he ſtand, till it was almoſt night, jangling, and oppoſing me; and would not go to his dinner, for he thought to have wearied me out. But at laſt the Lord's power and truth came ſo over him, that he packed away with his people. When he was gone, I went to the meeting of friends, who were turned to the Lord, and eſtabliſhed by his power upon Chriſt, the rock and foundation of the true prophets and apoſtles. 1653. Brigham.

About this time the prieſts and profeſſors fell to propheſying againſt us afreſh. They had ſaid long before, That we ſhould be deſtroyed within a month; after that, they prolonged the time to half a year: but that time being long expired, and we mightily increaſed in number, they now gave out, That we would eat out one another. For after meetings, many tender people, having a great way to go, tarried at friends houſes by the way, and ſometimes more than there were beds to lodge in; ſo that ſome have lain on the hay-mows: hereupon fear poſſeſſed the profeſſors and world's people. For they were afraid, that when we had eaten one another out, we would all come to be maintained by the pariſhes, and be chargeable to them. But after a while, when they ſaw that the Lord bleſſed and increaſed friends, as he did Abraham, both in the field and in the baſket, at their goings forth and comings in, at their riſings up and lyings down, and that all things proſpered with them; then they ſaw the falſhood of all their prophecies againſt us; and that it was in vain to curſe where God had bleſſed. At the firſt convincement, when friends could not put off their hats to people, nor ſay You to a ſingle perſon, but Thou and Thee, or could not bow, nor uſe flattering words in ſalutations, nor go into the faſhions and cuſtoms of the world; many friends, that were tradeſmen, loſt their cuſtomers; for the people were ſhy of them, and would not trade with them; ſo that for a time ſome could hardly get money enough to buy bread. But afterwards, when people came to have experience of friends honeſty and faithfulneſs, and found that their Yea was Yea, and their Nay was Nay; that they kept to a word in their dealings, and that they would not cozen and cheat them; but that if they ſent a child to their ſhops for any thing, they were as well uſed as if they had come themſelves; the lives and converſations of friends did preach, and reached to the witneſs of God in the people. Then things altered ſo, that all the inquiry was, 'Where was a draper, or 'ſhopkeeper, or taylor, or ſhoe-maker, or any other tradeſman, that 'was a Quaker?' Inſomuch that friends had more buſineſs than many of their neighbours; and if there was any trading, they had a great part of it. Then the envious profeſſors altered their note, and began to cry out, 'If we let theſe Quakers alone, they will take the trade of 'the nation out of our hands.' This hath been the Lord's doings to and for his people! which my deſire is, that all who profeſs his holy truth may be truly kept ſenſible of; and that all may be preſerved in and by his power and Spirit, faithful to God and man: firſt to God, in obeying him in all things; and then in doing unto all men that which is juſt and righteous, in all things that they have to do or deal with North country.

1653. North country. with them in: that the Lord God may be glorified in their practiſing truth, holineſs, godlineſs, and righteouſneſs amongſt people, in their lives and converſations.

Friends being grown very numerous in the northern parts of this nation, and divers young convinced ones coming daily in among us, I was moved of the Lord to write the following epiſtle, and ſend it amongſt them, for the ſtirring up the pure mind, and raiſing an holy care and watchfulneſs in them over themſelves, and one another, for the honour of truth.

'To you all, friends every-where, ſcattered abroad:

'IN the meaſure of the life of God wait for wiſdom from God, from whom it comes. And all ye, who are children of God, wait for the living food from the living God, to be nouriſhed up to eternal life, from the one fountain from whence life comes; that in order ye may all be guided and walk: ſervants in your places, young men and young women in your places, and rulers of families; that every one, in your reſpective places, may adorn the truth in the meaſure of it. With it let your minds be kept up to the Lord Jeſus, from whence it doth come; that a ſweet ſavour ye may be to God, and in wiſdom ye may all be ordered and ruled: that a crown and a glory ye may be one to another in the Lord. And that no ſtrife, bitterneſs, nor ſelf-will may appear amongſt you; but with the Light in which the unity is, all that may be condemned. And that every one in particular may ſee to and take care of the ordering and ruling of their own family; that in righteouſneſs and wiſdom it may be governed, the fear and dread of the Lord ſet in every one's heart, that the ſecrets of the Lord every one may come to receive, that ſtewards of his grace you may come to be, to diſpenſe it to every one as they have need; and ſo in ſavouring and right-diſcerning you may all be kept: that nothing contrary to the pure life of God may be brought forth in you, or among you; but all that is contrary to it, may by it be judged; that in light, in life and love ye may all live; and all that is contrary to the light, life, and love, may be brought to judgment, and by that light be condemned. And that no fruitleſs trees be among you; but all cut down, condemned by the light, and caſt into the fire; that every one may bear and bring forth fruit to God, and grow fruitful in his knowledge and in his wiſdom; and that none may appear in words, beyond what they are in the life that gave forth the words. Here none ſhall be as the untimely figs; none ſhall be of thoſe trees whoſe fruit withers: ſuch go in Cain's way, from the light; and by it are condemned. Let none of you boaſt yourſelves above your meaſure; if you do, out of God's kingdom you are excluded: for in that boaſting part gets up the pride and the ſtrife which is contrary to the light that leads to the kingdom of God, gives an entrance thereinto, and an underſtanding to know the things that belong to the kingdom. There the light and life of man every one receives; him who was before the world was, by whom it was made; who is the righteouſneſs of God, and

'his wiſdom: to whom all glory, honour, thanks, and praiſe belongs, 1653.
'who is God bleſſed for ever. Let no image nor likeneſs be made; North coun-
'but wait in the light, which will bring condemnation on that part try.
'which would make images; for that priſons the juſt. To the luſt
'yield not the eye, nor the fleſh; for the pride of life ſtands in that
'which keeps out the love of the Father; and upon which his judg-
'ments and wrath remain, where the love of the world is ſought after,
'and a crown that is mortal. In this ground the evil enters, which
'is curſed; which brings forth briars and thorns, where death reigns,
'and tribulation and anguiſh are upon every ſoul, and the Egyptian
'tongue is heard: all which is by the light condemned. There the
'earth is, which muſt be removed: by the light it is ſeen, and by
'the power it is removed, and out of its place it is ſhaken; to which
'the thunders utter their voices, before the myſteries of God be opened,
'and Jeſus revealed. Therefore all ye, whoſe minds are turned to
'this light, wait upon the Lord Jeſus for the crown that is immortal,
'and that fadeth not away.

G. F.

'This is to be ſent amongſt all friends in
'the truth, the flock of God, to be read
'at their meetings.

While friends abode in the northern parts, a prieſt of Wrexham in Wales, named Morgan Floyd, having heard reports concerning us, ſent two of his congregation into the north to inquire concerning us, to try us, and bring him an account of us. When theſe triers came amongſt us, the power of the Lord ſeized on them, and they were both convinced of the truth. So they ſtaid ſome time with us, and then returned to Wales; where afterwards one of them departed from his convincement; but the other, named John-ap-John, abode in the truth, and received a part of the miniſtry, in which he continued faithful.

Now were the prieſts greatly diſturbed at Newcaſtle, Kendal, and in moſt of the northern counties. There being one Gilpin, who had ſometimes come amongſt us at Kendal, and ſoon ran out from the truth into vain imaginations; they made what evil uſe they could of him againſt us; but the Lord's power confounded them all. And the Lord God cut off two of thoſe perſecuting juſtices at Carliſle; and the other, after a time, was turned out of his place, and left the town.

About this time the oath or engagement to O. Cromwel was tendered to the ſoldiers; many of whom were diſbanded, becauſe, in obedience to Chriſt, they could not ſwear: John Stubbs, for one, who was convinced when I was in Carliſle priſon, became a good ſoldier in the Lamb's war, and a faithful miniſter of Chriſt Jeſus; travelling much in the ſervice of the Lord in Holland, Ireland, Scotland, Italy, Egypt, and America. And the Lord's power preſerved him out of the hands of the papiſts, though many times he was in great danger of the inquiſition. But ſome of the ſoldiers, who had been convinced in their judgment, but had not come into obedience

1653. North country. to the truth, took O. Cromwel's oath; and, going afterwards into Scotland, and coming before a garriſon there, the garriſon thinking they had been enemies, fired at them, and killed divers of them; which was a ſad event.

When the churches were ſettled in the north, and friends were ſat down under Chriſt's teaching, and the glory of the Lord ſhined over them, I paſſed from Swarthmore to Lancaſter about the beginning of the year 1654, viſiting friends, till I came to Synder-hill-green, where a meeting was appointed three weeks before; leaving the north freſh and green, under Chriſt their teacher. We paſſed thro' Hallifax, a rude town of profeſſors, and came to Tho. Taylor's, who had been a captain, where we met with ſome janglers: but the Lord's power was over all; for I travelled in the motion of God's power. When I came to Synder-hill-green, there was a mighty meeting ſome thouſands of people, as it was judged, and many perſons of note were there, captains, and other officers; and there was a general convincement; for the Lord's power and truth was ſet over all, and there was no oppoſition.

Lancaſter. 1654. Hallifax. Synder-hill-green.

About this time did the Lord move upon the ſpirits of many whom he had raiſed up, and ſent forth to labour in his vineyard, to travel ſouthwards, and ſpread themſelves in the ſervice of the goſpel to the eaſtern, ſouthern, and weſtern parts of the nation: Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to London; John Camm and John Audland to Briſtol; Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead towards Norwich; Thomas Holmes into Wales, and many others different ways: for above ſixty miniſters had the Lord raiſed up, and did now ſend abroad out of the north country. The ſenſe of their ſervice being very weighty upon me, I was moved to give forth the following paper:

'To friends in the miniſtry:

'ALL friends every-where, Know the Seed of God, which 'bruiſeth the ſeed of the ſerpent, and is a-top of the ſeed of 'the ſerpent; which Seed ſins not, but bruiſeth the ſerpent's head 'that doth ſin, and tempts to ſin: which Seed God's promiſe and 'bleſſing is to; and which is one in the male and in the female. 'Where it is head, and hath bruiſed the head of the other, to the 'beginning you are come; and the younger is known, and he that 'is ſervant to the younger; and the promiſe of God, which is to 'the Seed, is fulfilled and fulfilling; and the ſcriptures come to be 'opened and owned; and the fleſh of Chriſt known, who took 'upon him the ſeed of Abraham according to the fleſh; the ever-'laſting prieſthood known, and everlaſting covenant. Chriſt takes 'upon him the ſeed of Abraham, and is a prieſt after the order 'of Melchiſedeck; without father, without mother, without be-'ginning of days or end of life: this is the prieſt that ever 'lives; the covenant of life, light, and peace. The everlaſt-'ing offering here is known once for all, which offering over-'throws that nature which offered; out of which the prieſthood 'aroſe,

'aroſe, that could not continue by reaſon of death. And here is 1654.
'the other offering known, the everlaſting offering; which perfects North coun-
'for ever them that are ſanctified: which offering blotted out the try.
'hand-writing of ordinances, triumphs over them, and aſcends above
'all principalities and powers. He that hath the Spirit of Jeſus,
'ſees this; and here is the love of God received, that doth not re-
'joice in iniquity, but leads to repent of it. This is the word of
'the Lord God to you all, friends every-where ſcattered abroad,
'Know the power of God in one another, and in that rejoice;
'for then you rejoice in the croſs of Chriſt, who is not of the
'world: which croſs is the power of God to all them that are
'ſaved. You, that know and feel the power, you feel the croſs of
'Chriſt, you feel the goſpel, which is the power of God unto ſal-
'vation to every one that believeth. He that believes in the light,
'believes in the everlaſting covenant, in the one offering, comes to
'the life of the prophets and Moſes, comes to ſee Chriſt the hope,
'the myſtery, which hope periſheth not; lets you ſee the hope that
'periſheth, which is not that myſtery: and the expectation in that
'periſhing hope fades. Where this never-failing hope is witneſſed,
'the Lord comes to be ſanctified in the heart, and you come to the
'beginning, to Chriſt the hope, which periſheth not; but the other
'hope, the other expectation periſheth. So all of you, know the
'periſhing of the other, and the failing of the expectation therein;
'and know that which periſheth not: that you may be ready to give
'a reaſon of this hope with meekneſs and fear, to every man that
'aſketh you. Chriſt the hope, the myſtery, periſheth not; the
'end of all periſhing things, the end of all changeable things,
'the end of the decaying covenant, the end of that which waxeth
'old; the end of the firſt covenant, of Moſes, and of the pro-
'phets; the righteouſneſs of God, Chriſt Jeſus the ſon: his
'throne ye will know, heirs with him ye will be; who makes his
'children kings and prieſts to him, and brings them to know his
'throne, and his power. There is no juſtification out of the light,
'out of Chriſt: juſtification is in the light, in Chriſt. Here is the
'doer of the will of God; here's the entering into the kingdom.
'He that believes in the light, becomes a child of light; and here
'the wiſdom is received, that is juſtified of her children. Here be-
'lieving in the light, you ſhall not abide in darkneſs; but ſhall
'have the light of life; and come every one to witneſs the light that
'ſhines in your hearts, which will give you the light of the know-
'ledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jeſus Chriſt. With this
'light you will ſee him reign, who is the prince of life and peace;
'which light turns from him that is out of the truth, and abode not
'in it; where the true peace is not.

'Friends, Be not haſty: for he that believes in the light, makes
'not haſte. Here the grace is received, by which you come to be
'ſaved; the election is known, which obtains the promiſe; the will
'is ſeen, that wills; the mind is known, that runs, which obtains
'not; but ſtops and dulls. Now, that with the light being ſeen,
'and judged, and ſtopped, the patience is here known, which ob-
'tains the crown; and the immortality is brought to light. So all

'who

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'who act contrary to the light, and do not believe in it, do not come 'to juſtification. And all friends, if you go from the light, from 'wanting to have the promiſe of God fulfilled to the Seed, whereby 'you may know Chriſt reign, you thereby bring on yourſelves change-'able garments, and come to wear the changeable garments, and the 'ſtrange fleſh, which leads to adultery, which the law goes upon; 'which ſhuts out of the kingdom: and out of this will doth proceed 'the work or building that is for the fire; whereby you may come to 'ſuffer loſs. Therefore love the light, which doth condemn that; 'and receive the power from the Lord, with which you ſtand over 'that, and condemn it; feeling and ſeeing that which gives you vic-'tory over the world, and to ſee out of time, to before time. Again, 'friends, Know Abraham, that muſt obey the voice of Sarah, that 'bears ſeed; which caſts forth the bond-woman and her ſon. Do not 'go forth, there will the wildneſs lodge. Know that which bears the 'wild ſon, and its mother, who is not Sarah; for the promiſe is to the 'Seed, not of many, but one; which ſeed is Chriſt: and this ſeed 'now you come to witneſs ſtands on the top of all, yea, on the head 'of the ſerpent. And ſo all, as I ſaid before, who come to feel and 'witneſs this, come to the beginning: and this to all the ſeed of 'God, the church, that it you may all come to know, where there 'is no blemiſh, nor ſpot, nor wrinkle, nor any ſuch thing. This is 'that which is purchaſed by the blood of Jeſus, and to the Father 'preſented out of all that defiles; which is the pillar and ground of 'truth. None attain to this, but ſuch who come to the light of 'Chriſt, who purchaſed this church. They who go from the light, 'are ſhut out and condemned, though they profeſs all the ſcriptures 'declared from it. Therefore walk in the light, that you may 'have fellowſhip with the Son, and with the Father; and come all 'to witneſs his image, his power, and his law, which is his light, that 'hath converted your ſouls, and brought them to ſubmit to the higher 'power, above that which is out of the truth; that you may know 'here the mercy and truth, and the faith that works by love, which 'Chriſt is the author of; who lighteth every one of you: which faith 'gives the victory. That which gives the victory, is perfect; and 'that which the miniſters of God received from God, is that which 'is perfect; and that which they are to miniſter, is for the perfecting 'of the ſaints; till they all come in the unity of the faith unto a per-'fect man. This is the word of the Lord to you all: Every one in 'the meaſure of life wait, that with it all your minds may be guided 'up to the Father of life, the Father of ſpirits; to receive power from 'him, and wiſdom, that with it you may be ordered to his glory: to 'whom be all glory for ever! All keep in the light and life, that judgeth 'down that which is contrary to the light and life. So the Lord God 'Almighty be with you all. And keep your meetings every-where, be-'ing guided by that of God; by that you may ſee the Lord among 'you, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world; that men who 'are come into the world might believe. He that believeth not, the light 'condemns him: he that believeth, cometh out of condemnation. This

'light,

'light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, which they that hate it ſtumble at, is the light of men. 1654. North country.

'All friends that ſpeak in publick, ſee that it be in the life of God; for that begets to God: the fruits of that ſhall never wither. This ſows to the Spirit which is in priſon, and of the Spirit reaps life; and the other ſows to the fleſh, and of the fleſh reaps corruption. This you may ſee all the world over amongſt theſe ſeeds-men, what may be reaped in the field, that is the world. Therefore in the Spirit of the Lord wait, which cuts down and caſts out all this, the root and branches of it. So in that wait to receive power, and the Lord God Almighty preſerve you in it; whereby you may come to feel the light, that comprehends time and the world, and fathoms it: which, believed in, gives you victory over the world. Here the power of the Lord is received, which ſubdues all the contrary, and puts off the garments that will ſtain and pollute. With this light you come to reach the light in every man, which Chriſt enlightens every man that cometh into the world withal; and here the things of Chriſt come to be known, and the voice of Chriſt heard. Therefore keep in the light, the covenant of peace; and walk in the covenant of life. There is that which maketh merry over the witneſs of God, and there is that which maketh merry in the Lord; which rejoiceth over that which hath made merry over it: of that take notice, you who be in the light. Such the Lord doth beautify, whoſe truſt is in his ſtrength; and the Lord doth ſee ſuch, and them that are in his light. But ſuch as be from the light, whoſe eyes are after their abominations and idols, their eyes are to be blinded, their beautiful idols and their abominations to be deſtroyed, and by the light condemned, which they have made from the life in their own ſtrength: which with the light is ſeen, and overthrown by the power of God. "If you can change my covenant," ſaith the Lord, "which keeps the day in its ſeaſon, and the night in "its ſeaſon (mark, my covenant, the light) if you can change this, "then may you change the covenant of God with his ſeed." So all friends that are turned to the light which cometh from him by whom the world was made, who was before it was made, Chriſt Jeſus, the Saviour of your ſouls, abide in the light, and you will ſee your ſalvation to be walls and bulwarks againſt that which the light diſcovers to be contrary to it. Waiting in the light you will receive the power of God, which is the goſpel of peace, that you may be ſhod with it. Know that in one another which raiſeth up the ſeed of God, ſets it over the world and the earth, and crucifies the affections and luſts: then the truth comes to reign, which is the guide.

G. F.'

About this time Rice Jones of Nottingham (who had been a Baptiſt and was turned Ranter) and his company began to propheſy againſt me, giving out, That I was then at the higheſt, and after that time I ſhould fall down as faſt. He ſent a bundle of railing papers from Nottingham to Mansfield, Clauſon, and the towns thereabouts,

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judging friends for declaring the truth in the markets and in the ſteeple-houſes; which papers I anſwered. But their prophecies came upon themſelves; for ſoon after they fell to pieces, and many of his followers became friends, and continued ſo. And through the Lord's bleſſed power truth and friends have increaſed, and do increaſe in the increaſe of God; and I by the ſame power have been and am preſerved, and kept in the everlaſting ſeed that never fell nor changes. But Rice Jones took the oaths that were put to him, and ſo diſobeyed the command of Chriſt. Many ſuch falſe prophets have riſen up againſt me, but the Lord hath blaſted them, and will blaſt all who riſe againſt the bleſſed ſeed, and me in that. My confidence is in the Lord; for whoſoever did, I ſaw their end, and how the Lord would confound them before he ſent me forth.

Synder-hill-green.

I was now at Synder-hill-green, where I had a large meeting in the day-time, and another at night in Thomas Stacy's houſe; for the people came from far and could not ſoon depart. The high ſheriff of the county told captain Bradford he intended to come up, with half a dozen of his troopers, to the meeting; but the Lord prevented him. When I had ſtaid ſome meetings thereabouts, I travelled up and down in Yorkſhire as far as Holderneſs, and to the Land's-end that way, viſiting friends and the churches of Chriſt; which were finely ſettled under his teaching. At length I reached captain Bradford's houſe, whither many Ranters came from York to wrangle; but they were confounded. Thither came ſhe called the lady Montague; who was then convinced, and lived and died in the truth.

Yorkſhire. Holderneſs. Land's-end.

Halifax.

Then I went to Thomas Taylor's within three miles of Halifax, where was a meeting of about two hundred people; amongſt which were many rude perſons, and divers butchers, who had bound themſelves with an oath before they came out, that they would kill me (as I was told): one of thoſe butchers had been accuſed for killing a man and a woman. They came in a very rude manner, and made a great diſturbance in the meeting, which being in a cloſe, Thomas Taylor ſtood up and ſaid to them, "If you will be civil, you may ſtay; but if not, I "charge you to be gone from off my ground." But they grew worſe, and ſaid they would make it like a common; and they yelled and made a noiſe as if they had been at a bear-baiting. They thruſt friends up and down, who being peaceable, the Lord's power came over them. Several times they puſh'd me off from the place I ſtood on, by the crowding of the people together againſt me; but ſtill I was moved of the Lord to ſtand up again as I was thruſt down. At laſt I was moved of the Lord to ſay to them, 'If they would diſcourſe of the 'things of God, let them come up to me one by one; and if they 'had any thing to object, I would anſwer them all, one after an-'other;' but they were all ſilent, and had nothing to ſay: and then the Lord's power came ſo over them all, and anſwered the divine witneſs in them, that they were bound by the power of God, and a glorious, powerful meeting we had, and the minds of the people were turned by the holy Spirit in them to God, and to Chriſt their teacher. The powerful word of life was largely declared that day, and in the life and power of God we broke up our meeting;

and that rude company went their way to Halifax. The people aſked them, "Why they did not kill me, according to the oath they had "ſworn?" They maliciouſly anſwered, "I had ſo bewitched them "they could not do it." Thus was the devil chained at that time. Friends told me, they uſed to come at other times and be very rude, and ſometimes break their ſeats and make frightful work amongſt them; but the Lord's power had now bound them. Shortly after this butcher, that had been accuſed of killing a man and a woman before, and who was one of thoſe that had bound himſelf by an oath to kill me, killed another man, and was thereupon ſent to York gaol. Another of thoſe rude butchers, who had alſo ſworn to kill me, having accuſtomed himſelf to thruſt his tongue out of his mouth in deriſion of friends when they paſſed by him, had his tongue ſo ſwollen out of his mouth that he could never draw it in again, but died ſo. Several ſtrange and ſudden judgments came upon many of theſe conſpirators againſt me, which would be too large to declare here. God's vengeance from heaven came upon the blood-thirſty, who ſought after blood; for all ſuch ſpirits I laid before the Lord, and left him to deal with them, who is ſtronger than all, in whoſe power I was preſerved and carried on to do his work. The Lord hath raiſed a fine people in thoſe parts, whom he hath drawn to Chriſt, and gathered in his name; who feel Chriſt amongſt them, and ſit under his teaching. 1654. Example.

After this I came to Balby; from whence ſeveral friends accompanied me into Lincolnſhire, of whom ſome went to the ſteeple-houſes, and ſome to private meetings. There came to the meeting where I was, the ſheriff of Lincoln, and ſeveral with him; who made great contention and jangling for a time: but at length the Lord's power ſtruck him, that he was convinced of the truth, and received the word of life, as did ſeveral others alſo who had oppoſed, and continued among friends till they died. Great meetings there were, and a large convincement in thoſe parts. Many were turned to the Lord Jeſus, and came to ſit under his teaching, leaving their prieſts and their ſuperſtitious ways; and the day of the Lord flouriſhed over all amongſt them that came to our meetings in that country. One called Sir Richard Wrey was convinced; alſo his brother and his brother's wife, who abode in the truth and died therein; though he afterwards ran out. Balby. Lincolnſhire.

Having viſited thoſe countries, I came into Derbyſhire; the ſheriff of Lincoln, who was lately convinced, being with me. In one meeting we had ſome oppoſition; but the Lord's glorious power gave dominion over all. At night came a company of bailiffs and ſerving-men, and called me out. I went out to them, having ſome friends with me. They were exceeding rude and violent; for they had, it ſeems, plotted together, and intended to have carried me away with them in the dark of the evening by force, to have done me a miſchief; but the Lord's power chained them, ſo that they could not effect their deſign; and at laſt they went away. The next day Thomas Aldam, underſtanding the ſerving-men belonged to a knight, who lived not far off, went to his houſe and laid before Derbyſhire.

1654. fore him the bad carriage of his ſervants. The knight rebuked them, and did not allow of their evil behaviour towards us.

Nottinghamſhire. Skegby. After this we came to Skegby, in Nottinghamſhire, where we had a great meeting of divers ſorts; and the Lord's power went over them, and all was quiet. The people were turned to the Spirit of God, by which many came to receive his power, and to ſit under the teaching of Chriſt, their Saviour. A great people the Lord hath in thoſe parts.

Kidſley-park. Peak country. I paſſed towards Kidſley-park, where came many Ranters; but the Lord's power check'd them. From thence I went into the Peak-country to Thomas Hammerſley's, where came the Ranters of that country, and many high profeſſors. The Ranters oppoſed me, and fell a ſwearing. When I reproved them for ſwearing, they would bring ſcripture for it, alledging Abraham, Jacob, and Joſeph ſwore; and the prieſts, Moſes, the prophets, and the angels ſwore. 'I con-'feſſed all theſe did ſo, as the ſcripture records; but ſaid I, Chriſt '(who ſaid, Before Abraham was I am) commanded, Swear not at 'all. Chriſt ends the prophets, the old prieſthood, the diſpenſa-'tion of Moſes, and reigns over the houſe of Jacob and Joſeph; and 'he ſays, Swear not at all. And God, when he bringeth the firſt-'begotten into the world, ſaith, Let all the angels of God worſhip 'him, to wit, Chriſt Jeſus, who ſaith, Swear not at all. As for the 'plea that men make for ſwearing to end their ſtrife, Chriſt, who 'ſays, Swear not at all, deſtroys the devil and his works, who is the 'author of ſtrife; for that is one of his works. And God ſaid, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed; hear ye "him." So the Son is to be heard, who forbids ſwearing. And 'the apoſtle James, who did hear the Son of God, followed him, 'and preached him, forbids all oaths, James v. 12.' So the Lord's power went over them; and his Son and his doctrine was ſet over them. The word of life was fully and richly preached, and many were convinced that day. This Thomas Hammerſly being ſummoned to ſerve upon a jury, was admitted to ſerve without an oath; and being foreman of the jury, when he brought in the verdict, the judge declared, "That he had been a judge ſo many years, but never "heard a more upright verdict than that Quaker had then brought "in." Much might be written of things of this nature, which time would fail to declare. But the Lord's bleſſed power and truth was exalted over all, who is worthy of all praiſe and glory for ever!

Derbyſhire. Leiceſterſhire. Swanington. Travelling through Derbyſhire, I viſited friends till I came to Swanington, in Leiceſterſhire, where was a general meeting, to which many Ranters, Baptiſts, and other profeſſors came: for great conteſts there had been with them, and with the prieſts in that town. To this meeting ſeveral friends came from divers parts; John Audland, Francis Howgill, Edward Pyot from Briſtol, and Edward Burrough from London; and ſeveral were convinced in thoſe parts. The Ranters made a diſturbance, and were very rude; but at laſt the Lord's power came over them, and they were confounded. The next day Jacob Bottomley, a great Ranter, came from Leiceſter; but the Lord's power ſtopt him, and came over them all. There came a

prieſt

prieſt too; but he alſo was confounded by the mighty power of the Lord. About this time the prieſts, Baptiſts, Ranters, and other profeſſors were very rude, and ſtirred up rude people againſt us. We ſent to the Ranters to come forth, and try their god. Abundance of them came, who ſung, whiſtled, and danced; but the Lord's power ſo prevailed over them, that many of them were convinced. 1654. Swanington.

After this I went to Twycroſs, whither came ſome Ranters, who ſung and danced before me; but I was moved in the dread of the Lord to reprove them: and the Lord's power came over them, ſo that ſome of them were convinced, and received the Spirit of God; who are become a pretty people, living and walking ſoberly in the truth of Chriſt. I went to Anthony Brickley's, in Warwickſhire, where there was a great meeting; ſeveral Baptiſts and others came and jangled; but the Lord's power came over them. Twycroſs. Warwickſhire.

Then I went to Drayton, in Leiceſterſhire, to viſit my relations. As ſoon as I was come in, Nathaniel Stephens, the prieſt, having got another prieſt, and given notice to the country, ſent to me to come to them; for they could not do any thing till I came. I, having been three years away from my relations, knew nothing of their deſign. But at laſt I went into the ſteeple-houſe yard, where the two prieſts were; and they had gathered abundance of people. They would have had me gone into the ſteeple-houſe. I aſked them, what I ſhould do there? They ſaid, Mr. Stephens could not bear the cold. I told them, he might bear it as well as I. At laſt we went into a great hall, Richard Farnſworth being with me; and a great diſpute we had with theſe prieſts concerning their practice, how contrary they were to Chriſt and his apoſtles. The prieſts would know where tithes were forbidden or ended. I ſhewed them out of the ſeventh chapter to the Hebrews, 'That not only tithes, but the prieſthood 'that took tithes, was ended; and the law was ended and diſ-'anulled by which the prieſthood was made, and tithes were com-'manded to be paid.' Then they ſtirred up the people to ſome lightneſs and rudeneſs. I had known Stephens from a child, therefore I laid open his condition and the manner of his preaching: 'and how 'he, like the reſt of the prieſts, did apply the promiſes to the firſt 'birth which muſt die. But I ſhewed that the promiſes were to the 'ſeed, not to many ſeeds, but to the one ſeed, Chriſt; who was one in 'male and female: for all were to be born again, before they could 'enter into the kingdom of God.' Then he ſaid, I muſt not judge ſo. I told him, 'He that was ſpiritual judged all things.' Then he confeſſed, That was a full ſcripture; But, neighbours, ſaid he, this is the buſineſs; GEORGE FOX is come to the light of the ſun, and now he thinks to put out my ſtar-light. I told him, 'I would 'not quench the leaſt meaſure of God in any, much leſs 'put out his ſtar-light, if it were true light from the morning-'ſtar. But I told him, if he had any thing from Chriſt, he 'ought to ſpeak it freely, and not take tithes from the people for 'preaching; ſeeing Chriſt commanded his miniſters to give freely, 'as they had received freely.' So I charged him to preach no more for tithes or any hire. But he ſaid, he would not yield to that. After a while the people began to be vain and rude, whereupon we

1654. Drayton.

broke up; yet ſome were made loving to the truth that day. Before we parted, I told them, 'If the Lord would, I intended to be at the 'town again that day ſeven-night.' In the interim I went into the country, had meetings, and came again that day ſeven-night. Againſt that time this prieſt had got ſeven prieſts to help him; for he had given notice at a lecture on a market-day at Adderſton, that ſuch a day there would be a meeting and a diſpute with me. I knew nothing of it; but only had ſaid, I ſhould be in town that day ſeven-night again. Theſe eight prieſts had gathered ſeveral hundreds of people, even moſt of the country thereabouts, and would have had me into the ſteeple-houſe. I refuſed to go in, and got on an hill, and there ſpoke to them and the people. Thomas Taylor, James Parnel, and ſeveral other friends were with me. The prieſts thought that day to have trampled down truth; but the truth came over them. Then they grew light and the people rude. The prieſts would not ſtand trial with me; but would be contending here and there a little with one friend or other. At laſt one of the prieſts brought his ſon to diſpute with me; but his mouth was ſoon ſtopt. When he could not tell how to anſwer, he would aſk his father, and his father was confounded alſo when he came to anſwer for his ſon. So after they had toiled themſelves, they went in a rage to prieſt Stephens's houſe to drink. As they went away I ſaid, 'I never came to a place where 'ſo many prieſts together would not ſtand the trial with me.' Whereupon they and ſome of their wives came about me, laid hold of me, and fawningly ſaid, 'What might I have been, if it had not 'been for the Quakers?' Then they fell a puſhing of friends to and fro, to thruſt them from me, and to pluck me to themſelves. After a while ſeveral luſty fellows came, took me up in their arms, and carried me into the ſteeple-houſe porch, intending to have carried me into the ſteeple-houſe by force; but the door being locked, they fell down on an heap, having me under them. As ſoon as I could I got from them to my hill again: then they got me from that place, took me to the ſteeple-houſe wall, and ſet me on a baſs like a ſtool; and all the prieſts, being come back, ſtood under with the people. The prieſts cried, Come, to argument, to argument. I ſaid, 'I denied all their voices, for they were the voices of hirelings and 'ſtrangers.' They cried, Prove it, prove it. I directed them to the tenth of John, where they might ſee what Chriſt ſaid of ſuch; he declared, 'He was the true Shepherd that laid down his life for his 'ſheep, and his ſheep heard his voice and followed him; but the 'hireling would fly when the wolf came, becauſe he was an hireling.' I offered to prove that they were ſuch hirelings. Then the prieſts plucked me off from the baſs again, and themſelves got all upon baſſes under the ſteeple-houſe wall. Then I felt the mighty power of God ariſe over all, and told them, 'If they would give audience, 'and hear me quietly, I would ſhew them by the ſcriptures why I 'denied thoſe eight prieſts or teachers that ſtood before me, and all 'the hireling teachers of the world whatſoever, and I would give 'them ſcriptures for what I ſaid.' Whereupon both prieſts and people conſented. Then I ſhewed them out of Iſaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, Malachi, and other prophets, that they were in the ſteps of

of ſuch as God ſent his true prophets to cry againſt; for, ſaid I, 1654
'You are ſuch as the prophet Jeremiah cried againſt, chap. v. when Drayton.
'he ſaid, "The prophets propheſy falſely, and the prieſts bear rule
"by their means;" which he called an horrible filthy thing. You are
'ſuch as uſed their tongues, and ſaid, Thus ſaith the Lord, when
'the Lord never ſpoke to them. Such as followed their own ſpirits,
'and ſaw nothing; but ſpoke a divination of their own brain: and
'by their lyes and their lightneſs cauſed the people to err, Jer.
'xiv. You are ſuch as they were that ſought their gain from their
'quarter; that were as greedy dumb dogs, that could never have
'enough, whom the Lord ſent his prophet Iſaiah to cry againſt,
'Iſa. lvi. You are ſuch as they were who taught for handfuls of
'barley and pieces of bread, who ſewed pillows under peoples
'arm-holes, that they might lie ſoft in their ſins, Ezek. xiii. You
'are ſuch as they that taught for the fleece and the wool, and made
'a prey of the people, Ezek. xxxiv. But the Lord is gathering his
'ſheep from your mouths, and from your barren mountain; and is
'bringing them to Chriſt, the one ſhepherd, whom he hath ſet over
'his flocks; as by his prophet Ezekiel he then declared he would
'do. You are ſuch as thoſe that divined for money, and preached
'for hire; and if a man did not put into their mouths they pre-
'pared war againſt him, as the prophet Micah complained,
'chap. iii.' Thus I went through the prophets too largely to be here repeated. Then coming to the New Teſtament, I ſhewed from thence, that 'that they were like the chief prieſts, ſcribes, and pha-
'riſees, whom Chriſt cried woe againſt, Matth. xxiii. And that
'they were ſuch falſe apoſtles as the true apoſtles cried againſt,
'ſuch as taught for filthy lucre; ſuch antichriſts and deceivers as
'they cried againſt, that minded earthly things, and ſerved not the
'Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own bellies: for they that ſerved
'Chriſt gave freely and preached freely, as he commanded them.
'But they that will not preach without hire, tithes, or outward
'means, ſerve their own bellies, and not Chriſt; and through the
'good words of the ſcriptures, and feigned words of their own,
'they made merchandize of the people then, as (ſaid I) ye do now.
'When I had largely quoted the ſcriptures, and ſhewed them wherein
'they were like the phariſees, loving to be called of men maſters,
'to go in long robes, to ſtand praying in the ſynagogues, to have the
'uppermoſt rooms at feaſts and the like; and when I had thrown
'them out in the ſight of the people amongſt the falſe prophets, de-
'ceivers, ſcribes, and phariſees, and ſhewed at large how ſuch as
'they were judged and condemned by the true prophets, Chriſt, and
'the apoſtles, I directed them to the light of Jeſus, who en-
'lightens every man that cometh into the world; that by it they
'might ſee whether theſe things were not true as had been ſpoken.'
When I appealed to that of God in their conſciences, the light of Chriſt Jeſus in them, they could not abide to hear it; they were all quiet till then; but then a profeſſor ſaid, George, what! wilt thou never have done? I told him, I ſhould have done ſhortly. I went on a little longer, and cleared myſelf of them in the Lord's power. When I had done, all the prieſts and people ſtood ſilent for a time;

at

1654. Drayton. at laſt one of the prieſts ſaid, They would read the ſcriptures that I had quoted. I told them, with all my heart. They began to read the twenty-third of Jeremiah, where they ſaw the marks of the falſe prophets that he cried againſt. When they had read a verſe or two, I ſaid, Take notice, people; but the prieſts ſaid, Hold thy tongue, George. I bid them read the whole chapter throughout, for it was all againſt them. Then they ſtopt, and would read no further; but aſked me a queſtion. I told them I would anſwer their queſtion, the matter being firſt granted that I had charged them with, viz. that they were falſe prophets, falſe teachers, antichriſts, and deceivers, ſuch as the true prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles cried againſt. A profeſſor ſaid Nay to that; but I ſaid, 'Yea: for you leaving the 'matter, and going to another thing, ſeem to conſent to the proof 'of the former charge.' Then I anſwered their queſtion, which was this; 'Seeing thoſe falſe prophets were adulterated, Whether I did 'judge prieſt Stephens to be an adulterer?' To which I anſwered, 'He was adulterated from God in his practice, like thoſe falſe pro-'phets and the Jews.' They would not ſtand to vindicate him, but broke up the meeting. Then the prieſts whiſpered together; and Stephens came to me, and deſired that my father, brother, and I might go aſide with him, that he might ſpeak to me in private, and the reſt of the prieſts ſhould keep the people from coming to us. I was very loth to go aſide with him; but the people cried, 'Go, 'George; do, George, go aſide with him.' Being afraid, if I did not go, they would ſay I was diſobedient to my parents, I went, and the reſt of the prieſts were to keep the people off; but they could not, for the people, being willing to hear, drew cloſe to us. I aſked the prieſt, what he had to ſay? He ſaid, 'If he was out of the way 'I ſhould pray for him, and if I was out of the way he would pray 'for me; and he would give me a form of words to pray for him by.' I replied, 'It ſeems thou doſt not know whether thou beeſt in the 'right way or no, neither doſt thou know whether I am in the right 'way or no; but I know that I am in the everlaſting way, Chriſt 'Jeſus, which thou art out of. Thou wouldſt give me a form of 'words to pray by, yet thou denieſt the Common Prayer Book to 'pray by as well as I, and I deny thy form of words as well as it. 'If thou wouldſt have me pray for thee by a form of words, is not 'this to deny the apoſtle's doctrine and practice of praying by the 'Spirit, as it gave words and utterance?' Here the people fell a laughing; but I was moved to ſpeak more to him. And when I had cleared myſelf to him and them we parted, after I had told them, that I ſhould, God willing, be in town that day ſeven-night again. So the prieſts pack'd away, and many people were convinced that day; for the Lord's power came over all. Many that were convinced before, were by that day's work confirmed in the truth, and abode in it: and a great ſhake it gave to the prieſts. Yea, my father, though a hearer and follower of the prieſt, was ſo well ſatisfied, that he ſtruck his cane upon the ground, and ſaid, 'Truly I ſee, he that will but ſtand to the truth, it will bear him 'out.' I paſſed about in the country till that day ſeven-night, and then came again; for we had appointed a meeting at my relations houſe.

houſe. Prieſt Stephens, having notice beforehand thereof, had got another prieſt to him. They had a company of troopers with them; and ſent for me to come to them. But I ſent them word, our meeting was appointed, and they might come to it if they would. The prieſts came not; but the troopers came, and many rude people. They had laid their plot, That the troopers ſhould take every one's name, and then command them to go home; and ſuch as would not go, they ſhould take, and carry away with them. Accordingly they began, and took ſeveral names, charging them to go home; but when they came to take my name, my relations told them I was at home already: ſo they could not take me away that time. Nevertheleſs they took my name; but the Lord's power was over them, and they went away, both profeſſors and troopers, croſſed and vexed becauſe they had not their ends. But ſeveral were convinced that day, and admired the love and power of God. This was that prieſt Stephens, who once ſaid of me, 'Never ſuch a plant was bred in England:' yet afterwards he reported, 'That I was carried up into the clouds, and found again full of gold 'and ſilver;' and many falſe reports he raiſed on me, but the Lord ſwept them all away. The reaſon why I would not go into their ſteeple-houſe was, becauſe I was to bear my teſtimony againſt it, and to bring all off from ſuch places to the Spirit of God; that they might know their bodies to be the temples of the Holy Ghoſt; and to bring them off from all the hireling teachers to Chriſt their free teacher, who died for them, and purchaſed them with his blood. 1654. Drayton.

After this I went into the country, had ſeveral meetings, and came to Swanington, where the ſoldiers came; but the meeting was quiet, the Lord's power was over all, and the ſoldiers did not meddle. Then I went to Leiceſter; and from Leiceſter to Whetſtone. There came about ſeventeen troopers of colonel Hacker's regiment, with his marſhal, and took me up before the meeting, though friends were beginning to gather together; for there were ſeveral friends from divers parts. I told the marſhal, 'He might let all the friends go, I would 'anſwer for them all.' Whereupon he took me, and let all the friends go; only Alexander Parker went along with me. At night they had me before colonel Hacker, his major, and captains, a great company of them; and a great deal of diſcourſe we had about the prieſts, and about meetings; for at this time there was a noiſe of a plot againſt O. Cromwel. Much reaſoning I had with them about the light of Chriſt, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Col. Hacker aſked, Whether it was not this light of Chriſt that made Judas betray his maſter, and after led him to hang himſelf? I told him, 'No: that was the ſpirit of darkneſs, which hated Chriſt 'and his light.' Then col. Hacker ſaid, I might go home, and keep at home; and not go abroad to meetings. I told him, 'I was an in-'nocent man, free from plots, and denied all ſuch work.' His ſon Needham ſaid, 'Father, this man hath reigned too long; it is time to 'have him cut off.' I aſked him, 'For what? What had I done? 'or whom had I wronged from a child? for I was bred and born in 'that country, and who could accuſe me of any evil from a child?' Colonel Hacker aſked me again, If I would go home, and ſtay at home? I told him, 'If I ſhould promiſe him ſo, it would manifeſt that I Leiceſter. Whetſtone.

1654. Whetſton.

'was guilty of ſomething, to make my home a priſon: and if I went 'to meetings, they would ſay I broke their order. Therefore I told 'them, I ſhould go to meetings, as the Lord ſhould order me; and 'could not ſubmit to their requirings: but I ſaid, we were a peaceable 'people.' 'Well then,' ſaid colonel Hacker, 'I will ſend you to-'morrow morning by ſix o'clock to my lord protector, by captain 'Drury, one of his life-guard.' That night I was kept priſoner at the Marſhalſea; and the next morning by the ſixth hour I was delivered to captain Drury. I deſired he would let me ſpeak with colonel Hacker before I went; and he had me to his bed-ſide. Colonel Hacker ſet upon me preſently again to go home, and keep no more meetings. I told him, 'I could not ſubmit to that; but muſt have my liberty to 'ſerve God, and to go to meetings. Then,' ſaid he, 'you muſt go 'before the protector.' Whereupon 'I kneeled on his bed-ſide, and 'beſought the Lord to forgive him; for he was as Pilate, though he 'would waſh his hands; and when the day of his miſery and trial 'ſhould come upon him, I bid him, Then remember what I had 'ſaid to him.' But he was ſtirred up and ſet on by Stephens, and the other prieſts and profeſſors, wherein their envy and baſeneſs was manifeſt; who, when they could not overcome me by diſputes and arguments, nor reſiſt the Spirit of the Lord that was in me, they got ſoldiers to take me up.

Afterwards, when colonel Hacker was impriſoned in London, a day or two before his execution, he was put in mind of what he had done againſt the innocent; and he remembered it, and confeſſed it to Margaret Fell; ſaying, He knew well whom ſhe meant; and he had trouble upon him for it. So his ſon, who had told his father I had reigned too long, and it was time to have me cut off, might obſerve how his father was cut off afterwards, he being hanged at Tyburn.

Leiceſter. Harborough. Northampton.

I was carried up priſoner by captain Drury from Leiceſter; and when we came to Harborough, he aſked me, If I would go home, and ſtay a fortnight? I ſhould have my liberty, he ſaid, if I would not go to nor keep meetings. I told him, I could not promiſe any ſuch thing. Several times upon the road did he aſk, and try me after the ſame manner; and ſtill I gave him the ſame anſwers. So he brought me to

London. Charing-Croſs.

London, and lodged me at the Mermaid over-againſt the Mews at Charing-Croſs. As we travelled, I was moved of the Lord to warn people at the inns and places, where I came, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them. William Dewſbury and Marmaduke Storr being in priſon at Northampton, he let me go and viſit them.

After captain Drury had lodged me at the Mermaid, he went to give the protector an account of me. When he came to me again, he told me, The protector required that I ſhould promiſe not to take up a carnal ſword or weapon againſt him or the government, as it then was; and that I ſhould write it in what words I ſaw good, and ſet my hand to it. I ſaid little in reply to captain Drury. But the next morning I was moved of the Lord to write a paper 'To the protector, by 'the name of Oliver Cromwel; wherein I did in the preſence of the 'Lord God declare, that I did deny the wearing or drawing of a 'carnal ſword, or any other outward weapon, againſt him or any 'man. And that I was ſent of God to ſtand a witneſs againſt all vio-

'lence,

'lence, and againſt the works of darkneſs; and to turn people from 1654.
'darkneſs to light; to bring them from the occaſion of war and fight- Charing-
'ing to the peaceable goſpel; and from being evil-doers, which the Croſs.
'magiſtrates ſword ſhould be a terror to.' When I had written what the Lord had given me to write, I ſet my name to it, and gave it to captain Drury to hand to O. Cromwel; which he did. After ſome time captain Drury brought me before the protector himſelf at White- Whitehall.
hall. It was in a morning, before he was dreſſed; and one Harvey, who had come a little among friends, but was diſobedient, waited upon him. When I came in, I was moved to ſay, 'Peace be in this houſe: 'and I exhorted him to keep in the fear of God, that he might re-'ceive wiſdom from him; that by it he might be ordered, and with it 'might order all things under his hand unto God's glory.' I ſpoke much to him of truth; and a great deal of diſcourſe I had with him about religion: wherein he carried himſelf very moderately. But he ſaid, We quarrelled with the prieſts, whom he called miniſters. I told him, 'I did not quarrel with them, they quarrelled with me and my 'friends. But, ſaid I, if we own the prophets, Chriſt, and the apo-'ſtles, we cannot hold up ſuch teachers, prophets, and ſhepherds, as 'the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles declared againſt; but we muſt 'declare againſt them by the ſame power and Spirit. Then I ſhewed 'him, That the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles declared freely, and 'declared againſt them that did not declare freely; ſuch as preached 'for filthy lucre, divined for money, and preached for hire, and were 'covetous and greedy, like the dumb dogs that could never have 'enough: and that they, who have the ſame Spirit that Chriſt and the 'prophets and the apoſtles had, could not but declare againſt all 'ſuch now, as they did then.' As I ſpoke, he ſeveral times ſaid, It was very good, and it was truth. 'I told him, That all Chriſtendom '(ſo called) had the ſcriptures, but they wanted the power and Spirit 'that thoſe had who gave forth the ſcriptures; and that was the rea-'ſon they were not in fellowſhip with the Son, nor with the Father, 'nor with the ſcriptures, nor one with another.' Many more words I had with him; but people coming in, I drew a little back. As I was turning, he catched me by the hand, and with tears in his eyes, ſaid, 'Come again to my houſe; for if thou and I were but an hour of a 'day together, we ſhould be nearer one to the other;' adding, That he wiſhed me no more ill than he did to his own ſoul. I told him, 'If he did, he wronged his own ſoul; and admoniſhed him to hear-'ken to God's voice, that he might ſtand in his counſel, and obey it; 'and if he did ſo, that would keep him from hardneſs of heart: but 'if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened.' He ſaid, It was true. Then I went out; and when captain Drury came out after me, he told me, His lord protector ſaid, I was at liberty, and might go whither I would. Then I was brought into a great G. F. ſet at
hall, where the protector's gentlemen were to dine. I aſked them, liberty.
What they brought me thither for? They ſaid, It was by the protector's order, that I might dine with them. I bid them let the protector know, I would not eat of his bread, nor drink of his drink. When he heard this, he ſaid, 'Now I ſee there is a people riſen, 'that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices or places; but

'all

1654. Charing-Croſs.

'all other ſects and people I can.' It was told him again, 'That we 'had forſook our own; and were not like to look for ſuch things from 'him.'

Being ſet at liberty, I went to the inn where captain Drury at firſt lodged me. This captain, though he ſometimes carried it fairly, was an enemy to me and to truth, and oppoſed it. When profeſſors came to me, while I was under his cuſtody, and he was by, he would ſcoff at trembling, and call us Quakers, as the Independents and Preſbyterians had nicknamed us before. But afterwards he came and told me, That, as he was lying on his bed to reſt himſelf in the day-time, a ſudden trembling ſeized on him, that his joints knocked together; and his body ſhook ſo that he could not riſe from his bed: he was ſo ſhaken, that he had not ſtrength enough left to riſe. But he felt the power of the Lord was upon him; and he tumbled off his bed, and cried to the Lord, and ſaid, He would never ſpeak againſt the Quakers more, ſuch as trembled at the Word of God.

During the time I was priſoner at Charing Croſs, there came abundance to ſee me, almoſt of all ſorts, prieſts, profeſſors, officers of the army, &c. Once a company of officers being with me, deſired me to pray with them. I ſat ſtill, with my mind retired to the Lord. At laſt I felt the power and Spirit of God move in me; and the Lord's power did ſo ſhake and ſhatter them, that they wondered, though they did not live in it.

Among thoſe that came was colonel Packer, with ſeveral of his officers. While they were with me, came in one Cob, and a great company of Ranters with him. The Ranters began to call for drink and tobacco; but I deſired them to forbear it in my room, telling them, 'If they had ſuch a mind to it, they might go into another room.' One of them cried, 'All is ours:' and another of them ſaid, 'All is 'well.' I replied, 'How is all well, while thou art ſo peeviſh, en-'vious, and crabbed?' for I ſaw he was of a peeviſh nature. I ſpake to their conditions, and they were ſenſible of it, and looked upon another, wondering.

Then colonel Packer began to talk with a light, chaffy mind, concerning God, Chriſt, and the ſcriptures: it was a great grief to my ſoul and ſpirit, when I heard him talk ſo lightly; ſo that I told him, 'He 'was too light to talk of the things of God: for he did not know the 'ſolidity of a man.' Thereupon the officers raged, and ſaid, Would I ſay ſo of their colonel? Packer was a Baptiſt: he and the Ranters bowed and ſcraped to one another very much; for it was the manner of the Ranters to be exceeding complimental, ſo that Packer bid them give over their compliments; but I told them, 'They were fit to go 'together, for they were both of one ſpirit.'

Theobalds.

This colonel lived at Theobalds near Waltham, and was made a juſtice of peace. He ſet up a great meeting of the Baptiſts at Theobalds Park; for he and ſome other officers had purchaſed it. They were exceeding high, railed againſt friends and truth; and threatened to apprehend me with their warrants, if ever I came there. Yet after I was ſet at liberty, I was moved of the Lord to go to Theobalds, and appoint a meeting hard-by them; to which many of his people came, and divers of his hearers were convinced of the way of truth,

received Christ the free teacher, and came off from the Baptist; which made him rage the more. But the Lord's power came over him so, that he was not able to meddle with me. Then I went to Waltham hard-by him, and had a meeting there. The people were very rude, gathered about the house, and broke the windows. Whereupon I went out to them, with the bible in my hand, desired them to come in; and told them, 'I would shew them scripture both for our prin-'ciples and practices.' When I had done so, I shewed them also 'that their teachers were in the steps of such as the prophets, Christ, 'and the apostles cried against. I directed them to the light of Christ, 'the Spirit of God in their own hearts; that by it they might come 'to know their free teacher, the Lord Jesus Christ.' The meeting being ended, they went away quieted and satisfied; and a meeting hath since been settled in that town. But this was some time after I was set at liberty by O. Cromwel. 1654. Waltham.

When I came from Whitehall to the Mermaid at Charing-Cross, I staid not long there: but went into the city of London, where we had great and powerful meetings; so great were the throngs of people, that I could hardly get to and from the meetings for the crouds; and the truth spread exceedingly. T. Aldam and R. Craven, who had been sheriffs of Lincoln, and divers friends, came up to London after me: but A. Parker abode with me. London.

After a while I went to Whitehall again, and was moved to declare 'the day of the Lord amongst them; and that the Lord was come to 'teach his people himself:' so I preached truth both to the officers, and to them that were called Oliver's gentlemen, who were of his guard. But a priest opposed, while I declared the word of the Lord amongst them: for Oliver had several about him, of which this was his newsmonger; an envious priest, a light, scornful, chaffy man. I bid him repent; and he put it in his news-paper the next week, that I had been at Whitehall, and had bid a godly minister there repent. When I went thither again, I met with him; and abundance of people gathered about me. I manifested the priest to be a liar in several things that he had affirmed; and he was put to silence. He put in the news, that I wore silver buttons; which was false: for they were but ochimy. Afterwards he put in the news, that I hung ribbands on people's arms, which made them follow me. This was another of his lyes; for I never used nor wore ribbands in my life. Three friends went to examine this priest, that gave forth this false intelligence; and to know of him where he had that information? He said, It was a woman that told him so; and if they would come again, he would tell them the woman's name. When they came again, he said, It was a man, but would not tell them his name then; but if they would come again, he would tell them his name, and where he lived. They went the third time; and then he would not say who told him; but offered, if I would give it under my hand that there was no such thing, he would put that into the news. Thereupon the friends carried it to him under my hand; but when they came, he broke his promise, and would not put it in: but was in a rage, and threatened them with the constable. This was the deceitful doing of this forger of lyes: and these lyes he spread over the

1654. Whitehall. nation in the news, to render truth odious, and to put evil into people's minds againſt friends and truth; of which a more large account may be ſeen in a book printed ſoon after this time, for the clearing of friends and truth from the ſlanders and falſe reports raiſed and caſt upon them. Theſe prieſts, the newſmongers, were of the independent ſect, like them in Leiceſter; but the Lord's power came over all their lyes, and ſwept them away; and many came to ſee the naughtineſs of theſe prieſts. The God of heaven carried me over all in his power, and his bleſſed power went over the nation; inſomuch that many friends about this time were moved to go up and down, to ſound forth the everlaſting goſpel in moſt parts of this nation, and alſo in Scotland; and the glory of the Lord was felt over all to his everlaſting praiſe. A London. great convincement there was in London; ſome in the protector's houſe and family. I went to have ſeen him again, but could not get to him, the officers were grown ſo rude.

The Preſbyterians, Independents, and Baptiſts were greatly diſturbed; for many of their people turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſat down under his teachings, received his power, and felt it in their hearts; and then they were moved of the Lord to declare againſt the reſt of them.

I appointed a meeting in the fields near Acton, in which the word of life, the ſaving truth was declared freely. The Lord's power was eminently manifeſted, and his bleſſed day exalted over all.

About this time I was moved to write a paper, and ſend it among the profeſſors, on this wiſe:

'To all profeſſors of Chriſtianity:

'ALL thoſe that profeſſed Jeſus Chriſt in words, and yet heard 'him not when he was come, ſaid, he was a deceiver and a devil. 'The chief prieſts called him ſo. The Jews ſaid, "He hath a devil, "and is mad; why do ye hear him?' But others ſaid, "Theſe are "not the words of him that hath a devil. Can a devil open the eyes "of the blind?" The Jews then doubted whether he was the Chriſt, 'or no. So all, like the Jews, in the knowledge, in the notion, that 'profeſs Chriſt without only, where he is riſen within, do not own 'him, but doubt of him; though Chriſt be the ſame now and for 'ever. He ſaid, "I and my Father are one; then the Jews took up "ſtones to ſtone him;" and where Jeſus Chriſt is now ſpiritually come 'and made manifeſt, ſuch as are chriſtians in outward profeſſion only, 'have the ſame hard hearts inwardly now as the Jews had then; and 'caſt ſtones at him, where he is riſen. "Jeſus ſaid, For which of "theſe good works do ye ſtone me?" The Jews anſwered, "For thy "good works we ſtone thee not; but for blaſphemy, in that thou "being a man, makeſt thyſelf God." Jeſus anſwered them, "Is it "not written in your law, I ſaid you are gods? and the ſcripture can-"not be broken. Say ye of him, whom the Father hath ſanctified "and ſent into the world, Thou blaſphemeſt, becauſe I ſaid, I am "the Son of God? The Jews ſaid to him, Say we not well, that thou "haſt a devil? Jeſus anſwered, I honour my Father, and ye diſhonour "me. And they that were in the ſynagogue roſe up, and thruſt him

"out

" out of the city; and took him up to the edge of the hill whereon 1654.
" their city was built, to caſt him down headlong. The Phariſees London.
" ſaid, He caſteth out devils by the prince of devils." Chriſt was
' called a glutton and a wine-bibber; a friend of publicans and ſinners;
' but wiſdom is juſtified of her children. The officers, when the
' high-prieſts and Phariſees aſked them, " Why have ye not brought
" him?" ſaid, " Never man ſpake like this man." The Phariſees
' ſaid, " Are you alſo deceived? Do any of the rulers or of the Pha-
" riſees believe on him? but this people, which know not the law,
" are accurſed. Nicodemus ſaid unto them (he that came unto Jeſus
" by night) doth our law judge any man before it hear him?" When
' Stephen confeſſed Jeſus, the ſubſtance of all figures and types, and
' was brought before the chief prieſts to his trial, he told them, " The
" Moſt High dwelleth not in temples made with hands;" and brought
' the prophets words to witneſs, and told them, They were ſtiff-necked
' and uncircumciſed in heart and ears, and always reſiſted the Holy
' Ghoſt, as their fathers had done. Stephen was full of the Holy
' Ghoſt, and ſaid, He ſaw Jeſus; and they ran upon him, and ſtoned
' him to death, as he was calling upon the Lord. When Paul con-
' feſſed Jeſus Chriſt, and his Reſurrection, Feſtus ſaid, He was mad.
' When Paul preached the reſurrection, ſome mocked. The Jews
' perſuaded the people, and they ſtoned him, and drew him out of
' the city, thinking he had been dead. The Jews ſtirred up the Gen-
' tiles, to make their minds evil-affected towards the brethren. The
' Jews ſtirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief of
' the city: and raiſed perſecution againſt Paul and Barnabas, and ex-
' pelled them out of their coaſts: and there was an aſſault made both
' of the Gentiles and of the Jews, with their rulers, to uſe them de-
' ſpitefully, and to ſtone them. In like manner all in the nature of
' thoſe Jews now, whoſe religion ſtands in notions, ſtir up the rulers
' and the ignorant people, and incenſe them againſt Jeſus Chriſt, to
' ſtone all with one conſent in whom he is riſen. This is, that the
' ſcripture might be fulfilled, and the blindneſs of the people might be
' diſcovered. The ſame power now is made manifeſt, and doth over-
' turn the world, as did then overturn the world, to the exalting of the
' Lord, and the pulling down of the kingdom of Satan and of this
' world, and ſetting up his own kingdom, to his everlaſting praiſe.
' The Lord is now exalting himſelf, and throwing down man's ſelf.
' The proud one's head is aloft, fearing he ſhould loſe his pride and
' his crown. The prieſts incenſe the ignorant people, for fear their
' trade ſhould go down; and profeſſors ſhew forth what is in them,
' being full of rage; which ſhews that Jeſus Chriſt the ſubſtance is not
' there; but a ſtony heart, to ſtone the precious, where it is riſen. The
' carnal mind feeds upon the outward letter; earth feeds upon earth;
' and that vineyard is not dreſſed, but is full of briars and nettles; and
' ravenous beaſts, ſwine, dogs, wolves, and lions, and all venomous
' creatures lodge in that habitation. That houſe is not ſwept. Theſe
' are the perſecutors of the juſt, enemies of the truth, and of Chriſt.
' Theſe are blaſphemers of God and his truth. Theſe call upon God
' with their lips, but their hearts are far from him. Theſe feed on

' lyes;

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'lyes; prieſts and people. Theſe incenſe the people, and ſtir up envy; 'for it begets its own, one like itſelf. Theſe are as the waves of the 'ſea, foaming out their own ſhame. Theſe have double eyes; whoſe 'bodies are full of darkneſs. Theſe paint themſelves with the pro-'phets, with Chriſt's, and with the apoſtles words moſt fair. Whited 'walls, painted ſepulchres, murderers of the juſt you are. Your eyes 'are double, your minds are double, your hearts are double. Ye flat-'terers, repent and turn from your carnal ends, who are full of miſ-'chief; pretending God and godlineſs, taking him for your cloak; 'but he will uncover you, and he hath uncovered you to his children. 'He will make you bare, diſcover your ſecrets, take off your crown, 'take away your mantle and your veil, and ſtrip you of your cloathing; 'that your nakedneſs may appear, and how you ſit deceiving the nations. 'Your abomination and your falſhood is now made manifeſt to thoſe who 'are of God; who in his power triumph over you, rejoice over you, 'the beaſt, the dragon, the falſe prophet, the ſeducer, the hypocrite, 'the mother of all harlots. Now thou muſt have thy cup double. 'Give it to her double. Sing over her, ye righteous ones, ſing over 'them all, ye ſaints; triumph in glory, triumph over the deceit: ſing 'the ſong of the Lamb; triumph over the world, ſpread the truth 'abroad. Come ye captives out of priſon; rejoice with one accord, 'for the joyful days are coming. Let us be glad, and rejoice for ever! 'Singleneſs of heart is come; pureneſs of heart is come; joy and glad-'neſs is come. The glorious God is exalting himſelf: truth hath been 'talked of, but now it is poſſeſſed. Chriſt hath been talked of; but 'now he is come and poſſeſſed. The glory hath been talked of; but 'now it is poſſeſſed, and the glory of man is defacing. The Son of 'God hath been talked of; but now he is come, and hath given us an 'underſtanding. Unity hath been talked of; but now it is come. 'Virgins have been talked of; but now they are come with oil in 'their lamps. He will be glorified alone. Where pride is thrown 'down, earth and the fleſhly will is thrown down, and the pure is 'raiſed up; there alone is the Lord exalted. Let the heavens bow 'down to him, and the earth reel to and fro, and ſtagger up and down. 'The Lord is ſetting up his throne and his crown, and throwing down 'the crown of man; he alone will be glorified: to whom be all ho-'nour and glory, all praiſes and all thanks! He gives his children 'wiſdom and ſtrength, knowledge and virtue, power and riches, 'bleſſings and durable ſubſtance; an eye to diſcern, and an ear to 'hear things ſingly; brings down the pride of man's heart, and turns 'the wicked out of the kingdom. The righteous inherit righteouſ-'neſs; the pure, pureneſs; the holy, holineſs. Praiſes, praiſes be to 'the Lord, whoſe glory now ſhines, whoſe day is broken forth; which 'is hid from the world, hid from all worldly-wiſe ones, from all the 'prudent of this world; from the fowls of the air; from all vultures 'eyes, all venomous beaſts, all lyars, all dogs, and all ſwine. But to 'them that fear his name, the ſecrets of the Lord are made manifeſt, 'the treaſures of wiſdom are opened, and the fulneſs of knowledge: 'for thou, O Lord! doſt make thyſelf manifeſt to thy children.

G. F.'

My

My ſpirit was greatly burdened to ſee the pride that was got up in the nation, even amongſt profeſſors; in the ſenſe whereof I was moved to give forth a paper directed—— 1654. London.

'To ſuch as follow the world's faſhions:

'WHAT a world is this! How doth the devil garniſh himſelf! how obedient are people to do his will and mind! They are altogether carried away with fooleries and vanities, both men and women. They have loſt the hidden man of the heart, the meek and quiet ſpirit; which with the Lord is of great price. They have loſt the adorning of Sarah; they are putting on gold and gay apparel; women plaiting the hair, men and women powdering it; making their backs look like bags of meal. They look ſo ſtrange, that they can ſcarce look at one another; they are ſo lifted up in pride. Pride is flown up into their head; and hath ſo lifted them up, that they ſnuff up, like wild aſſes, and like Ephraim: they feed upon wind, and are got to be like wild heifers, who feed upon the mountains. Pride hath puffed up every one of them. They are out of the fear of God; men and women. Young and old; one puffs up another. They muſt be in the faſhion of the world, elſe they are not in eſteem; nay they ſhall not be reſpected, if they have not gold or ſilver upon their backs, or if the hair be not powdered. But if one have ſtore of ribbands hanging about his waſte, at his knees, and in his hat, of divers colours, red, white, black, or yellow, and his hair powdered; then he is a brave man, then he is accepted, then he is no Quaker. He hath ribbands on his back, belly, and knees, and his hair powdered. This is the array of the world. But is not this from the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, or the pride of life? Likewiſe the women having their gold, their patches on their faces, noſes, cheeks, foreheads, their rings on their fingers, wearing gold, their cuffs double under and above, like a butcher with his white ſleeves; their ribbands tied about their hands, and three or four gold laces about their cloaths; this is no Quaker, ſay they. This attire pleaſeth the world; and if they cannot get theſe things, they are diſcontented. But this is not the attire of Sarah, whoſe adorning was in the hidden man of the heart, of a quiet and meek ſpirit. This is the adorning of the heathen; not of the apoſtle, nor of the ſaints, whoſe adorning was, not wearing of gold, nor plaiting of hair, but that of a meek and quiet ſpirit, which is of great price with the Lord. Here was the ſobriety and good ornament which was accepted of the Lord. This was Paul's exhortation and preaching. But we ſee, the talkers of Paul's words live out of Paul's command, and out of the example of Sarah, and are found in the ſteps of the great heathen, who comes to examine the apoſtles in his gorgeous apparel. Are not theſe, that have got ribbands hanging about their arms, hands, back, waiſts, knees, hats, like fiddlers boys? This ſhews, that they are got into the baſeſt and moſt contemptible life, who are in the faſhion of fiddlers boys and ſtage-players, quite out of the paths and ſteps of ſolid men; in the very ſteps and paths of the wild

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'heads, who give themſelves up to every invention and vanity of 'the world that appears, and are inventing how to get it upon their 'backs, heads, feet, and legs; and ſay, If it be out of the faſhion, it 'is nothing worth. Are not theſe ſpoilers of the creation, who have 'the fat and the beſt of it, and waſte and deſtroy it? Do not theſe 'incumber God's earth? Let that of God in all conſciences anſwer, 'and who are in the wiſdom judge. And further: if one get a pair 'of breeches like a coat, and hang them about with points, and up 'almoſt to the middle, a pair of double cuffs upon his hands, and a 'feather in his cap, here's a gentleman; bow before him, put off 'your hats, get a company of fiddlers, a ſet of muſick, and 'women to dance. This is a brave fellow. Up in the chamber; 'up in the chamber without, and up in the chamber within. 'Are theſe your fine Chriſtians? Yea, ſay they, They are Chriſ-'tians; but, ſay the ſerious people, They are out of Chriſt's 'life, out of the apoſtle's command, and out of the ſaints ornament. 'To ſee ſuch as are in the faſhions of the world before-mentioned, a 'company of them playing at bowls, or at tables, or at ſhovel-board, 'or each taking his horſe, with bunches of ribbands on his head, as 'the rider hath on his own, perhaps a ring in his ear too, and ſo go 'to horſe-racing to ſpoil the creatures. Oh! theſe are gentlemen 'indeed, theſe are bred up gentlemen, theſe are brave fellows, they 'muſt take their recreation; for pleaſures are lawful. Theſe, in 'their ſports, ſet up their ſhouts like wild aſſes. They are like the 'kine or beaſts, when they are put to graſs, lowing when they are 'full. Here is the glorying of thoſe before-mentioned; but it is in 'the fleſh, not in the Lord. Theſe are bad chriſtians, and ſhew that 'they are gluttoned with the creatures, and then the fleſh rejoiceth. 'Here is evil breeding of youth and young women, who are car-'ried away with the vanities of the mind in their own inventions, 'pride, arrogance, luſt, gluttony, uncleanneſs. They eat and drink, 'and riſe up to play. This is the generation which God is not well 'pleaſed with; for their eyes are full of adultery, who cannot ceaſe 'from evil. Theſe be they that live in pleaſures upon earth: theſe 'be they who are dead while they live; who glory not in the Lord, 'but in the fleſh: theſe be they that are out of the life that the 'ſcriptures were given forth from, who live in the faſhions and va-'nities of the world, out of truth's adorning in the devil's adorning '(who is out of the truth) not in the adorning of the Lord, which is 'a meek and quiet ſpirit, and is with the Lord of great price. But 'this ornament and this adorning is not put on by them that adorn 'themſelves, and have the ornament of him that is out of the truth. 'That is not accepted with the Lord which is accepted in their eye.

'G. F.'

It came upon me about this time from the Lord, to write a ſhort paper and ſend forth, as an exhortation and warning to the pope, and all kings and rulers in Europe.

'Friends,

1654.

London.

'Friends,

'YE heads, rulers, kings, and nobles, of all ſorts, Be not bitter, nor haſty in perſecuting the lambs of Chriſt, neither turn 'yourſelves againſt the viſitation of God, and his tender love and 'mercies from on high, who ſent to viſit you; leſt the Lord's hand, 'arm, and power take hold ſwiftly upon you; which is now 'ſtretched over the world. It is turned againſt kings, and ſhall turn 'wiſe men backward, will bring their crowns to the duſt, and lay 'them low and level with the earth. The Lord will be king, who 'gives crowns to whomſoever obey his will. This is the age, where-'in the Lord God of heaven and earth is ſtaining the pride of man 'and defacing his glory. You that profeſs Chriſt, and do not love 'your enemies, but on the contrary ſhut up and impriſon thoſe who 'are his friends; theſe are marks that you are out of his life, and 'do not love Chriſt, who do not the things he commands. The 'day of the Lord's wrath is kindling, his fire is going forth to burn 'up the wicked, which will leave neither root nor branch. They 'that have loſt their habitation with God are out of his Spirit that 'gave forth the ſcriptures, and from the light that Jeſus Chriſt hath 'enlightened them withal; and ſo from the true foundation. There-'fore be ſwift to hear, ſlow to ſpeak, and ſlower to perſecute; for 'the Lord is bringing his people to himſelf, from all the world's 'ways, to Chriſt the way; from all the world's churches, to the 'church which is in God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; 'from all the world's teachers, to teach his people himſelf by his 'Spirit; from all the world's images, into the image of himſelf; 'and from all the world's croſſes of ſtone or wood, into his power 'which is the croſs of Chriſt. For all theſe images, croſſes, and 'likeneſſes are among them that are apoſtatized from the image of 'God, the power of God, the croſs of Chriſt, which now fathoms 'the world, and is throwing down that which is contrary to it; 'which power of God never changes.

'Let this go to the kings of France and of Spain, and to the pope, 'for them to prove all things and to hold that which is good. And 'firſt to prove, that they have not quenched the Spirit; for the 'mighty day of the Lord is come, and coming upon all wickedneſs, 'ungodlineſs, and unrighteouſneſs of men, who will plead with all 'fleſh by fire and by ſword. And the truth, the crown of glory, and 'the ſcepter of righteouſneſs over all ſhall be exalted; which ſhall 'anſwer that of God in every one upon the earth, though they be 'from it. Chriſt is come a light into the world, and doth enlighten 'every one that cometh into the world, that all through him might 'believe. He that feeleth the light, that Chriſt hath enlightened 'him withal, he feeleth Chriſt in his mind, and the croſs of Chriſt, 'which is the power of God; he ſhall not need to have a croſs of 'wood or ſtone to put him in mind of Chriſt, or of his croſs, which 'is the power of God manifeſt in the inward parts.

'G. F.'

1654. London.

Beſides this I was moved to write a letter to the Protector (ſo called) ‘ to warn him of the mighty work the Lord hath to do in the na- ‘ tions, and the ſhaking of them; and to beware of his own wit, ‘ craft, ſubtilty, and policy, or ſeeking any by-ends to himſelf.’

There was about this time an order for the trying of miniſters (ſo called) and for approving, or ejecting them out of their places or benefices; whereupon I wrote a paper to the juſtices and other commiſſioners, who were appointed to that work.

‘ Friends,

‘ YOU that are juſtices, and in commiſſion to try miniſters, who ‘ have ſo long been in the vineyard of God, ſee whether they be ‘ ſuch as are mentioned in the ſcriptures, whom the prophets, Chriſt, ‘ and the apoſtles diſapproved of. And if they be ſuch as they diſ- ‘ approved, ſee how ye can ſtand approved in the ſight of God, to let ‘ ſuch go into his vineyard, and approve of them who will admire ‘ your perſons becauſe of advantage, and if you do not give them ‘ advantage they will not admire your perſons; ſuch Jude ſpeaks of. ‘ See if they be not ſuch as teach for filthy lucre, for love of money, ‘ covetous, ſuch as love themſelves, who have a form of godlineſs, ‘ but deny the power; from ſuch the apoſtle bids, Turn away. The ‘ apoſtle ſaid, their mouths ſhould be ſtopped, who ſerved not the ‘ Lord Jeſus, but their own bellies; being evil beaſts, ſlow bellies, ‘ who mind earthly things. Paul gave Timothy a deſcription to try ‘ miniſters by: he ſaid, They muſt not be covetous, nor given to ‘ wine, nor filthy lucre, nor novices; leſt being lifted up into ‘ pride, they fall into the condemnation of the devil. Theſe he was ‘ to try and prove without partiality. Take heed of approving ſuch ‘ as he diſapproved; for ſince the apoſtles days, ſuch as he diſap- ‘ proved have had their liberty; and they have told us, The tongues ‘ were their original, that they were orthodox men, and that the ‘ ſteeple-houſe, with a croſs on the top of it, was the church (the ‘ Papiſts maſs-houſe, you may look on the top of it and ſee the ſign). ‘ But the ſcriptures tell us, “ All the earth was of one language be- “ fore the building of Babel.” And when Pilate crucified Chriſt, he ‘ ſet the tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin over his head. And ‘ John tells us, That the beaſt had power over the tongues, kindreds, ‘ and nations; and that the whore ſits upon the tongues, of whoſe ‘ cup all nations have drunk, and the kings of the earth have com- ‘ mitted fornication with her. John alſo ſaid, The tongues are ‘ waters. Chriſt gives marks to his diſciples, and to the multitude, ‘ how to try ſuch as theſe that you are to try. They are called of ‘ men maſter, they love the chiefeſt ſeat in the aſſemblies, they be ‘ ſayers but not doers; and, ſaid he, They ſhall put you out of the ‘ ſynagogues. Seven woes he denounced againſt them, and there- ‘ fore diſapproved them. Chriſt ſaid, Falſe prophets ſhould come; ‘ and John ſaw, They were come: for they went forth from them; ‘ and the world ſince hath gone after them. But Babylon muſt be ‘ confounded, the mother of harlots; and the devil muſt be taken, ‘ and with him the beaſt, and the falſe prophet muſt be caſt into the ‘ lake of fire: for the Lamb and his ſaints over all muſt reign, and

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'have the victory. The Lord ſent his prophets of old to cry againſt 'the ſhepherds that ſought for the fleece, Ezek. xxxiv. and to cry 'againſt ſuch ſhepherds as ſeek for their gain from their quarter, 'and never have enough, Iſa. v. 6. and to cry againſt the prophets 'that propheſied falſely, and the prieſts that bore rule by their means: 'which was the filthy and horrible thing, Jer. v. And if you would 'forbear to give them means, you would ſee how long they 'would bear rule. There was in old time a ſtorehouſe for the fa-'therleſs, ſtrangers, and widows, to come to and be filled; and thoſe 'did not proſper then who did not bring their tithes to the ſtore-'houſe. But did not Chriſt put an end to that prieſthood, tithes, 'temple, and prieſts? Doth not the apoſtle ſay, The prieſthood is 'changed, the law is changed, and the commandment diſanulled? 'Might not they have pleaded the law of God, that gave them 'tithes? Was not the firſt author of them ſince Chriſt's time the 'pope, or ſome of his church? Did the apoſtles caſt men into 'priſon for tithes, as your miniſters do now? As inſtance: Ralph 'Hollingworth, prieſt of Phillingham, for petty tithes, not exceed-'in ſix ſhillings, hath caſt into Lincoln priſon a poor thatcher, 'Thomas Bromby; where he hath been about eight and thirty 'weeks, and ſtill remains priſoner: and the prieſt petitioned the 'judge, that the poor man might not labour in the city to get a 'little money towards his maintenance in priſon. Is this a good ſa-'vour amongſt you that are in commiſſion to chuſe miniſters? Is 'this glad tidings? to caſt in priſon a man that is not his hearer, 'becauſe he could not put into his mouth? Can ſuch as are in the 'fear of God, and in his wiſdom, own ſuch things? The miniſters 'of Chriſt are to plant a vineyard, and then eat of the fruit; to 'plow, ſow, and threſh, and get the corn; and then let them reap: 'but not caſt them into priſon for whom they do no work. Chriſt, 'when he ſent forth his miniſters, bid them give freely as they had 'received freely; and into what city or town ſoever they came, in-'quire who were worthy and there abide; and what they ſet before 'you, ſaid he, that eat. And when theſe came back again to Chriſt, 'and he aſked them, If they wanted any thing? they ſaid, No. 'They did not go to a town, and call the people together, to know 'how much they might have by the year, as theſe that are in the 'apoſtaſy do now. The apoſtle ſaid, Have I not power to eat and 'to drink? But he did not ſay, To take tithes, eaſter-reckonings, 'midſummer-dues, augmentations, and great ſums of money; but 'have I not power to eat and to drink? Yet he did not uſe that 'power among the Corinthians. But they that are apoſtatized from 'him will take tithes, great ſums of money, eaſter-reckonings, and 'midſummer-dues; and caſt thoſe into priſon that will not give it 'them, whom they do no work for. The ox's mouth muſt not be 'muzzled that treads out the corn; but ſee if the corn be trodden 'out in you, and the wheat be in the garner? This is from a lover 'of your ſouls, and one that deſires your eternal good.

'G. F.'

1655.

Bedfordſhire. Luton.

After I had made ſome ſtay in the city of London, I was moved of the Lord to go into Bedfordſhire to John Crook's; where there was a great meeting, and people generally convinced of the Lord's truth. When I was come thither, John Crook told me, that the next day ſeveral of thoſe called the gentlemen of the country would come to dine with him, and to diſcourſe with me. They came, and I declared to them God's eternal truth. Several friends went to the ſteeple-houſes that day. And there was a meeting in the country, which Alexander Parker went to; and towards the middle of the day it came upon me to go to it, though it was ſeveral miles off. John Crook went with me. When we came there, there was one —— Gritton, who had been a Baptiſt, but he was got higher than they, and called himſelf a trier of ſpirits. He uſed to tell people their fortunes, and pretended to diſcover when goods were ſtolen, or houſes broken up, who the perſons were that did it: by which he had got into the affections of many thereabouts. This man was in that meeting ſpeaking, and making an hideous noiſe over the young-convinced friends, when I came in; and he bid Alexander Parker give a reaſon of his hope. Alexander Parker told him, Chriſt was his hope; but becauſe he did not anſwer him ſo ſoon as he expected, he boaſtingly cried, His mouth is ſtopped. Then Gritton directed his ſpeech to me; for I ſtood ſtill, and heard him expreſs many things not agreeable to ſcripture. I aſked him, 'Whether he could make thoſe 'things out by ſcripture which he had ſpoken?' He ſaid, Yes, yes. Then I bid the people take out their bibles and ſearch the places he ſhould quote for proof of his aſſertions; but he could not make good by ſcripture what he had ſaid. So he was aſhamed, and fled out of the houſe, and his people were generally convinced; for his ſpirit was diſcovered, and he came no more amongſt them. When they were ſettled in God's truth, they publiſhed a book againſt him, denying his ſpirit and his falſe diſcoveries. Many were turned to Chriſt that day, and came to ſit under his teaching; inſomuch that the judges were in a great rage, and many of the magiſtrates in Bedfordſhire, becauſe ſo many were turned from the hireling prieſts to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt's free teaching. But John Crook was kept by the power of the Lord; yet he was diſcharged from being a juſtice.

London.

After ſome time I returned to London again; where friends were finely eſtabliſhed in the truth, and great comings-in there were. About this time ſeveral friends went beyond ſea, to declare the everlaſting truth of God. When I had ſtaid a while in the city, I went

Kent. Rocheſter.

into Kent. When we came into Rocheſter, there was a guard kept to examine paſſengers; but we paſſed by, and were not ſtopped. So

Cranbrook.

I went to Cranbrook, where there was a great meeting; ſeveral ſoldiers were at it, and many were turned to the Lord that day. After the meeting ſome of the ſoldiers were ſomewhat rude; but the Lord's power came over them. Thomas Howſigoe, an Independent preacher, who lived not far from Cranbrook, was convinced, and became a faithful miniſter for the Lord Jeſus. Some friends had travelled into Kent before, as John Stubbs and William Caton; and the prieſts and profeſſors had ſtirred up the magiſtrates at Maidſtone to whip them for declaring God's truth unto them; as may be ſeen in the journal of

of William Caton's life. Captain Dunk was alſo convinced in Kent. 1655.
He went with me to Rye, where we had a meeting; to which the Suſſex.
mayor, officers, and ſeveral captains came. They took what I ſaid in Rye.
writing, which I was well pleaſed with. All was quiet, and the people affected with the truth.

From Rye I went to Rumney, where the people had notice of my Rumney.
coming ſome time before. There was a very large meeting. Thither came Samuel Fiſher, an eminent preacher among the Baptiſts, who had a parſonage reputed worth two hundred pounds a year; which for conſcience ſake he had given up. There was alſo the paſtor of the Baptiſts, and abundance of their people. The power of the Lord was ſo mightily over the meeting, that many were reached, and one greatly ſhaken; and the life ſprang up in divers. One of the paſtors of the Baptiſts, being amazed at the work of the Lord's power, bid one of our friends that was ſo wrought upon, Have a good conſcience. Whereupon I was moved of the Lord to bid him, Take heed of hypocriſy and deceit; and he was ſilent. A great convincement there was that day. Many were turned from darkneſs to the divine light of Chriſt, and came to ſee their teachers errors, and to ſit under the Lord Jeſus Chriſt's teaching; to know him their way, and the covenant of light, which God had given to be their ſalvation; and they were brought to the one Baptiſm, and to the one Baptizer, Chriſt Jeſus. When the meeting was done, Samuel Fiſher's wife ſaid, 'We way diſcern this day betwixt fleſh and Spirt, and diſtinguiſh ſpiritual teaching from fleſhly.' The people were generally well ſatisfied with what had been declared; but the two Baptiſt teachers and their company, when they were gone from the meeting, fell to reaſoning amongſt the people. Samuel Fiſher, with divers others, reaſoned for the word of life, which had been declared that day, and the other paſtor and his party reaſoned againſt it; ſo it divided them aſunder and cut them in the midſt. A friend came and told me, 'That the Baptiſts were diſputing one with another, 'and deſired me to go to them.' I ſaid, 'Let them alone, the Lord 'will divide them, and they that reaſon for truth will be too hard 'for the other:' and ſo it was. Samuel Fiſher received the truth in the love of it, became a faithful miniſter, preached Chriſt freely, and laboured much; being moved of the Lord to go and declare the word of life at Dunkirk, in Holland, and in divers parts of Italy, as Leghorn, and Rome itſelf; yet the Lord preſerved him and his companion John Stubbs out of their inquiſitions.

From Rumney I paſſed to Dover, and had a meeting, where ſe- Dover.
veral were convinced. Near Dover a governor and his wife were convinced, who had been Baptiſts. The Baptiſts thereabouts were much offended, and grew very envious; but the Lord's power came over all. Luke Howard of Dover was convinced ſome time before, and became a faithful miniſter of Chriſt.

Returning from Dover I went to Canterbury, where a few honeſt- Canterbury.
hearted people were turned to the Lord; who ſate down under Chriſt's teaching. Thence I paſſed to Cranbrook again, where I had a great meeting. A friend went to the ſteeple-houſe, and was caſt into

1655. into priſon; but the Lord's power was manifeſted, and his truth ſpread.

Suſſex. Horſham. Steyning. From thence I paſſed into Suſſex, and lodged near Horſham, where was a great meeting; and many convinced. Alſo at Steyning we had a great meeting in the market-houſe, and ſeveral were convinced there and thereaway; for the Lord's power was with us. Several meetings I had thereabouts; amongſt the reſt a meeting was appointed at a great man's houſe, and he and his ſon went to fetch ſeveral prieſts who had threatened to come and diſpute. But none of them came, for the Lord's power was mighty in us. A glorious meeting we had. The man of the houſe and his ſon were vexed, becauſe none of the prieſts would come. So the hearts of the people were opened by the Spirit of God, and they were turned from the hirelings to Chriſt Jeſus, their ſhepherd, who had purchaſed them without money, and would feed them without money or price. Many that came, expecting to hear a diſpute, were convinced; amongſt whom Nicholas Beard was one.

Thus the Lord's power came over all, and his day many came to ſee. There were abundance of Ranters in thoſe parts, and profeſſors, who had been ſo looſe in their lives that they began to be weary of them, and had thought to have gone into Scotland to have lived privately; but the Lord's net catched them, and their underſtandings were opened by his light, Spirit, and power, through which they came to receive the truth, and to be ſettled upon the Lord; and ſo became very ſober men, and good friends in the truth. Great bleſſing and praiſing the Lord there was amongſt them, and great admiration in the country.

Reading. Out of Suſſex I travelled till I came to Reading; where I found a few that were convinced of the way of the Lord. I ſtaid till the firſt-day, and had a meeting in George Lamboll's orchard; and a great part of the town came to it. A glorious meeting it proved; great convincement there was, and the people were mightily ſatisfied. Thither came two of judge Fell's daughters to me, and George Biſhop, of Briſtol, with his ſword by his ſide, for he was a captain. After the meeting many Baptiſts and Ranters came privately, reaſoning and diſcourſing; but the Lord's power came over them. The Ranters pleaded, that God made the devil: I denied it, and told them, 'I was come into the power of God, the ſeed Chriſt, 'which was before the devil was, and bruiſed his head; and he be-'came a devil by going out of truth; and ſo became a murderer and 'a deſtroyer. I ſhewed them, that God did not make him a devil; 'for God is a God of truth, and made all things good, and bleſſed 'them: but God did not bleſs the devil. And the devil is bad, and 'was a lyar and a murderer from the beginning, and ſpoke of him-'ſelf, and not from God.' So the truth ſtopt and bound them, and came over all the higheſt notions in the nation, and confounded them. For by the power of the Lord I was manifeſt, and ſought to be made manifeſt to the Spirit of God in all, that by it they might be turned to God; as many were turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt by the holy Spirit, and were come to ſit under his teaching.

After

1655.

After this I paſſed to London, where I ſtaid a while, and had large meetings: then went into Eſſex, and came to Cogſhall, where was a meeting of about two thouſand people, as it was judged, which laſted ſeveral hours, and a glorious meeting it was; for the word of life was freely declared, and people were turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, their teacher and Saviour, the way, the truth, and the life. London. Eſſex. Cogſhall.

On the ſixth-day I had a large meeting near Colcheſter, to which many profeſſors and the Independent teachers came. After I had done ſpeaking, and was ſtept down from the place on which I ſtood, one of the Independent teachers began to make a jangling; which Amor Stoddart perceiving, ſaid, Stand up again, George; for I was going away, and did not at the firſt hear them. But when I heard the Independent, I ſtood up again, and after a while the Lord's power came over him and his company; who were confounded, and the Lord's truth went over all. A great flock of ſheep hath the Lord in that country, that feed in his paſtures of life. On the firſt-day following we had a very large meeting not far from Colcheſter, wherein the Lord's power was eminently manifeſted, and the people were very well ſatisfied; for, being turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt's free teaching, they received it gladly. Many of theſe people were of the ſtock of the martyrs. Near Colcheſter.

As I paſſed through Colcheſter, I went to viſit James Parnel in priſon; but the gaoler would hardly let us come in, or ſtay with him. Very cruel they were to him. The gaoler's wife threatened to have his blood; and in that gaol they did deſtroy him, as the reader may ſee in a book printed ſoon after his death, giving an account of his life and death; and alſo in an epiſtle printed with his collected books and writings. Colcheſter.

From Colcheſter I went to Ipſwich, were we had a little meeting, and very rude; but the Lord's power came over them. After the meeting, I ſaid, 'If any had a deſire to hear further they might 'come to the inn;' and there came in a company of rude butchers that had abuſed friends: but the Lord's power ſo chained them they could not do miſchief. Then I wrote a paper and gave it forth to the town, 'warning them of the day of the Lord, that they might 'repent of the evils they lived in; directing them to Chriſt, their 'teacher and way; and exhorting them to forſake their hireling-'teachers.' Ipſwich.

We paſſed from Ipſwich to Mendleſham, in Suffolk, where Robert Duncon lived. There we had a large meeting that was quiet, and the Lord's power was preciouſly felt amongſt us. Then we paſſed to a meeting at captain Lawrence's, in Norfolk; where, it was judged, were above a thouſand people; and all was quiet. Many perſons of note were preſent, and a great convincement there was. They were turned to Chriſt, and many of them received him, and ſate down under him, their vine. Here we parted with Amor Stoddart and others, who intended to meet us again in Huntingdonſhire. Suffolk. Mendleſham. Norfolk.

About the ſecond hour in the morning we took horſe for Norwich, where Chriſtopher Atkins, that dirty man, had run out, and brought diſhonour upon the bleſſed truth and the name of the Lord. But he had been denied by friends, and afterwards he gave forth a paper of con- Norwich.

1655. Yarmouth. demnation of his ſin and evil. We came to Yarmouth, and ſtaid a while; where there was a friend, Thomas Bond, in priſon, for the truth of Chriſt. There we had ſome ſervice; ſome being turned to the Lord in that town. From thence we rode to another town about twenty miles off, where were many tender people. I was moved of the Lord to ſpeak to the people as I ſat upon my horſe, in ſeveral places as I paſſed along. We went to another town about five miles from thence, and ſet up our horſes at an inn; Richard Hubberthorn and I having travelled five-and-forty miles that day. There were ſome friendly people in the town; and we had a tender, broken meeting amongſt them, in the Lord's power, to his praiſe.

We bid the hoſtler have our horſes ready by three in the morning; for we intended to ride to Lynn, about three-and-thirty miles, next morning. But when we were in bed, about eleven at night came the conſtable and officers, with a great rabble of people into the inn, and ſaid, They were come with an hue and cry from a juſtice of peace, that lived near the town where I had ſpoken to the people in the ſtreets as I rode along, to ſearch for two horſemen that rode upon grey horſes, and in grey cloaths; an houſe having been broken upon the ſeventh day before at night. We told them, 'We were honeſt innocent men, 'and abhorred ſuch things;' yet they apprehended us, and ſet a guard with halberts and pikes upon us that night; making ſome of thoſe friendly people, with others, watch us. Next morning we were up betime, and the conſtable with his guard carried us before a juſtice of peace about five miles off. We took two or three of the ſufficient men of the town with us, who had been at the meeting at captain Lawrence's, and could teſtify that we lay both the ſeventh day night and the firſt day night at captain Lawrence's; and it was the ſeventh day night that they ſaid the houſe was broken up. The reader is to be informed, that during the time I was priſoner at the Mermaid at Charing Croſs, this captain Lawrence brought ſeveral Independent juſtices to ſee me there, with whom I had a great deal of diſcourſe; which they took offence at. For they pleaded for imperfection, and to ſin as long as they lived; but did not like to hear of Chriſt's teaching his people himſelf, and making people as clear whilſt here upon the earth as Adam and Eve were before they fell. Theſe juſtices had plotted together this miſchief againſt me in the country, pretending an houſe was broken up; that they might ſend their hue and cry after me. They were vexed alſo and troubled to hear of the great meeting at John Lawrence's; for a colonel was convinced there that day, who lived and died in the truth. But Providence ſo ordered, that the conſtable carried us to a juſtice about five miles onward in our way towards Lynn, who was not an Independent juſtice, as the reſt were. When we were brought before him, he began to be angry, becauſe we did not put off our hats to him. I told him, I had been before the protector, and he was not offended at my hat; and why ſhould he be offended, who was but one of his ſervants? Then he read the hue and cry; and I told him, 'That night, wherein the houſe was ſaid to be 'broken up, we were at captain Lawrence's houſe; and that we had

'ſeveral

'several men present could testify the truth thereof.' Thereupon the justice, having examined us and them, said, 'He believed we were 'not the men that had broken the house; but he was sorry,' he said, 'that he had no more against us.' We told him, 'He ought not to 'be sorry for not having evil against us, but rather to be glad; for 'to rejoice when he got evil against people, as for house-breaking or 'the like, was not a good mind in him.' It was a good while yet before he could resolve, whether to let us go, or send us to prison; and the wicked constable stirred him up against us, telling him, 'We had 'good horses; and that if it pleased him, he would carry us to Nor-'wich gaol.' But we took hold of the justice's confession, 'That 'he believed we were not the men that had broken the house;' and, after we had admonished him to fear the Lord in his day, the Lord's power came over him, that he let us go: so their snare was broken. A great people were afterwards gathered to the Lord in that town, where I was moved to speak to them in the street, from whence the hue and cry came. 1655. Norfolk.

Being set at liberty, we travelled to Lynn; to which we came about the third hour in the afternoon. Having set up our horses, we met with Joseph Fuce, who was an ensign. We desired him to speak to as many of the people of the town as he could, that feared God; and the captains and officers to come together: which he did. We had a very glorious meeting amongst them, and turned them to the Spirit of God, by which they might know God and Christ, and understand the scriptures; and learn of God and of Christ, as the prophets and apostles did. Many were convinced there; and a fine meeting there is, of them that are come off from the hirelings teaching, and sit under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ. Lynn.

Lynn being then a garrison, we desired Joseph Fuce to get us the gate opened by the third hour next morning; for we had forty miles to ride next day. By that means getting out early, we came next day by the eleventh or twelfth hour to Sutton, near the isle of Ely, where Amor Stoddart, and the friends with him, met us again. A multitude of people was gathered thither, and no less than four priests. The priest of the town made a great jangle; but the Lord's power so confounded him, that he went away. The other three staid; and one of them was convinced. One of the other two, whilst I was speaking, came to lean upon me: but I bid him sit down, seeing he was so slothful. A great convincement there was that day. Many hundreds were turned from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God, and from the spirit of error to the Spirit of truth, to be led thereby into all truth. People came to this meeting from Huntingdon, and beyond; the mayor's wife of Cambridge was there also. A glorious meeting it was; many were settled under Christ's teaching, and knew him their Shepherd to feed them: for the word of life was freely declared, and gladly received by them. The meeting ended in the power of the Lord, and in peace; and after it was done, I walked into a garden: where I had not been long, before a friend came and told me, several justices were come to break up the meeting. But many of the Sutton.

1655. people were gone away; ſo they miſſed of their deſign: and after they had ſtaid a while, they departed alſo in a fret.

Sutton. Cambridge. That evening I paſſed to Cambridge. When I came into the town, the ſcholars, hearing of me, were up, and were exceeding rude. I kept on my horſe's back, and rode through them in the Lord's power; but they unhorſed Amor Stoddart before he could get to the inn. When we were in the inn, they were ſo rude in the courts and in the ſtreets, that the miners, colliers, and carters could never be ruder. The people of the houſe aſked us, What we would have for ſupper? 'Sup-'per!' ſaid I, 'were it not that the Lord's power is over them, theſe 'rude ſcholars look as if they would pluck us in pieces, and make a 'ſupper of us.' They knew I was ſo againſt the trade of preaching, which they were there as apprentices to learn, that they raged as bad as ever Diana's craftſmen did againſt Paul. At this place John Crook met us. When it was within night, the mayor of the town, being friendly, came and fetched me to his houſe; and as we walked through the ſtreets, there was a buſtle in the town; but they did not know me, it being darkiſh. They were in a rage not only againſt me, but againſt the mayor alſo; ſo that he was almoſt afraid to walk the ſtreets with me, for the tumult. We ſent for the friendly people, and had a fine meeting in the power of God; and I ſtaid there all night. Next morning, having ordered our horſes to be ready by the ſixth hour, we paſſed peaceably out of town; and the deſtroyers were diſappointed: for they thought I would have ſtaid longer in the town, and intended to have done us miſchief; but our paſſing away early in the morning fruſtrated their evil purpoſes againſt us.

Biſhop Stortford. Hertford. Then we rode to Biſhop-Stortford, where ſome were convinced; and to Hertford, where alſo ſome were convinced; and where now there is a large meeting.

London. From thence we returned to London, where friends received us gladly; the Lord's power having carried us through many ſnares and dangers. Great ſervice we had, for many hundreds were brought to ſit under the teaching of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt their Saviour, and to praiſe the Lord through him. James Nayler alſo was come up to London; and Richard Hubberthorn and I ſtaid ſome time in the city, viſiting friends, and anſwering gainſayers: for we had great diſputes with profeſſors of all ſorts. Many reproaches they caſt upon truth, and lying, ſlanderous books they gave forth againſt us: but we anſwered them, cleared God's truth, ſet it over them, and the Lord's power was over all.

Amongſt other ſervices for the Lord, which then lay upon me in the city, I was moved to give forth a paper to thoſe that made a ſcorn at trembling and quaking:

'THE word of the Lord to you all, that ſcorn trembling and 'quaking, who ſcorn, throw ſtones at, and belch forth oaths 'againſt thoſe who are trembling and quaking, threatening and 'beating them. Strangers ye are to all the apoſtles and prophets; and 'are of the generation that ſtoned them and mocked them in thoſe 'ages. Ye are of the ſcoffers which they ſpake of, that are come in

'the laſt times. Be ye witneſſes againſt yourſelves. To the light in all your conſciences I ſpeak, that with it you may ſee yourſelves to be out of the life of the holy men of God. 1655. London.

'Moſes, who was judge over all Iſrael, trembled, feared, and quaked, when the Lord ſaid unto him, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Iſaac, and the God of Jacob; then he trembled, and durſt not behold. This, which makes to tremble now, ye teachers and people ſcoff at, and ſcorn thoſe in your ſtreets who witneſs the power of the Lord. Moſes forſook the pleaſures of the world, which he might have enjoyed for a ſeaſon. He might have been called the ſon of Pharaoh's daughter; he refuſed it, and forſook Pharaoh's houſe; yet was no vagabond. David, a king, trembled. He was mocked; they made ſongs on him; they wagged their heads at him. Will you profeſs David's words, and Moſes's words, who are in the generation of your fathers, mockers, ſcoffers, wonderers and deſpiſers, which are to periſh? O bluſh! Be aſhamed of all your profeſſion, and be confounded! Job trembled, his fleſh trembled, and they mocked him; ſo do you now mock them in whom the ſame power of God is made manifeſt; yet you profeſs Job's words. O deceitful hypocrites! will ye not own ſcripture? O for ſhame! Never profeſs ſcripture words, and deny the power, which, according to the ſcripture, makes the keepers of the houſe to tremble, and the ſtrong man to bow himſelf. Theſe things prieſts, magiſtrates, and people ſcoff at; but with the power ye are judged, and by the power and life condemned.

'The prophet Jeremiah trembled, he ſhook, his bones quaked, he reeled to and fro, like a drunken man, when he ſaw the deceit of the prieſts and prophets who were turned from the way of God; and they were not aſhamed, neither could they bluſh. Such were gone from the light; and ſuch were they that ruled over the people. But he was brought to cry, O fooliſh people! that had eyes, and could not ſee; that had ears, and could not hear; that did not fear the Lord, and tremble at his preſence, who placed the ſands for bounds to the ſea by a perpetual decree, that the waves thereof cannot paſs! And he ſaid, "A horrible thing is committed in the land; the prophets propheſy falſly, and the prieſts bear rule by their means. Shall not I viſit for theſe things, ſaith the Lord? Shall not my ſoul be avenged upon ſuch a nation as this?" They were ſuch as did not tremble at the word of the Lord; therefore he called them a fooliſh people. Hear all ye the word of the Lord, ye fooliſh people, who ſcorn trembling and quaking. Give over profeſſing the prophet Jeremiah's words, and making a trade of them; for with his words you are judged to be among the ſcoffers, ſcorners, and ſtockers. For he was ſtocked by your generation; and you now ſtock them that tremble at the word of the Lord, at the power of the mighty God, which raiſes up the Seed of God, and throws down the earth which hath kept it down. So you that are in the fall, where death reigneth, enemies of the truth, deſpiſing the power of God, as thoſe of your generation ever did, woe and miſery is your portion, except you ſpeedily repent. Iſaiah ſaid, "Hear the word

1653. London. " of the Lord, all ye that tremble at his word." And he ſaid, " This " was the man that God did regard, who was of a broken and " contrite heart, and trembled at his word. When their brethren " hated and perſecuted them, ſaying, Let the Lord be glorified; he " ſhall appear to your joy, but they ſhall be aſhamed," Iſa. lxvi. 5.

' Now all ye ſcoffers and ſcorners, that deſpiſe trembling, you regard ' not the word of the Lord; they are not regarded by you, that trem- ' ble at the word; who are regarded by the Lord: therefore you are ' contrary to Iſaiah's words. Profeſs him and his words no more for ' ſhame, nor make a trade of his words. Ye that ſeek for your gain ' from your quarter, ye greedy, dumb dogs, that never have enough, ' ye are they that deſpiſe trembling; ye are ſuch as Iſaiah cried againſt, ' who himſelf witneſſed trembling. Here therefore be ye witneſſes ' againſt yourſelves, that with the light in your conſciences ye may ſee ' ye are out of the prophet Iſaiah's ſpirit, and are haters of them that ' tremble, whom the Lord regards; but ſuch you regard not, but hate, ' perſecute, mock, and rail againſt. It is manifeſt you walk in the ' ſteps of your forefathers, that perſecuted the prophets. Habakkuk, ' the prophet of the Lord, trembled. Joel, the prophet of the Lord, ' ſaid, " Blow the trumpet in Zion, and let all the inhabitants of the " earth tremble." The people ſhall tremble, and all faces ſhall gather ' blackneſs; and the people ſhall be much pained. And now this ' trembling is witneſſed by the power of the Lord. This power of the ' Lord is come; the trumpet is ſounding, the earth is ſhaking; the in- ' habitants of the earth are trembling; the dead is ariſing; and the ' living is praiſing God: the world is raging; the ſcoffers are ſcorn- ' ing; and they that witneſs trembling and quaking wrought in ' them by the power of the Lord, can ſcarce paſs up and down ' the ſtreets but with ſtones and blows, fiſts and ſticks, or dogs ſet at ' them, or they are purſued with mockings and reproaches. Thus you ' vent your malice againſt them that witneſs the power of the Lord, ' as the prophets did; who are come to the broken heart and contrite ' ſpirit; who tremble at the word of the Lord, and whom the Lord re- ' gards: theſe you ſtone, ſtock, ſet your dogs at; theſe you ſcoff and ' ſcorn; theſe you revile and reproach; but theſe reproaches are our ' riches; praiſed be the Lord who hath given us power over them. If ' you ſee one, as Habakkuk, whoſe lips quivered, whoſe belly ſhook; ' who ſaid, " Rottenneſs was entered into his bones," and who trem- ' bled in himſelf; if you ſee ſuch an one in this condition now, ye ' ſay he is bewitched. Here again you ſhew yourſelves ſtrangers ' to that power, to that life which was in the prophet: therefore, ' for ſhame, never make a profeſſion of his words, nor a trade of ' his words; nor of Joel's, who witneſſed trembling, which ye ſcorn ' and ſcoff at. Ye proud ſcorners, miſery is your end, except you ' ſpeedily repent. Daniel, a ſervant of the moſt high God, trembled; ' his ſtrength and his breath were gone. He was priſoned, he was ' hated, he was perſecuted. They laid baits and ſnares for him, in ' whom the holy Spirit of God was. For ſhame, you that make a ' profeſſion of Daniel's words, give over your profeſſion, prieſts and ' people, who ſcoff and ſcorn at trembling: with the light you are ſeen

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'to be out of Daniel's life, and by the ſame power you are judged, at which you ſcorn and ſcoff. Here again be ye witneſſes againſt yourſelves, that you are ſcorners and ſcoffers againſt the truth; and with the ſcripture you are judged to be contrary to the life of the holy men of God. Paul, a miniſter of God, made by the will of God a meſſenger of the Lord Jeſus, a veſſel of the Lord, to carry his name abroad into ſeveral nations, when the dark, blind world have got ſome of his words and epiſtles, you teachers make a trade of them, and get great ſums of money for it, ſo you deſtroy ſouls for diſhoneſt gain; making a trade of his words, and of the reſt of the apoſtles, prophets, and of Chriſt's words, but denying the Spirit and life that they were guided by, and that power which ſhook the fleſh and the earth; which the apoſtle witneſſed, who ſaid, "When he came among the Corinthians, he was with them in weakneſs and fear, and in much trembling, that their faith might not ſtand in the wiſdom of words, but in the power of God;" in that power which made him to tremble. This power it is that the world, and all the ſcoffing teachers, ſcoff at and ſcorn at in your towns, in your villages in your aſſemblies, in your alehouſes. For ſhame, lay aſide all your profeſſions of the apoſtle's words and conditions! Some that ſcoff at this power, call it the power of the devil. Some perſecute, ſtone and ſtock, impriſon and whip them, in whom that power is made manifeſt, and load them with reproaches, as not worthy to walk on the earth; hated and perſecuted, as the off-ſcouring of all things. Here you may ſee you are in the ſteps of your forefathers, who perſecuted the apoſtles, and acted ſo againſt them; ſtocked them, mocked them, priſoned them, ſtoned them, whipped them, haled them out of the ſynagogues, reproached them, and ſhamefully treated them. Do not you here fulfil the ſcripture, and Chriſt's ſaying, who ſaid, "If they kill you, they will think they do God ſervice?" Yet you make a profeſſion of Chriſt's words, of the prophets and apoſtles words, and call yourſelves churches, and miniſters of the goſpel. I charge you, in the preſence of the living God, to be ſilent who act ſuch things! Mind the light in your conſciences, ye ſcoffers and ſcorners, which Chriſt hath enlightened you withal; that with it ye may ſee yourſelves, what ye act, and what ye have acted; for who act ſuch things ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God: all ſuch things are by the light condemned.

'You who come to witneſs trembling and quaking, the powers of the earth to be ſhaken, the luſtful nature to be deſtroyed, the ſcorning and ſcoffing nature judged by the light; in it wait to receive power from him who ſhakes the earth. That power we own, and our faith ſtands in it, which all the world ſcoffs at; the lofty, the proud, the preſumptuous, who live in preſumption, and yet make a profeſſion of the ſcriptures, as your fathers the Phariſees did, who were painted ſepulchres and ſerpents; and as the Scribes did, who had the chiefeſt places in the aſſemblies, ſtood praying in the ſynagogues, and were called of men, Maſters, whom Chriſt cried woe againſt. Theſe are not come ſo far as the trembling of devils, who believed and trembled. Let that judge you. The light and life of the ſcripture

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'is seen and made manifest, and with it all you scorners, persecutors, 'and railers are seen.

'Take warning, all ye powers of the earth, how ye persecute them 'whom the world nicknames and calls Quakers, who dwell in the eter- 'nal power of God; lest the hand of the Lord be turned against you, 'and ye be all cut off. To you this is the word of God, Fear and 'tremble, and take warning; for this is the man whom the Lord doth 'regard, who trembles at his word; which you, who are of the world, 'scorn, stock, persecute, and imprison. Here ye may see ye are con- 'trary to God, contrary to the prophets; and are such as hate what 'the Lord regards, which we, whom the world scorns, and calls 'Quakers, own. We exalt and honour that power which makes the 'devils tremble, shakes the earth, throws down the loftiness of man, 'the haughtiness of man, and makes the beasts of the field to tremble, 'and causes the earth to reel to and fro, cleaves it asunder, and over- 'turneth the world. This power we own, honour, and preach up, 'whom the world scornfully calls Quakers. But all persecutors, railers 'and scorners, stockers and whippers, we deny by that power which 'throweth down all that nature; as seeing that all who act such things, 'without repentance, shall not inherit the kingdom of God, but are 'for destruction.

'Rejoice, all ye righteous ones, who are persecuted for righteous- 'ness sake; for great is your reward in heaven. Rejoice, ye that suf- 'fer for well-doing; for ye shall not lose your reward. Wait in the 'light, that you may grow up in the life that gave forth the scriptures; 'that with it ye may see the saints conditions, and all that which they 'testified against; with it ye will ye see the state of those that did re- 'proach and scoff them, mock, persecute, whip, stock, and hale them 'out of the synagogues before magistrates. To you, who are in the 'same light and life, the same things they do now; that they may 'fill up the measure of their fathers. With the light now they are 'seen, where the light, life, and power of God is made manifest; 'for as they did unto them, so will they do unto you. Here is our 'joy; the scripture is fulfilled, and fulfilling; with the light which 'was before the world was, which is now made manifest in the chil- 'dren of light, they see the world, comprehend it, and the actions 'of it: for he that loves the world, and turns from the light, is an 'enemy to God; he turneth into wickedness: for the whole world 'lieth in wickedness. He who turns from the light, turns into the 'works of evil, which the light of Christ testifies against. By this light, 'where it is made manifest, all the works of the world are seen and 'made manifest.

'G. F.'

Great was the rage and enmity of the people, professors as well as prophane, against the truth and people of God at this time; and great the contempt and disdain they shewed of friends plainness. Wherefore I was moved to write the following paper, and send it forth, directed as——An epistle to gathered churches into outward forms, upon earth.

'ALL

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'ALL ye churches gathered into outward forms upon the earth, the Son of God is come to reign; he will tread and trample, will ſhake, and make you quiver, you that are found without his life, his light, and his power. His day hath appeared; morter and clay will you be found. Breaking, ſhaking, and quaking is coming among you! Your high building is to be laid deſolate; your profeſſed liberty ſhall be your bondage: the mouth of the Lord of Hoſts hath ſpoken it. Tremble, ye hypocrites, ye notioniſts. The fenced cities ſhall be laid deſolate, the fruitful fields ſhall become a wilderneſs; your falſe joy ſhall become your heavineſs: the time of weeping and deſolation draweth nigh! Come ye witty ones, ſee how ye can ſtand before the Almighty, who is now come to plead with you. You'll fall like leaves, and wither like weeds! Come you, that have boaſted of my name, ſaith the Lord, and have gloried in the fleſh, ye ſhall fade like a flower: who have ſlain my witneſs, yet boaſt of my words, which have been as a ſong unto you. Come ye noveliſts, who love novelties, changeable ſuits of apparel, who are in the faſhions outward and inward, putting on one thing this day, and another the other day. "I'll ſtrip thee,' ſaith the Lord, "I'll make thee bare, I'll make "thee naked, and thou ſhalt know that I am the Lord.' What! haſt thou profeſſed the prophets words? haſt thou profeſſed the apoſtles words, and my Son's words? haſt thou covered thyſelf with their expreſſions? thinkeſt thou not that I ſee thee out of my life? thinkeſt thou, thou witty one, to hide thyſelf where none can ſee thee? thinkeſt thou, if thou flieſt to the uttermoſt parts of the earth, that I am not there? Is not the earth mine, and the fulneſs of it, ſaith the Lord? Come all ye that have truſted in your own conceited knowledge and wiſdom, who were never yet out of the earth, and the luſts of it, never yet got the load of thick clay off you, never were out of the drunken ſpirit, whoſe imperfection appears, which muſt be come upon as a potter's veſſel; broken ciſterns; ye that have been wiſe in your own conceit, wiſe in your own eyes, in which pride hath lifted you up, and not humility; you muſt be abaſed. You have run on, every one after his own invention, and every man hath done that which was right in his own eyes, that which pleaſed himſelf. This hath been the courſe of people upon earth. Ye have run on without a king, without Chriſt, the light of the world, which hath enlightened every one that is come into the world. But now is truth riſen, now are your fruits withering. You that are fortified, and have fortified your ſtrong houſes, called your churches, make your cords ſtrong, the Lord will break you aſunder, ye that are gathering in, and ye that are gathered. For the Lord is riſen to ſcatter you, his witneſs is riſen in the hearts of his people; they will not be fed with dead words, nor with that which dies of itſelf; nor will they be ſatisfied with the huſks which the ſwine feed upon. All ye prieſts in the nation, and teachers, that now ſtand againſt the light, your envy ſhews that ye are in Cain's way; your greedineſs ſhews that ye are in Balaam's way: your ſtanding againſt the light, which hath en-

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'lightened every man that cometh into the world, doth manifeſt 'that you are in Core's way, that ſpoke the great high words of 'vanity; ye, whoſe conſciences are ſeared as with an hot iron, whoſe 'judgment doth not linger, whoſe damnation doth not ſlumber, who 'ſerve not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but your own bellies; who are 'as the evil beaſts ſpoken of, which have deſtroyed many families, 'taken away their cattle, their horſes, their goods, even their houſ-'hold goods; deſtroyed many poor men, even whole families, taking 'their whole eſtates from them, whom you do no work for. 'O the grievous actions that are ſeen done by you, the miniſters of 'unrighteouſneſs; whoſe fruits declare to the whole nation, that you 'are not the meſſengers of God! your actions declare it; your taking 'tythes, augmentations, treble damages, midſummer-dues, as ye 'call them, of thoſe ye do no work for, nor miniſter to.

'All ye powers of the earth, beware of holding ſuch up as are 'unrighteous. Let not the words of the unrighteous overcome 'you, leſt the righteous God, the judge of heaven and earth, 'take hold upon you; whoſe judgment is according to that of 'God in you, which will let you ſee when you tranſgreſs. Come 'you proud, lofty ones, who have not conſidered the handy-'works of the Lord, but have deſtroyed them; nor have regarded 'the way of the Lord, but have had plenty of the creatures, and 'have therewith fatted up yourſelves, and forgotten the Lord and his 'way: O let ſhame cover your faces here upon earth! Come ye, 'that are given to pleaſures, who ſpend your time in ſports, idleneſs, 'and fulneſs; your fruits declare the ſins of Sodom; yet you will 'make a talk of my name, and of my ſaints words. "But I behold "you afar off," ſaith the Lord. You are proud and lofty; you are 'bad patterns, bad examples, full, rich, and idle; who ſay, others 'are idle, that cannot maintain your luſts. Oh! the unrighteous ba-'lances that are among people! O the iniquity in meaſuring! O the 'oppreſſion in ruling and governing! Becauſe of theſe things my 'hand ſhall come upon you, ſaith the Lord. For the oppreſſion is 'entered into the ears of the Lord, who gives reſt to the wearied, 'to the burdened, to the oppreſſed; who feeds the hungry, and 'cloathes the naked; who brings the mighty from their ſeats, beats 'the lofty to the ground, and makes the haughty bend. Come, 'ſaith the Lord, ye mockers, ſcorners, and rebellious ones, light and 'wild people, vain and heady; you have had your day of joy, you 'have ſcoffed, you have mocked and derided my meſſengers, my am-'baſſadors, who have preached in your ſtreets, and cried in your 'ſynagogues and temples; a day of trembling and lamentation ſhall 'come upon you when you are not aware. I'll take away your pride 'and your height; I'll ſhake you as a leaf, and bring you to be as 'men diſtracted. I'll diſtract you, and make you that you ſhall not 'truſt one another in the earth; who have joined hand in hand againſt 'my ſervants in the truth. I'll ſmite you with terrors, and bring 'frets and fears upon you; the cup of my indignation and fury ſhall 'you drink. Where will you appear, when repentance is hid from 'your eyes; when prophane Eſau, your father, is ſet before you, 'and Iſhmael and Cain, wild and envious, whoſe fruits declare the 'ſtock?

'ſtock? Come, ye proud prieſts, who have eaten up the fat of the 1655.
'nation, who by violence have taken other mens goods, whoſe envy London.
'hath ſlain many, whoſe wickedneſs and darkneſs hath abounded,
'and whoſe unrighteouſneſs daily appears. Your fruits every day
'declare it, in ſummoning up by writs and ſubpœna's from moſt
'parts of the nation for wages and tithes, ſuch as ye do no work for.
'Oh! the abominable unrighteouſneſs! how is the ſtate of man loſt,
'that theſe things they do not take to heart, to feel them! What
'havock is made in moſt parts of the nation by ſuch! And all ye
'prieſts and teachers, who are railing and brawling in the pulpit,
'ſetting people at variance one againſt another, haters and hateful,
'provoking people to hate one another; here is the ſeed of enmity
'ſeen which you have ſown and are ſowing, whoſe ſeed muſt be
'bruiſed by the ſeed of the woman, which atop of your heads is ſet.

'G. F.'

This year came out the oath of abjuration, by which many friends ſuffered. Several friends went to ſpeak with the Protector about it; but he began to harden. And ſufferings increaſing upon friends, by reaſon that envious magiſtrates made uſe of that oath as a ſnare to catch them in, who they knew could not ſwear at all; I was moved to write to the Protector as followeth:

'THE magiſtrate is not to bear the ſword in vain, who ought
'to be a terror to the evil-doers; but the magiſtrate that bears
'the ſword in vain, as he is not a terror to evil-doers, ſo he is not a
'praiſe to them that do well. Now hath God raiſed up a people by
'his power, whom people, prieſts, and magiſtrates, out of the fear
'of God, ſcornfully call Quakers, who cry againſt drunkenneſs (for
'drunkards deſtroy God's creatures) and cry againſt oaths (for becauſe
'of oaths the land mourns) and theſe drunkards and ſwearers, to
'whom the magiſtrate's ſword ſhould be a terror, are, we ſee, at li-
'berty; but for crying againſt ſuch many are caſt into priſon, and for
'crying againſt their pride and filthineſs, their deceitful merchan-
'dize in markets, their cozening, their cheating, their exceſs and
'naughtineſs, their playing at bowls and ſhovel-boards, at cards and
'at dice, and their other vain and wanton pleaſures. Who live in
'pleaſures are dead while they live, and who live in wantonneſs
'kill the juſt. This we know by the Spirit of God which gave
'forth the ſcriptures, which God the Father hath given to us, and
'hath placed his righteous law in our hearts; which law is a terror
'to evil-doers, and anſwers that which is of God in every man's
'conſcience. They who act contrary to the meaſure of God's Spirit
'in every man's conſcience, caſt the law of God behind their backs,
'and walk deſpitefully againſt the Spirit of Grace. The magiſtrate's
'ſword, we ſee, is borne in vain, whilſt evil-doers are at liberty
'to do evil, and they that cry againſt ſuch are, for ſo doing, puniſhed
'by the magiſtrate, who hath turned his ſword backward againſt
'the Lord. Now the wicked one fenceth himſelf, and perſecutes
'the innocent, as vagabonds and wanderers, for crying againſt ſin,

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'unrighteouſneſs, and ungodlineſs openly, in the markets and in the 'highways; or as railers, becauſe they tell them what judgment will 'come upon thoſe that follow ſuch practices. Here they that depart 'from iniquity are become a prey, and few lay it to heart. But God 'will threſh the mountains, beat the hills, cleave the rocks, and caſt 'into his preſs which is trodden without the city, and will bathe his 'ſword in the blood of the wicked and unrighteous. You that have 'drunk the cup of abominations, an hard cup have you to drink, 'you who are the enemies of God, of you he will be avenged. You 'in whom ſomething of God is remaining, conſider; If the ſword 'was not borne in vain, but turned againſt evil-doers, the righteous 'would not ſuffer, and be caſt into holes, dungeons, corners, pri-'ſons, and houſes of correction, as peace-breakers, for crying againſt 'ſin openly, as they are commanded of the Lord, and for crying 'againſt the covetouſneſs of the prieſts and their falſe worſhips; who 'exact money of poor people, whom they do no work for. Oh! 'where will you appear in the day of the Lord? How will you 'ſtand in the day of his righteous judgment? How many gaols and 'houſes of correction are now made places to put the lambs of Chriſt 'in, for following him and obeying his commands! The royal 'law of Chriſt, "To do as ye would be done by," is trodden 'down under foot; ſo that men can profeſs him in words, 'but crucify him whereſoever he appears, and caſt him into 'priſon, as the talkers of him always did in generations and ages 'paſt. The labourers, which God, the maſter of the harveſt, hath 'ſent into his vineyard, do the chief of the prieſts and the rulers 'now take counſel together againſt to caſt them into priſon: here 'are the fruits of prieſts, people, and rulers, without the fear of 'God. The day is come and coming that every man's work doth 'and ſhall appear; glory be to the Lord God for ever! See and 'conſider the days you have ſpent, and the days you do ſpend; for 'this is your day of viſitation. Many have ſuffered great fines, be-'cauſe they could not ſwear, but abide in Chriſt's doctrine, who ſaith, 'Swear not at all: and by that means are they made a prey upon for 'abiding in the command of Chriſt. Many are caſt into priſon and 'made a prey upon, becauſe they cannot take the oath of abjuration, 'though they denied all that is abjured in it; and by that means 'many of the meſſengers and miniſters of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt are 'caſt into priſon, becauſe they will not ſwear nor go out of Chriſt's 'command. Therefore, O man! conſider; to the meaſure of the 'life of God in thee I ſpeak. Many alſo lie in gaols, becauſe they 'cannot pay the prieſts tithes; many have their goods ſpoiled, and 'treble damages taken of them; many are whipped and beaten in 'the houſes of correction, who have broken no law. Theſe 'things are done in thy name, in order to protect them in theſe 'actions. If men fearing God bore the ſword, and covetouſneſs was 'hated, and men of courage for God were ſet up, then they would 'be a terror to evil-doers, and a praiſe to them that do well; and 'not cauſe ſuch to ſuffer. Here equity would be heard in our land, 'and righteouſneſs would ſtand up and take place; which giveth not 'place to the unrighteous, but judgeth it. To the meaſure of God's

'Spirit

'Spirit in thee I ſpeak, that thou mayeſt conſider and come to rule 1655.
'for God: that thou mayeſt anſwer that which is of God in every London.
'man's conſcience; for that is it which bringeth to honour all men
'in the Lord. Therefore conſider for whom thou ruleſt, that thou
'mayeſt come to receive power from God to rule for him; and all
'that is contrary to God may by his light be condemned.

'From a lover of thy ſoul, who deſires thy eternal good,

'G. F.'

Sufferings and impriſonments continuing and increaſing, and the Protector, under whoſe name they were inflicted, hardening himſelf againſt the complaints that were made to him, I was moved to give forth the following lines amongſt friends, to bring the weight of their ſufferings more heavy upon the heads of the perſecutors.

'WHO is moved by the power of the Lord to offer himſelf to the
'juſtice for his brother or ſiſter in priſon, to lie in pri-
'ſon in their ſtead, that his brother or ſiſter may come out of priſon,
'and ſo offer his life for his brother or ſiſter? Where any lie in
'priſon for tithes, witneſſing the prieſthoood changed that took
'tithes, and the unchangeable prieſthood come; if any brother in
'the light, who witneſſeth a change of the old prieſthood that took
'tithes, and a diſannulling of the commandment for tithes, be moved
'of the Lord to go to the prieſt or impropriator, to offer himſelf to
'lie in priſon for his brother, and to lay down his life that he may
'come forth, he may chearfully do it, and heap coals of fire upon
'the head of the adverſary of God. Likewiſe where any ſuffer for
'the truth by them who are in the untruth, if any brother be moved
'of the Lord to go to the magiſtrate, judge, general, or protector,
'and offer up themſelves to the priſon, to lay down their lives for
'the brethren; as Chriſt hath laid down his life for you, ſo offer
'your lives one for another. Here you may go over the heads
'of perſecutors, and reach the witneſs of God in all. And this
'ſhall lie a judgment upon them all for ever, and be witneſſed
'to by that which is of God in their conſciences. Given forth from
'the Spirit of the Lord through

'G. F.'

Beſides this, I wrote alſo a ſhort epiſtle to friends, as an encouragement to them in their ſeveral exerciſes.

'My dear friends,

'IN the power of the everlaſting God, which comprehends the
'power of darkneſs and all temptation, and that which comes out
'of it, in this power of God dwell. This will bring and keep you
'to the word in the beginning; it will keep you up to the life, to
'feed thereupon, in which you are over the power of darkneſs, and
'in which you will feel dominion and life. And that will let you ſee
'before the tempter was and over him, into which the tempter can-
'not come; for the power and truth he is out of. Therefore in that
'life dwell, in which you will know dominion. Let your faith be

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'in the power over the weakneſs and temptations; look not at them; 'but in the light and power of God, look at the Lord's ſtrength, 'which will be made perfect in your weakeſt ſtate. In all tempta- 'tions look at the grace of God to bring your ſalvation, which is 'your teacher to teach you; for when you look or hearken to the 'temptations, you go from your teacher, the Grace of God; and ſo 'are darkened in going from that teacher which ſhould bring your 'ſalvation, the Grace of God, which is ſufficient in all temptations 'to lead out of them and to keep over them.

'G. F.'

Bedfordſhire. Northamptonſhire. Wellingborough.

After I had cleared myſelf of thoſe ſervices for the Lord, which lay upon me in the city of London, I paſſed into Bedfordſhire and Northamptonſhire. At Wellingborough, in Northamptonſhire, I had a great meeting, in which the Lord's everlaſting power and truth was over all; and many in that country were turned to the Lord. Great rage was amongſt the profeſſors; for the wicked Prieſts, Preſbyterians, and Independents falſely reported, 'That we 'carried bottles about with us, which we gave people to drink of, 'which made them follow us:' but the Power, Spirit, and Truth of God kept friends over the rage of the people. Great ſpoiling alſo there was of friends goods for tithes by the Independent, Preſbyterian, and ſome Baptiſt prieſts, who had got into the ſteeple-houſes.

Leiceſterſhire.

From Wellingborough I went into Leiceſterſhire, where colonel Hacker had threatened, If I came he would impriſon me again, tho' the Protector had ſet me at liberty; but when I was come to Whetſtone, the meeting from which he took me before, all was quiet. Colonel Hacker's wife and his marſhal came to the meeting, and were convinced; for the glorious, powerful day of the Lord was exalted over all, and many were convinced that day. There were at that meeting two juſtices of the peace from Wales, their names were Peter Price and Walter Jenkin; who came both to be miniſters of Chriſt.

Whetſtone.

Sileby.

I went from thence to Sileby, to William Smith's, where was a great meeting, to which ſeveral Baptiſts came; one of them, a Baptiſt-teacher, was convinced, and came to ſit under the Lord's teaching by his Spirit and Power. This Baptiſt ſaid, He had baptized thirty in a day.

Drayton.

From thence I went to Drayton, my native town, where ſo many prieſts and profeſſors had formerly gathered together againſt me; but now never a prieſt nor profeſſor did appear. I aſked ſome of my relations, Where all the prieſts and profeſſors were? They ſaid the prieſt of Non-eaton was dead, and eight or nine of them were ſeeking to get his benefice. 'They will let you alone now,' ſaid they, 'for they are like a company of crows, when a rotten ſheep is 'dead, they all gather together to pull out the puddings; ſo do the 'prieſts for a fallen benefice.' Theſe were ſome of their own hearers that ſaid ſo of them: but they had ſpent their venom againſt me, and the Lord delivered me by his power out of their ſnare.

Then I went to Badgley, where was a great meeting. Numbers came far to it. Many were convinced, and turned to the Lord; who came under Chriſt's teaching, and were ſettled upon him, their foundation and rock. 1655. Badgley.

From thence I paſſed into Nottinghamſhire, and had large meetings; and into Derbyſhire, where the Lord's power came over all. Many were turned from darkneſs to light, from the power of Satan unto God, and came to receive the Holy Ghoſt. Great miracles were wrought in many places by the power of the Lord through ſeveral. Nottinghamſhire. Derbyſhire.

In Derbyſhire James Nayler met me, and told me, ſeven or eight prieſts had challenged him to a diſpute. I had a travail in my Spirit for him, and the Lord anſwered me. I was moved to bid him go on, 'and God Almighty would be with him, and give him 'the victory in his power.' And the Lord did ſo; inſomuch that the people ſaw the prieſts were foiled, and cried, 'A Nailer, a 'Nailer hath confuted them all.' After the diſpute he came to me again, praiſing the Lord. Thus was the Lord's day proclaimed, and ſet over all their heads. People began to ſee the apoſtaſy and ſlavery they had been under to their hireling teachers, and came to know their teacher the Lord Jeſus, who had purchaſed them, and made their peace betwixt God and them. While we were here, friends came out of Yorkſhire to ſee us, and were glad of the proſperity of truth.

After this I paſſed into Warwickſhire amongſt friends, viſiting their meetings; and ſo into Worceſterſhire. I had a meeting at Birmingham, where ſeveral were convinced, and turned to the Lord. I came to one Cole's houſe near Chattan. This Cole had given an Independent preacher a meeting-place, who came to be convinced; after which he laid aſide his preaching: whereupon the old man — Cole gave him an hundred pounds a year. I had a meeting there; a very great one it was, inſomuch that the meeting-place would not hold the people. Many were turned to the Lord that day. Afterwards, when the time of trials came, this Independent did not ſtand to that which had convinced him; but turned back: whereupon the old man took away his 100 l. a year from him again. But Cole himſelf died in God's truth. Warwickſhire. Worceſterſhire. Birmingham. Near Chattan.

I heard that at Eveſham the magiſtrates had caſt ſeveral friends into divers priſons; and that, hearing of my coming, they made a pair of high ſtocks. I ſent for Edward Pittaway, a friend, who lived near Eveſham, and aſked him the truth of the thing. He ſaid, it was ſo. I went that night with him to Eveſham; and in the evening we had a large, precious meeting, wherein friends and people were refreſhed with the word of life, the power of the Lord. Next morning I rode to one of the priſons, and viſited friends there, and encouraged them. Then I rode to the other priſon, where were ſeveral priſoners. Amongſt them was Humphrey Smith, who had been a prieſt, but was now become a free miniſter of Chriſt. When I had viſited friends at both priſons, and was turned to go out of the town, I eſpied the magiſtrates coming up the town to have ſeized me in priſon. But the Lord fruſtrated their intent, the innocent eſcaped Eveſham.

their

1655. their ſnare, and God's bleſſed power came over them all. But exceeding rude and envious were the prieſts and profeſſors about this time in theſe parts.

Worceſter. I went from Eveſham to Worceſter, and had a precious meeting there, and quiet. After which, coming towards our inn, ſome profeſſors fell to diſcourſe with friends, and were like to have made a tumult in the city. As we went into the inn, they all cluttered into the yard; but I went among them and got them quieted. Next day I walked into the town, and had a great deal of diſcourſe with ſome of the profeſſors concerning Chriſt and the way of truth. One of them denied, that Chriſt was of Abraham according to the fleſh, and that he was declared to be the Son of God according to the Spirit. I proved from Rom. i. that he was of the ſeed of Abraham, being made of the ſeed of David according to the fleſh; and that according to the Spirit he was declared to be the Son of God. Afterwards I wrote a paper concerning it.

Tewkſbury. From Worceſter we went to Tewkſbury, where in the evening we had a great meeting. To which came the prieſt of the town with a great rabble of rude people. The prieſt boaſted, that he would ſee whether he or I ſhould have the victory. 'I turned the people to 'the Divine Light, which Chriſt, the heavenly and ſpiritual man, 'enlighteneth them withal; that with that Light they might ſee 'their ſins, and that they were in death and darkneſs, and without 'God in the world; and might alſo ſee Chriſt from whom it cometh, 'their Saviour and Redeemer, who ſhed his blood and died for 'them; who is the way to God, the truth, and the life.' Here the prieſt began to rage againſt the Light, and denied it; for neither prieſt nor profeſſor could endure to hear the Light ſpoken of. Having railed at the Light the prieſt went away, and left his rude company amongſt us; but the Lord's power came over them, though miſchief was in their hearts.

Warwick. Leaving Tewkſbury we paſſed to Warwick, where in the evening we had a meeting at a widow-woman's houſe with many ſober people. A precious meeting we had in the Lord's power; ſeveral were convinced, and turned to the Lord. After the meeting, a Baptiſt in the company began to jangle; and the bailiff of the town, with his officers, came in, and ſaid, What do theſe people here at this time of night? So he ſecured John Crook, Amor Stoddart, Gerrard Roberts, and I; but we had leave to go to our inn, and to be forth-coming in the morning. The next morning many rude people came into the inn, and into our chambers, deſperate fellows; but the Lord's power gave us dominion over them. Gerrard Roberts and John Crook went to the bailiff to know what he had to ſay to us. He ſaid, we might go our ways, for he had little to ſay to us. As we rode out of town, it lay upon me to ride to his houſe, to let him know, 'That the 'Protector, having given forth an inſtrument of government, in 'which liberty of conſcience was granted, it was very ſtrange that, 'contrary to that inſtrument of government, he would trouble peace-'able people that feared God.' The friends went with me, but the rude people gathered about us with ſtones. One of them took hold of my horſe's bridle, and broke it; but the horſe drawing back threw him

him under him. Though the bailiff ſaw this, yet he did not ſtop, nor ſo much as rebuke the rude multitude; ſo that it was much we had not been ſlain or hurt in the ſtreets; for the people threw ſtones and ſtruck at us as we rode along the town. 1655. Warwick.

When we were quite out of the town, I told friends, 'It was upon me from the Lord that I muſt go back into the town again; and 'if any one of them felt any thing upon him from the Lord, he 'might follow me; the reſt that did not, might go on to Dun-cow.' So I paſſed through the market in the dreadful power of God, declaring the word of life to them; and John Crook followed me. Some ſtruck at me; but the Lord's power was over them, and gave me dominion over all. I ſhewed them their unworthineſs of the name of chriſtians, and the unworthineſs of their teachers, that had not brought them into more ſobriety; and what a ſhame they were to chriſtianity!

Having cleared myſelf I turned out of the town again, and paſſed to Coventry; where we found the people cloſed up with darkneſs. I went to a profeſſor's houſe I had formerly been at, and he was drunk; which grieved my ſoul ſo, that I did not go into any houſe in the town; but rode into ſome of the ſtreets, and into the market-place. I felt the power of the Lord was over the town. Coventry.

Then I went to Dun-cow, and had a meeting in the evening, and ſome were turned to the Lord by his Spirit, as ſome alſo were at Warwick and Tewkſbury. We lay at Dun-cow that night; where we met with John Camm, a faithful miniſter of the everlaſting goſpel. In the morning there gathered a rude company of prieſts and people, who behaved more like beaſts than men; for ſome of them came riding on horſeback into the room where we were; but the Lord gave us dominion over them. Dun-cow.

From thence we paſſed into Leiceſterſhire, where we had a great meeting at the place where I had been taken formerly. After that we came to Badgley, in Warwickſhire. Here William Edmundſon who lived in Ireland, having ſome drawings upon his ſpirit to come into England to ſee me, met with me; by whom I wrote a few lines to friends then convinced in the north of Ireland. Leiceſterſhire. Warwickſhire. Badgley.

'Friends,

'IN that which convinced you wait; that you may have that re-'moved you are convinced of. And, all my dear friends, dwell in 'the life, love, power, and wiſdom of God, in unity one with an-'other, and with God; and the peace and wiſdom of God fill all 'your hearts, that nothing may rule in you but the life which ſtands 'in the Lord God.

'G. F.'

When theſe few lines were read amongſt the friends in Ireland at their meeting, the power of the Lord ſeized upon all in the room.

From Badgley we paſſed to Swanington and Higham, and into Northamptonſhire and Bedfordſhire, having great meetings. Many were turned to the Lord by his Power and Spirit. When we came to Swanington. Higham. Northamptonſhire. Bedfordſhire.

1655. Hertfordshire. Baldock.

Baldock in Hertfordshire, I asked, 'If there was nothing in that town, 'no profession?' It was answered me, There were some Baptists, and a baptist woman sick. John Rush of Bedfordshire went with me to visit her. When we came in, many tender people were about her. They told me, 'She was not a woman for this world; but if I had 'any thing to comfort her concerning the world to come, I might 'speak to her.' I was moved of the Lord to speak to her; and he raised her up again, to the astonishment of the town and country. Her husband's name was Baldock. This Baptist woman and her husband came to be convinced; and many hundreds of people have met at their house since. Great meetings and convincements were in those parts afterwards; many received the word of life, and sat down under the teaching of Christ their Saviour.

When we had visited this sick woman, we returned to our inn; where we found two desperate fellows fighting so furiously, that none durst come nigh to part them. But I was moved in the Lord's power to go to them: and when I had loosed their hands, I held one of them by one hand, and the other by the other, shewed them the evil of their doings, and reconciled them one to the other; and they were so loving and thankful to me, that people admired at it.

Market-street. Albans. London.

From thence I passed to Market-street, where God had a people; and through Albans to London, where friends were glad of the prosperity of truth, and the manifestation of the Lord's glorious power, which had delivered us, and carried us through many dangers and difficulties. I also rejoiced to find truth prosper in the city, and all things well amongst friends there. Only there was one John Toldervey, who had been convinced of truth, and run out from it; and the envious priests took occasion from thence to write a wicked book against friends, which they stuffed with many lies, to render truth and friends odious. They intituled their book, "The Foot out of the Snare." But this poor man came to see his folly, and returned, condemned his backsliding, answered the priests book, and manifested all their lies and wickedness. Thus the Lord's power came over them; his everlasting Seed reigned, and reigns to this day.

Surry. Rygate.

After I had tarried some time in London, and had visited friends in their meetings, I went out of town, leaving James Nayler in the city. As I passed from him, I cast my eyes upon him, and a fear struck me concerning him; but I went away, and rode to Ryegate in Surry, where I had a little meeting. There friends told me of one Thomas Moore, a justice of peace, that lived not far from Ryegate, a friendly, moderate man; whereupon I went to visit him at his house, and he came to be a serviceable man in truth.

We passed to Thomas Patchings, of Binscombe in Godalming, where we had a meeting, to which several friends came from London. John Bolton and his wife came on foot in frost and snow. After we had parted with friends there, we went towards Horsham Park; where having visited friends, we went to Arundel and Chichester, where we had meetings. At Chichester many professors came in, and made some jangling; but the Lord's power was over them. The woman of the house, where the meeting was, though convinced of truth, yet not keeping

Horsham Park. Arundel. Chichester.

keeping her mind close to that which convinced her, she fell in love with a man of the world, who was there that time. When I knew it, I took her aside, and was moved to speak to her and to pray for her; but a light thing got up in her mind, and she slighted it. Afterwards she married that man; and soon after went distracted; for he was greatly in debt, and she greatly disappointed. Then was I sent for to her; and the Lord was intreated, raised her up again, and settled her mind by his power. Afterwards her husband died; and she acknowleged the just judgments of God were come upon her, for slighting the exhortation and counsel I had given her. 1655. Chichester.

After we left Chichester, we travelled to Portsmouth. There the soldiers had us to the governor's house. After some examination, the Lord's power came over them, and we were set at liberty, and had a meeting in the town. After which we came to Ringwood, where in the evening we had a meeting. Several were convinced, and turned to the Spirit of the Lord, and to the teaching of Christ Jesus their Saviour. Portsmouth. Ringwood.

From Ringwood we came to Pool; and, having set up our horses at an inn, we sent into the town to inquire for such as feared the Lord, and such as were worthy; and we had a meeting there with several sober people. William Baily, a Baptist teacher, was convinced at that time. The people received truth in the inward parts, and were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their rock and foundation, their teacher and Saviour; and there is become a great gathering in the name of Jesus of a very tender people, who continue under Christ's teaching. Pool.

We went also to Southampton, and had a meeting, where several were convinced. Edward Pyot of Bristol travelled with me all this western journey. Southampton.

From thence we went to Dorchester, and alighted at an inn, a Baptist's house: we sent into the town to the Baptists, to let us have their meeting-house to assemble in, and to invite the sober people to the meeting; but they denied it us. We sent to them again, to know why they would deny us their meeting-house? so the thing was noised in the town. Then we sent them word, If they would not let us come to their house, they, or any people that feared God, might come to our inn, if they pleased; but they were in a great rage. Their teacher, and many of them came up, and flapped their bibles on the table. I asked them, 'Why they were so angry? were they angry with the 'bible?' But they fell into a discourse about their water-baptism. I asked them, 'Whether they could say they were sent of God to baptize 'people, as John was? And whether they had the same Spirit and power 'that the apostles had?' They said, They had not. Then I asked them, How many powers there are? Whether there are any more 'than the power of God, and the power of the devil?' They said, There was not any other power than those two. Then said I, 'If 'you have not the power of God that the apostles had, you act by 'the power of the devil.' Many sober people were present, who said, "They have thrown themselves on their backs." Many substantial people were convinced that night; a precious service we had there for the Lord, and his power came over all. Next morning, as we were Dorchester.

passing

1655. Dorcheſter. paſſing away, the Baptiſts, being in a rage, began to ſhake the duſt off their feet after us. 'What,' ſaid I, 'in the power of darkneſs! 'We, who are in the power of God, ſhake off the duſt of our feet 'againſt you.'

Weymouth. Leaving Dorcheſter, we came to Weymouth; where alſo we inquired after ſober people; and about fourſcore of them gathered together at a prieſt's houſe, all very ſober people. Moſt of them received the word of life, and were turned to their teacher Chriſt Jeſus, who had enlightened them with his divine light, by which they might ſee their ſins, and him who ſaveth from ſin. A bleſſed meeting we had with them, and they received the truth in the love of it, with gladneſs of heart. The meeting held ſeveral hours. The 'ſtate of their teachers, and the apoſtaſy was opened to them; and 'the ſtate of the apoſtles, and of the church in their days: and the 'ſtate of the law and of the prophets before Chriſt, and how Chriſt 'came to fulfil them; that he was their teacher in the apoſtles days; 'and that he was come now to teach his people himſelf by his 'power and ſpirit.' All was quiet, the meeting broke up peaceably, the people were very loving; and a meeting is continued in that town to this day. Many are added to them; and ſome who had been Ranters came to own the truth, and to live very ſoberly.

There was a captain of horſe in the town, who ſent to me, and would fain have had me to have ſtaid longer; but I was not to ſtay. He and his man rode out of town with me about ſeven miles; Edward Pyot alſo being with me. This captain was the fatteſt, merrieſt, chearfulleſt man, and the moſt given to laughter, that ever I met with; inſomuch that I was ſeveral times moved to ſpeak in the dreadful power of the Lord to him; yet it was become ſo cuſtomary to him, he would preſently laugh at any thing he ſaw. But I ſtill admoniſhed him to come to ſobriety, and the fear of the Lord, and ſincerity. We lay at an inn that night; and the next morning I was moved to ſpeak to him again, when he parted from us. Next time I ſaw him, he told me, When I ſpoke to him at parting, the power of the Lord ſo ſtruck him, that before he got home he was ſerious enough, and had left his laughing. He afterwards was convinced, and became a ſerious good man, and died in the truth.

Honiton. Parting from him, we went to Honiton; and at our inn inquired, What people were in the town that feared God, and ſent for them. There came to us ſome of the particular Baptiſts, with whom we had a great deal of reaſoning. I told them, 'They held their doctrine of 'particular election in Eſau's, Cain's, and Iſhmael's nature; not in Ja-'cob, the ſecond birth: but they muſt be born again, before they could 'enter the kingdom of God. And that as the promiſe of God was 'to the Seed, not as many, but as one, which was Chriſt; ſo the 'election and choice ſtands in Chriſt; and they muſt be ſuch as walk 'in his light, grace, Spirit, and truth.'

Topſham. From thence we paſſed to Topſham, and ſtaid over firſt day; but the inn-keeper and his people were rude. Next morning we gave forth ſome queries to the prieſts and profeſſors: whereupon ſome rude profeſſors came to our inn; and, had we not gone when we did, they had

had ſtopped us. I wore a girdle, which through forgetfulneſs I left behind me, and afterwards ſent to the inn-keeper for; but he would not let me have it again. Afterwards, when he was troubled in his mind about it, he burnt it, leſt he ſhould be bewitched by it, as he ſaid; yet when he had burnt it, he was more troubled than before. Some, notwithſtanding the rudeneſs of the place, were convinced, and a meeting was afterwards ſettled in that town, which hath continued ever ſince. 1655. Topſham.

After this we paſſed to Totnes, a dark town. We lodged there at an inn; and that night Edward Pyot was ſick, but the Lord's power healed him, ſo that the next day we got to King's Bridge, and at our inn inquired for the ſober people of the town. They directed us to Nicholas Tripe and his wife; and we went to their houſe. They ſent for the prieſt, with whom we had ſome diſcourſe; but he being confounded, quickly left us. Nicholas Tripe and his wife were convinced; and ſince there is a good meeting of friends in that country. In the evening we returned to our inn. There being many people drinking in the houſe, 'I was moved of the Lord to go amongſt them, and direct them to the light which Chriſt the heavenly man had enlightened 'them withal; by which they might ſee all their evil ways, words, 'and deeds, and by the ſame light they might alſo ſee Chriſt Jeſus their 'Saviour.' The inn-keeper ſtood uneaſy, ſeeing it hindered his gueſts from drinking; and as ſoon as the laſt words were out of my mouth, he ſnatched up the candle, and ſaid, 'Come, here is a light for you 'to go into your chamber.' Next morning, when he was cool, I repreſented to him, 'What an uncivil thing it was for him ſo to do;' then warning him of the day of the Lord, we got ready and paſſed away. Totnes. King's Bridge.

We came next day to Plymouth, refreſhed ourſelves at our inn, and went to Robert Cary's, where we had a very precious meeting. At this meeting was Elizabeth Trelawny, daughter to a baronet. She being ſomewhat thick of hearing, came cloſe up to me, and clapped her ear very nigh me, while I ſpake; and ſhe was convinced. After this meeting came in ſome jangling Baptiſts; but the Lord's power came over them, and Elizabeth Trelawny gave teſtimony thereto. A fine meeting was ſettled there in the Lord's power, which hath continued ever ſince; where many faithful friends have been convinced. Plymouth.

From thence we paſſed into Cornwall, and came to an inn in the pariſh of Menhenniot. At night we had a meeting at Edward Hancock's, to which came Thomas Mounce, and a prieſt, with a great deal of people. We brought the prieſt to confeſs, That he was a miniſter made by the ſtate, and maintained by the ſtate; and he was confounded and went his way: but many of the people ſtaid. I directed them to the 'light of Chriſt, by which they might ſee their ſins, and their Sa-'viour Chriſt Jeſus, the way to God, their Mediator to make peace 'betwixt God and them; their Shepherd to feed them, and their Pro-'phet to teach them. I directed them to the Spirit of God in them-'ſelves, by which they might know the ſcriptures, and be led into all 'truth; and by the Spirit might know God, and in it have unity one 'with another.' Many were convinced at that time, and came under Cornwall. Menhenniot.

1655. Chriſt's teaching; and there are fine gatherings in the name of Jeſus in thoſe parts at this day.

Penryn. Helſton. We travelled from thence through Penryn, and came to Helſton; but could not get to the knowledge of any ſober people, through the badneſs of the inn-keepers. At length we came to a village, where ſome Baptiſts and ſober people lived, with whom we had diſcourſe. Some of them were brought to confeſs, that they ſtumbled at the light of Chriſt. They would have had us to have ſtaid with them; but we Market-Jew. paſſed thence to Market-Jew; and having taken up our lodging at an inn, we ſent over-night to inquire for ſuch as feared the Lord. Next morning the mayor and aldermen gathered together, with the high-ſheriff of the county; and ſent the conſtables to bid us come before them. We aſked them for their warrant; and they ſaying they had none, we told them, we ſhould not go along with them without a warrant. Upon the return of the conſtables without us, they ſent their ſerjeants, and we aſked them for their warrant. They ſaid, they had none; but told us, the mayor and aldermen ſtaid for us. We told them, the mayor and his company did not well to trouble us in our inn; and we ſhould not go with them without a warrant. So they went away, and came again; and when we aſked them for their warrant, one of them plucked his mace from under his cloak. We aſked them, Whether it was their cuſtom to moleſt and trouble ſtrangers in their inns and lodgings? After ſome time Edward Pyot went to the mayor and aldermen, and a great deal of diſcourſe he had with them; but the Lord's power gave him dominion over them all. When he returned, ſeveral of the officers came to us; and we laid before them the incivility and unworthineſs of their carriage towards us, the ſervants of the Lord God, thus to ſtop and trouble us in our inns and lodgings; and what an unchriſtian act it was. Before we left the town, I wrote a little paper, to be ſent to the ſeven pariſhes at the Land's End.

'THE mighty day of the Lord is come, and coming, wherein all hearts ſhall be made manifeſt, and the ſecrets of every one's heart ſhall be revealed by the light of Jeſus, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world, that all men through him might believe, and that the world might have life through him, who ſaith, "Learn of me;" and of whom God ſaith, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him." Chriſt is come to teach his people himſelf; and every one that will not hear this Prophet, which God hath raiſed up, and which Moſes ſpake of, when he ſaid, "Like unto me will God raiſe you up a Prophet, him ſhall you hear:" Every one, I ſay, that will not hear this prophet, is to be cut off. They that deſpiſed Moſes's law, died under the hand of two or three witneſſes; but how much greater puniſhment will come upon them that neglect this great ſalvation, Chriſt Jeſus, who ſaith, "Learn of me, I am the way, the truth, and the life;" who lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and by his light lets him ſee his evil ways and evil deeds. But if you hate that light, and go on in evil, this light will be your condemner. Therefore, now ye have time, prize it:

'it: for this is the day of your viſitation, and ſalvation offered to you. 1655.
'Every one of you hath a light from Chriſt; which lets you ſee you Market-Jew.
'ſhould not lye, nor do wrong to any, nor ſwear, nor curſe, nor take
'God's name in vain, nor ſteal. It is the light that ſhews you theſe
'evil deeds: which if you love, and come unto it, and follow it, it
'will lead you to Chriſt, who is the way to the Father, from whom
'it comes; where no unrighteouſneſs enters, nor ungodlineſs. If you
'hate this light, it will be your condemnation; but if you love it, and
'come to it, you will come to Chriſt; and it will bring you off from
'all the world's teachers and ways, to learn of Chriſt, and will pre-
'ſerve you from the evils of the world, and all the deceivers in it.

'G. F.'

This paper a friend, then with me, had; and when we were gone three or four miles from Market-Jew towards the weſt, he meeting with a man upon the road, gave him a copy of the paper. This man proved to be a ſervant to Peter Ceely, a major in the army, and a juſtice of peace in that county; and, riding before us to a place called St. Ives, ſhewed the paper to his maſter. When we came to Ives, Ives.
Edward Pyot's horſe having caſt a ſhoe, we ſtaid to have a ſhoe ſet; and while he was getting his horſe ſhod, I walked to the ſea-ſide. When I came back, I found the town in an uproar. They were haling Edward Pyot and the other friend before major Ceely. I followed them into the juſtice's houſe, though they did not lay hands upon me. When we came in, the houſe was full of rude people; whereupon I aſked, Whether there were not an officer, among them, to keep the people civil? Major Ceely ſaid, he was a magiſtrate. I told him, 'He 'ſhould ſhew forth gravity and ſobriety then, and uſe his authority 'to keep the people civil; for I never ſaw any people ruder: the In-'dians were more like Chriſtians than they.' After a while they brought the paper, and aſked, Whether I would own it? I ſaid, Yes. Then he tendered the oath of abjuration to us: whereupon I put my hand in my pocket, and produced the anſwer to it, which had been given to the protector. After I had given him that, he examined us ſeverally, one by one. He had with him a ſilly, young prieſt, who aſked us many frivolous queſtions; amongſt the reſt, he deſired to cut my hair, which then was pretty long; but I was not to cut it, though many were offended at it. I told them, 'I had no pride in it; and it was 'not of my own putting on.' At length the juſtice put us under a guard of ſoldiers, who were hard and wild, like the juſtice himſelf: nevertheleſs we 'warned the people of the day of the Lord, and de-'clared the truth to them.' The next day he ſent us guarded by a party of horſe, with ſwords and piſtols, who took us to Redruth. On Redruth.
firſt day the ſoldiers would have carried us away; but we told them, It was their ſabbath, and it was not uſual to travel on that day. Several of the town's people gathered about us; and whilſt I held the ſoldiers in diſcourſe, Edward Pyot ſpoke to the peeple; and aftewards Edward Pyot held the ſoldiers in diſcourſe whilſt I ſpoke to the people. In the mean time the other friend got out backwards, and went to the ſteeple-houſe, to ſpeak to the prieſt and people. The people were exceeding deſperate, in a mighty rage againſt him, and abuſed him. The ſoldiers

alſo

1655. Redruth.

alſo miſſing him, were in a great rage, and ſeemed ready to kill us; but I declared the day of the Lord, and the word of eternal life to the people. In the afternoon the ſoldiers were reſolved to have us away; ſo we took horſe. When we had rid to the town's end, I was moved of the Lord to go back again, to ſpeak to the old man of the houſe. The ſoldiers drew out their piſtols, and ſwore I ſhould not go back. I heeded them not; but rode back, and they rode after me. So I cleared myſelf to the old man and the people; and then returned with them, and reproved them for being ſo rude and violent.

(Smethick) Falmouth.

At night we were brought to a town then called Smethick, but ſince Falmouth. It being the evening of the firſt day, there came into our inn the chief conſtable of the place, and many ſober people; ſome of whom began to inquire concerning us. We told them, We were priſoners for truth's ſake; and a great deal of diſcourſe we had with them concerning the things of God. They were very ſober, and very loving to us. Some of them were convinced, and ſtood faithful ever after.

When the conſtable and theſe people were gone, others came in; who alſo were very civil, and went away very loving. When all were gone, we went to our chamber to go to bed; and about the eleventh hour Edward Pyot ſaid, 'I will ſhut the door, it may be ſome may 'come to do us a miſchief.' Afterwards we underſtood captain Keat, who commanded the party, purpoſed to have done us ſome injury that night; but the door being bolted, he miſſed his deſign. Next morning captain Keat brought a kinſman of his, a rude, wicked man, and put him into the room; himſelf ſtanding without. This evil-minded man walked huffing up and down the room; I bid him fear the Lord. Whereupon he ran upon me, ſtruck me with both his hands; and, clapping his leg behind me, would have thrown me down, if he could; but he was not able, for I ſtood ſtiff and ſtill, and let him ſtrike. As I looked towards the door, I ſaw captain Keat look on, and ſee his kinſman thus beat and abuſe me. Whereupon I ſaid to him, 'Keat, doſt thou allow this?' He ſaid, He did. 'Is this 'manly or civil,' ſaid I, 'to have us under a guard, and put a man to 'abuſe and beat us? Is this manly, civil, or chriſtian?' I deſired one of our friends to ſend for the conſtables, and they came. Then I deſired the captain to let the conſtables ſee his warrant or order, by which he was to carry us; which he did; and his warrant was, to conduct us ſafe to captain Fox, governor of Pendennis caſtle; and if the governor ſhould not be at home, he was to convey us to Launceſton gaol. I told him, He had broken his order concerning us; for we, who were his priſoners, were to be ſafely conducted; but he had brought a man to beat and abuſe us: ſo he having broken his order, I wiſhed the conſtable to keep the warrant. Accordingly he did, and told the ſoldiers, They might go their ways, for he would take charge of the priſoners; and if it coſt twenty ſhillings in charges to carry us up, they ſhould not have the warrant again. I ſhewed the ſoldiers the baſeneſs of their carriage towards us; and they walked up and down the houſe, pitifully blank and down. The conſtables went to the caſtle, and told the officers what they had done. The officers ſhewed great diſ-

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like of captain Keat's baſe carriage towards us; and told the conſtables, major-general Deſborough was coming to Bodmin, and that we ſhould meet him; and it was likely he would free us. Mean while our old guard of ſoldiers came by way of intreaty to us, and promiſed they would be civil to us, if we would go with them. Thus the morning was ſpent till about the eleventh hour; and then, upon the ſoldiers intreaty, and promiſe to be more civil, the conſtables gave them the order again; and we went with them. Great was the civility and courteſy of the conſtables and people of that town towards us, who kindly entertained us; and the Lord rewarded them with his truth; for many of them have ſince been convinced thereof, and are gathered into the name of Jeſus, and ſit under Chriſt, their Teacher and Saviour. 1655. Falmouth.

Captain Keat, who commanded our guard, underſtanding that captain Fox, who was governor of Pendennis caſtle, was gone to meet major-general Deſborough, did not carry us thither; but took us directly to Bodmin, in the way to Launceſton. We met major-general Deſborough on the way. The captain of his troop, that rode before him, knew me, and ſaid, 'Oh, Mr. Fox, what do you here?' I replied, 'I am a priſoner. Alack,' ſaid he, 'for what?' I told him, 'I was taken up as I was travelling. Then,' ſaid he, 'I will 'ſpeak to my lord, and he will ſet you at liberty.' So he came from the head of his troop, and rode up to the coach, and ſpoke to the major-general. We alſo gave him an account how we were taken. He began to ſpeak againſt the light of Chriſt; againſt which I exhorted him. Then he told the ſoldiers, They might carry us to Lanceſton; for he could not ſtay to talk with us, leſt his horſes ſhould take cold.

To Bodmin we were had that night; and when we came to our inn, captain Keat, who was in before us, put me into a room, and went his way. When I was come in, there ſtood a man with a naked rapier in his hand. Whereupon I turned out again, called for captain Keat, and ſaid, 'What now, Keat, what trick haſt thou 'played now, to put me into a room where there is a man with his 'naked rapier? What is thy end in this? Oh,' ſaid he, 'pray hold 'your tongue; for if you ſpeak to this man, we cannot all rule him, 'he is ſo deviliſh. Then,' ſaid I, 'doſt thou put me into a room 'where there is ſuch a man with a naked rapier, that thou ſay'ſt, 'You cannot all rule him? What an unworthy, baſe trick is this? 'and to put me ſingle into this room from the reſt of my friends, 'that were fellow-priſoners with me?' Thus his plot was diſcovered, and the miſchief they intended was prevented. Afterward we got another room, where we were together all night; and in the evening we declared the truth to the people: but they were dark and hardened. The ſoldiers, notwithſtanding their fair promiſes, were very rude and wicked to us again, and ſat up drinking and roaring all night. Bodmin.

Next day we were brought to Launceſton, where captain Keat delivered us to the gaoler. Now was there no friend, nor friendly people near us; and the people of the town were a dark, hardened Lanceſton.

1655. people. The gaoler required us to pay ſeven ſhillings a week for our horſe-meat, and ſeven ſhillings a week for our diet apiece. After ſome time ſeveral ſober perſons came to ſee us, and ſome of the town were convinced; and many friendly people out of ſeveral parts of the country came to viſit us, and were convinced. Then got up a great rage among the profeſſors and prieſts againſt us. They ſaid, This people Thou and Thee all men without reſpect, and will not put off their hats, nor bow the knee to any man; but we ſhall ſee, when the aſſize comes, whether they will dare to Thou and Thee the judge, and keep on their hats before him. They expected we ſhould be hanged at the aſſize. But all this was little to us; for we ſaw how God would ſtain the world's honour and glory; and were commanded not to ſeek that honour, nor give it; but knew the honour that cometh from God only, and ſought that.

1656. Lanceſton aſſizes. It was nine weeks from the time of our commitment to the aſſizes, to which abundance of people came from far and near, to hear the trial of the Quakers. Captain Bradden lay with his troop of horſe there, whoſe ſoldiers and the ſheriff's men guarded us to the court through the multitude that filled the ſtreets; and much ado they had to get us through. Beſides, the doors and windows were filled with people looking upon us. When we were brought into the court, we ſtood a pretty while with our hats on, and all was quiet; and I was moved to ſay, 'Peace be amongſt you!' Judge Glyn, a Welſhman, then chief juſtice of England, ſaid to the gaoler, 'What be theſe you have brought here into the court? Priſoners, 'my Lord,' ſaid he. 'Why do you not put off your hats?' ſaid the judge to us. We ſaid nothing. 'Put off your hats,' ſaid the judge again. Still we ſaid nothing. Then ſaid the judge, 'The 'court commands you to put off your hats.' Then I queried, 'Where 'did ever any magiſtrate, king, or judge, from Moſes to Daniel, 'command any to put off their hats, when they came before them 'in their courts, either amongſt the Jews (the people of God) or 'amongſt the heathens? And if the law of England doth command 'any ſuch thing, ſhew me that law either written or printed.' The judge grew very angry, and ſaid, 'I do not carry my law-books on my back. 'But,' ſaid I, 'tell me where it is printed in any ſtatute-'book, that I may read it.' Then ſaid the judge, 'Take him 'away, prevaricator! I'll ferk him.' So they took us away, and put us among the thieves. Preſently after he called to the gaoler, 'Bring 'them up again! Come,' ſaid he, 'where had they hats from 'Moſes to Daniel? Come, anſwer me; I have you faſt now.' I replied, 'Thou mayſt read in the third of Daniel, that the three 'children were caſt into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar's com-'mand, with their coats, their hoſe, and their hats on.' This plain inſtance ſtopped him; ſo that not having any thing elſe to the point, he cried again, 'Take them away, gaoler.' Accordingly we were taken away, and thruſt in among the thieves; where we were kept a great while; and then, without being called again, the ſheriff's men and the troopers made way for us to get through the croud, and guarded us to priſon again, a multitude of people following us,

Lanceſton priſon.

with whom we had much diſcourſe and reaſoning at the gaol. We had ſome good books to ſet forth our principles, and to inform people of the truth; which the judge and juſtices hearing of, they ſent captain Bradden for them, who came and violently took our books from us, ſome out of Edward Pyot's hands, and carried them away; ſo we never got them again. 1656. Lanceſton priſon.

In the afternoon we were had up again into the chamber by the gaoler, ſheriff's men, and troopers; who had a mighty toil to get us through the croud of people. When we were in the court, waiting to be called, obſerving the jurymen, and ſuch a multitude of others ſwearing, it grieved my life to ſee, that ſuch as profeſſed chriſtianity ſhould ſo openly diſobey and break the command of Chriſt and the apoſtle. And I was moved of the Lord to give forth a paper againſt ſwearing, which I had about me, to the grand and petty juries.

Concerning SWEARING.

'TAKE heed of giving people oaths to ſwear: for Chriſt our Lord and Maſter ſaith, "Swear not at all; but let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay: for whatſoever is more than "theſe cometh of evil." If any was to ſuffer death, it muſt be by 'the hand of two or three witneſſes; and the hands of the witneſſes 'were to be firſt upon him to put him to death. The apoſtle 'James ſaith, "My brethren, above all things ſwear not, neither "by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath, leſt ye fall into "condemnation." Hence ye may ſee thoſe that ſwear fall into con-'demnation, and are out of Chriſt's and the apoſtle's doctrine. Every 'one of you have a light from Chriſt, who ſaith, "I am the light "of the world," and doth enlighten every man that cometh into the 'world. He ſaith, "Learn of me," whoſe doctrine, and that of 'the apoſtle, is not to ſwear; but "Let your yea be yea, and your "nay be nay, in all your communication; for whatſoever is more "cometh of evil:" they that go into more than yea and nay go into 'evil, and are out of the doctrine of Chriſt. If you ſay, "That the "oath was the end of controverſy and ſtrife;" thoſe who are in 'ſtrife are out of Chriſt's doctrine; for he is the covenant of peace, 'and who are in that are in the covenant of peace. The apoſtle 'brings that but as an example: as men ſwearing by the greater, 'and the oath was the end of controverſy and ſtrife among men; 'ſaying, Verily, men ſwear by the greater: but God having no 'greater, ſwears by himſelf concerning Chriſt; who, when he 'was come, taught not to ſwear at all. So thoſe who are in him, 'and follow him, cannot but abide in his doctrine. If you ſay, "They ſwore under the law, and under the prophets;" Chriſt is 'the end of the law, and of the prophets, to every one that believeth 'for righteouſneſs ſake. Now mark, "If you believe, I am the "light of the world, which enlighteneth every man that cometh "into the world," ſaith Chriſt, by whom it was made; now every 'man of you that is come into the world, is enlightened with a light 'that comes from Chriſt, by which the world was made, that all of

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1656. Lanceſton aſſizes.

'you through him might believe, that is the end for which he doth 'enlighten you. Now if you do believe in the light, as Chriſt com-'mands, "Believe in the light, that you may be children of light;" 'you believe in Chriſt, and learn of him, who is the way to the 'father. This is the light which ſhews the evil actions you have all 'acted, the ungodly deeds you have committed, the ungodly ſpeeches 'you have ſpoken; and all your oaths, curſed ſpeaking, and ungodly 'actions. If you hearken to this light, it will let you ſee all that 'you have done contrary to it; and loving it, it will turn you from 'your evil deeds, evil ways, and evil words, to Chriſt, who is not 'of the world; but is the light, which lighteth every man that 'cometh into the world, and teſtifies againſt the world that the 'deeds thereof are evil. So doth the light in every man, received 'from him, teſtify againſt all evil works, that they are contrary to 'the light; and each ſhall give an account, at the day of judgment, 'for every idle word that is ſpoken. This light ſhall bring every 'tongue to confeſs, yea and every knee to bow, at the name of 'Jeſus: in which light, if you believe, you ſhall not come into 'condemnation, but to Chriſt, who is not of the world, to him 'by whom it was made: but if you believe not in the light, this 'is your condemnation.

'G. F.'

This paper paſſing among them from the jury to the juſtices, they preſented it to the judge; ſo when we were called before the judge, he bid the clerk give me that paper; and then aſked me, Whether that ſeditious paper was mine? I told him, 'If they would read it 'up in open court that I might hear it, if it was mine, I would 'own it, and ſtand by it.' He would have had me to have taken it, and looked upon it in my own hand; but I again deſired, 'That it 'might be read, that all the country might hear it, and judge whe-'ther there was any ſedition in it or no; for if there was, I was 'willing to ſuffer for it.' At laſt the clerk of the aſſize read it with an audible voice, that all the people might hear it. When he had done, I told them, 'It was my paper. I would own it; and ſo 'might they too, except they would deny the ſcripture: for was not 'this ſcripture-language, the words and commands of Chriſt and 'the apoſtle, which all true chriſtians ought to obey?' Then they dropped that ſubject; and the judge fell upon us about our hats again, bidding the gaoler take them off; which he did; and giving them to us, we put them on again. We aſked the judge and juſtices, 'What we had lain in priſon for theſe nine months, ſeeing they now 'objected nothing to us but about our hats?' And as for putting off our hats, I told them, 'That was the honour which God would lay 'in the duſt, though they made ſo much ado about it; the honour 'which is of men, and which men ſeek one of another, and is a 'mark of unbelievers. For "How can ye believe," ſaith Chriſt, "who receive honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour that "cometh from God only?" Chriſt ſaith, "I receive not honour "from men;" and all true chriſtians ſhould be of his mind.' Then the judge began to make a pompous ſpeech, how he repreſented the lord Protector's

Protector's perſon, who made him lord chief juſtice of England, and ſent him to come that circuit, &c. 'We deſired him then, that he 'would do us juſtice for our falſe impriſonment which we had ſuf- 'fered nine weeks wrongfully.' But inſtead of that, they brought an indictment framed againſt us; ſo full of lies, that I thought it had been againſt ſome of the thieves. "That we came by force and "arms, and in a hoſtile manner into the court;" who were brought as aforeſaid. I told them, 'It was all falſe; and ſtill we cried for 'juſtice for our falſe impriſonment, being taken up in our journey 'without cauſe by major Ceely.' Then Peter Ceely ſaid to the judge, 'May it pleaſe you, my lord, this man (pointing to me) went aſide 'with me, and told me how ſerviceable I might be for his deſign; 'that he could raiſe forty thouſand men at an hour's warning, in- 'volve the nation in blood, and ſo bring in king Charles. I would 'have aided him out of the country, but he would not go. If it 'pleaſe you, my lord, I have a witneſs to ſwear it.' So he called upon his witneſs; but the judge not being forward to examine the witneſs, I deſired, 'That he would be pleaſed to let my mittimus be 'read in the face of the court and country, in which my crime was 'ſignified for which I was ſent to priſon.' The judge ſaid, It ſhould not be read. I ſaid, 'It ought to be, ſeeing it concerned my liberty 'and my life.' The judge ſaid again, It ſhall not be read. I ſaid, 'It ought to be read; for if I have done any thing worthy of death, 'or of bonds, let all the country know it.' Then ſeeing they would not read it, I ſpoke to one of my fellow-priſoners, 'Thou haſt a 'copy of it, read it up, ſaid I.' It ſhall not be read, ſaid the judge; gaoler, take him away. I'll ſee whether he or I ſhall be maſter. So I was taken away, and a while after called for again. I ſtill called to have the mittimus read; for that ſignified the cauſe of my commetment. I again ſpoke to the friend, my fellow-priſoner, to read it up; which he did, and the judge, juſtices, and the whole court were ſilent; for the people were eager to hear it. It was as followeth:

1656. Lanceſton aſſizes.

'Peter Ceely, one of the juſtices of the peace of this county, to Cornwall. 'the keeper of his highneſs's gaol at Lanceſton, or his lawful 'deputy in that behalf, greeting.

'I SEND you here withal by the bearers hereof, the bodies of Ed- 'ward Pyot, of Briſtol, and George Fox, of Drayton in the Clay, 'in Leiceſterſhire, and William Salt, of London, which they pre- 'tend to be the places of their habitations, who go under the notion 'of Quakers, and acknowledge themſelves to be ſuch; who have 'ſpread ſeveral papers tending to the diſturbance of the publick 'peace, and cannot render any lawful cauſe of coming into thoſe 'parts, being perſons altogether unknown, having no paſs for tra- 'velling up and down the country, and refuſing to give ſureties for 'their good behaviour, according to the law in that behalf provided; 'and refuſe to take the oath of abjuration, &c. Theſe are therefore, 'in the name of his highneſs the lord Protector, to will and com- 'mand you, that when the bodies of the ſaid Edward Pyot, George 'Fox, and William Salt, ſhall be unto you brought, you them re-

1656. Lanceſton aſſizes.

'ceive, and in his highneſs's priſon aforeſaid you ſafely keep them, 'until by due courſe of law they ſhall be delivered. Hereof fail you 'not, as you will anſwer the contrary at your perils. Given under 'my hand and ſeal, at St. Ives, the 18th day of January, 1655.

'P. Ceely.'

When it was read I ſpoke thus to the judge and juſtices, 'Thou 'that ſayeſt thou art chief juſtice of England, and you juſtices, know 'that, if I had put in ſureties, I might have gone whither I pleaſed, 'and have carried on the deſign (if I had had one) which major 'Ceely hath charged me with. And if I had ſpoken thoſe words to 'him, which he hath here declared, judge ye whether bail or main-'prize could have been taken in that caſe.' Then, turning my ſpeech to major Ceely, I ſaid, 'When or where did I take thee aſide? 'Was not thy houſe full of rude people, and thou as rude as any of 'them, at our examination; ſo that I aſked for a conſtable or ſome 'other officer to keep the people civil? But if thou art my accuſer, 'why ſitteſt thou on the bench? It is not the place of accuſers to 'ſit with the judge. Thou oughteſt to come down and ſtand by me, 'and look me in the face. Beſides, I would aſk the judge and juſtices, 'Whether or no major Ceely is not guilty of this treaſon, which he 'charges againſt me, in concealing it ſo long as he hath done? Does 'he underſtand his place, either as a ſoldier or a juſtice of the peace? 'For he tells you here, "That I went aſide with him, and told "him what a deſign I had in hand, and how ſerviceable he might be "for my deſign: that I could raiſe forty thouſand men in an hour's "time, bring in king Charles, and involve the nation in blood. He 'ſaith moreover, "He would have aided me out of the country, but "I would not go; and therefore he committed me to priſon for want "of ſureties for the good behaviour," as the mittimus declares. Now 'do you not ſee plainly, that major Ceely is guilty of this plot and 'treaſon he talks of, and hath made himſelf a party to it, by deſiring 'me to go out of the country, demanding bail of me, and not 'charging me with this pretended treaſon till now, nor diſcovering 'it? But I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of his 'deviliſh deſign.' So that buſineſs was let fall; for the judge ſaw clear enough, that inſtead of enſnaring me, he had enſnared himſelf.

Major Ceely got up again, and ſaid, 'If it pleaſe you, my lord, to 'hear me: this man ſtruck me, and gave me ſuch a blow as I never 'had in my life.' At this I ſmiled in my heart, and ſaid, 'Major 'Ceely, art thou a juſtice of peace, and a major of a troop of horſe, 'and telleſt the judge in the face of the court and country, that I, a 'priſoner, ſtruck thee, and gave thee ſuch a blow as thou never 'hadſt the like in thy life? What! art thou not aſhamed! Prithee, 'major Ceely, ſaid I, where did I ſtrike thee? and who is thy wit-'neſs for that? who was by?' He ſaid, It was in the Caſtle-green, and captain Bradden was ſtanding by when I ſtruck him. 'I deſired 'the judge to let him produce his witneſs for that; and called again 'upon major Ceely to come down from the bench, telling him, It 'was not fit the accuſer ſhould ſit as judge over the accuſed.' When I called again for his witneſs, he ſaid captain Bradden was his wit-

neſs.

neſs. Then I ſaid, 'Speak, captain Bradden, didſt thou ſee me give 'him ſuch a blow, and ſtrike him, as he ſaith?' Captain Bradden made no anſwer, but bowed his head towards me. 'I deſired him 'to ſpeak up, if he knew any ſuch thing; but he only bowed his 'head again. Nay, ſaid I, ſpeak up, and let the court and country 'hear; let not bowing of the head ſerve the turn. If I have done ſo, 'let the law be inflicted on me; I fear not ſufferings, nor death it-'ſelf, for I am an innocent man concerning all his charge.' But captain Bradden never teſtified to it. The judge, finding thoſe ſnares would not hold, cried, Take him away, gaoler; and when we were taken away, he fined us twenty marks a-piece for not putting off our hats; to be kept in priſon till we paid it; and ſent us back to the gaol. 1656. Lanceſton aſſizes.

At night captain Bradden came to ſee us, and ſeven or eight juſtices with him, who were very civil to us, and told us, They believed, neither the judge nor any in the court gave credit to thoſe charges which major Ceely had accuſed me of in the face of the country. And captain Bradden ſaid, Major Ceely had an intent to have taken away my life, if he could have got another witneſs. 'But ſaid I, 'Captain Bradden, why didſt not thou witneſs for me, or againſt 'me, ſeeing major Ceely produced thee for a witneſs that thou ſaweſt 'me ſtrike him? When I deſired thee to ſpeak either for me or 'againſt me, according to what thou ſaweſt or knoweſt, thou 'wouldſt not ſpeak.' Why, ſaid he, when major Ceely and I came by you, as you were walking in the Caſtle-green, he put off his hat to you, and ſaid, How do you, Mr. Fox? your ſervant, Sir. Then you ſaid to him, Major Ceely, take heed of hypocriſy and of a rotten heart; for when came I to be thy maſter, and thou my ſervant? Do ſervants uſe to caſt their maſters into priſon? This was the great blow he meant that you gave him. Then I called to mind that they walked by us, and that he ſpoke ſo to me, and I to him; which hypocriſy and rotten-heartedneſs he manifeſted openly, when he complained of this to the judge in open court, and in the face of the country; whom he would have made believe that I ſtruck him with my hand.

Now were we kept in priſon, and divers came from far and nigh to ſee us, of whom ſome were people of account in the world; for the report of our trial was ſpread abroad, and our boldneſs and innocency in our anſwers to the judge and court was talked of in the town and country. Among others Humphry Lower came to viſit us, a grave, ſober, ancient man, who had been a juſtice of peace, and was very ſorry we ſhould lie in priſon; telling us, how ſerviceable we ſhould be if we were at liberty. We reaſoned with him concerning ſwearing: and having acquainted him they tendered the oath of abjuration to us as a ſnare, becauſe they knew we could not ſwear; and ſhewed him, that no people could be ſerviceable to God if they diſobeyed the command of Chriſt; and that they that impriſoned us for the hat-honour, which was of men, and which men ſought for, they priſoned the good, and grieved the Spirit of God in themſelves, which ſhould have turned their minds to him. So we directed him to the Spirit of God in his heart, the light of Chriſt Jeſus;

1656. Jeſus: and he was thoroughly convinced, and continued ſo to his death, and became very ſerviceable to us.

Lanceſton priſon. There came alſo to ſee us one colonel Rouſe, a juſtice of peace, and a great company with him. He was full of words and talk, as ever I heard any man in my life, ſo that, without intruding, there was no ſpeaking to him. At length I aſked him, 'Whether he had 'ever been at ſchool, and knew what belonged to queſtions and 'anſwers?' (this I ſaid to ſtop him). At ſchool! ſaid he, yes. At ſchool! ſaid the ſoldiers; Doth he ſay ſo to our colonel, that is a ſcholar? Then ſaid I, 'If he be ſo, let him be ſtill and receive 'anſwers to what he hath ſaid.' Then I was moved of the Lord to ſpeak the word of life to him in God's dreadful power; which came ſo over him that he could not open his mouth. His face ſwelled, and was red like a turkey. His lips moved, and he mumbled ſomething; but the people thought he would have fallen down. I ſtept to him; and then he ſaid, He was never ſo in his life before; for the Lord's power ſtopped the evil power and air in him, ſo that he was almoſt choked. The man was ever after very loving to friends, but not ſo full of airy words to us; though he was full of pride: but the Lord's power came over him, and the reſt that were with him.

Another time there came an officer of the army, a very malicious, bitter profeſſor, whom I had known in London. He was full of airy talk alſo, and ſpoke ſlightly of the light of Chriſt, and againſt the truth, as colonel Rouſe had done, and againſt the Spirit of God being in men, as it was in the apoſtles days, till the power of God that bound the evil in him had almoſt choked him alſo, as it did colonel Rouſe; for he was ſo full of evil air, that he could not ſpeak; but blubbered and ſtuttered. From that time that the Lord's power ſtruck him, and came over him, he was ever after more loving to us.

The aſſizes being over, and we ſettled in priſon upon ſuch a commitment that we were not likely to be ſoon releaſed, we broke off from giving the gaoler ſeven ſhillings a week a-piece for our horſes, and ſeven ſhillings a week for ourſelves, and ſent our horſes into the country. Upon which he grew very wicked and deviliſh, and put us Doomſdale. down into Doomſdale, a naſty, ſtinking place, where they uſed to put murderers after they were condemned. The place was ſo noiſome, that it was obſerved few that went in did ever come out again in health. There was no houſe of office in it; and the excrement of the priſoners, that from time to time had been put there, had not been carried out (as we were told) for many years. So that it was all like mire, and in ſome places to the top of the ſhoes in water and urine; and he would not let us cleanſe it, nor ſuffer us to have beds or ſtraw to lie on. At night ſome friendly people of the town brought us a candle and a little ſtraw; and we went to burn a little of our ſtraw to take away the ſtink. The thieves lay over our heads, and the head-gaoler in a room by them over our heads alſo. It ſeems the ſmoke went up into the room where the gaoler lay; which put him into ſuch a rage that he took the pots of excrement from the thieves, and poured them through a hole upon our heads in Doomſdale, till we were ſo beſpattered that we could not touch ourſelves

nor one another. And the ſtink increaſed upon us; ſo that what with ſtink, and what with ſmoke, we had like to have been choked and ſmothered. We had the ſtink under our feet before, now we had it on our heads and backs alſo; and he having quenched our ſtraw with the filth he poured down, had made a great ſmother in the place. Moreover he railed at us moſt hideouſly, calling us hatchet-faced dogs, and ſuch ſtrange names as we had never heard of. In this manner we were obliged to ſtand all night, for we could not ſit down, the place was ſo full of filthy excrement. A great while he kept us after this manner before he would let us cleanſe it, or ſuffer us to have any victuals brought in but what we got through the grate. One time a girl brought us a little meat; and he arreſted her for breaking his houſe, and ſued her in the town-court for breaking the priſon. A great deal of trouble he put the young woman to; whereby others were ſo diſcouraged that we had much ado to get water, drink, or victuals. Near this time we ſent for a young woman, Ann Downer, from London, who could write and take things well in ſhort-hand, to buy and dreſs our meat for us; which ſhe was very willing to do, it being alſo upon her ſpirit to come to us in the love of God; and ſhe was very ſerviceable to us. 1656. Lanceſton Doomſdale.

The head-gaoler, we were informed, had been a thief, and was burnt both in the hand and in the ſhoulder: his wife too had been burnt in the hand. The under-gaoler had been burnt both in the hand and in the ſhoulder: his wife had been burnt in the hand alſo. Colonel Bennet, a Baptiſt-teacher, having purchaſed the gaol and lands belonging to the caſtle, had placed this head-gaoler there. The priſoners and ſome wild people would be talking of ſpirits that haunted Doomſdale, and how many had died in it, thinking perhaps to terrify us therewith. But I told them, 'That if all the 'ſpirits and devils in hell were there, I was over them in the power 'of God, and feared no ſuch thing; for Chriſt, our Prieſt, would 'ſanctify the walls of the houſe to us, he who bruiſed the head of 'the devil.' The prieſt was to cleanſe the plague out of the walls of the houſe under the law, which Chriſt, our Prieſt, ended; who ſanctifies both inwardly and outwardly the walls of the houſe, the walls of the heart, and all things to his people.

By this time the general quarter-ſeſſions drew nigh; and the gaoler ſtill carrying himſelf baſely and wickedly towards us, we drew up our ſuffering caſe, and ſent it to the ſeſſions at Bodmin. Upon the reading of which the juſtices gave order, 'That Doomſdale-door 'ſhould be opened, and that we ſhould have liberty to cleanſe it, 'and to buy our meat in the town.' We ſent up a copy alſo of our ſufferings to the Protector, ſetting forth how we were taken and committed by major Ceely, and abuſed by captain Keat as aforeſaid, and the reſt in order. Whereupon the Protector ſent an order to captain Fox, governor of Pendennis-caſtle, to examine the matter about the ſoldiers abuſing us, and ſtriking me. There were at that time many of the gentry of the country at the caſtle: and captain Keat's kinſman, that ſtruck me, was ſent for before them, and much threatened. They told him, 'If I ſhould change my principle, I 'might take the extremity of the law againſt him, and might re-'cover ſound damages of him.' Captain Keat was alſo check'd for

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ſuffering the priſoners under his charge to be abuſed. This was of great ſervice in the country; for afterwards friends might have ſpoken in any market or ſteeple-houſe thereabouts, and none would meddle with them. I underſtood that Hugh Peters, one of the Protector's chaplains, told him, 'They could not do George Fox a greater ſervice for the ſpreading of his principles in Cornwall, than to impriſon him there.' And indeed my impriſonment there was of the Lord, and for his ſervice in thoſe parts; for after the aſſizes were over, and it was known we were likely to continue priſoners, ſeveral friends from moſt parts of the nation came into the country to viſit us. Thoſe parts of the weſt were very dark countries at that time; but the Lord's light and truth broke forth, ſhined over all, and many were turned from darkneſs to light, and from ſatan's power unto God. Many were moved to go to the ſteeple-houſes, ſeveral were ſent to priſon to us, and a great convincement began in the country: for now we had liberty to walk in the Caſtle-green, and divers came to us on firſt-days, to whom we declared the word of life. Great ſervice we had, many were turned to God up and down the country; but great rage got up in the prieſts and profeſſors againſt the truth and us. One of the envious profeſſors had gathered together many ſcripture-ſentences to prove, 'That we ought to put off our hats to the people,' and he invited the town of Lanceſton to come into the Caſtle-yard to hear him read them. Amongſt other inſtances that he brought, one was, 'That Saul bowed to the witch of Endor.' When he had done we got a little liberty to ſpeak, and ſhewed both him and the people, 'That Saul was gone from God, and had diſobeyed him, like them, when he went to the witch of Endor: that neither the prophets, nor Chriſt, nor the apoſtles ever taught people to bow to a witch.' The man went away with his rude people; but ſome ſtaid with us, and we ſhewed them, That this was not goſpel-inſtruſtion, to teach people to bow to a witch. For now people began to be affected with the truth, and the devil's rage increaſed; ſo that we were often in great danger.

One time there came a ſoldier, and while one of our friends was admoniſhing and exhorting him to ſobriety, &c. I ſaw him begin to draw his ſword. Whereupon I ſtept to him, and repreſented what a ſhame it was to offer to draw his ſword upon a naked man, and a priſoner, and how unfit and unworthy he was to carry ſuch a weapon; and that, if he ſhould have offered ſuch a thing to ſome men, they would have taken his ſword from him, and have broken it to pieces. So he was aſhamed and went his way; and the Lord's power preſerved us.

Another time, about eleven at night, the gaoler being half drunk, came and told me, He had got a man now to diſpute with me (this was when we had leave to go a little into the town). As ſoon as he ſpoke theſe words, I felt there was miſchief intended to my body. All that night and the next day I lay down on a graſs-plat to ſlumber, and felt ſomething ſtill about my body; and I ſtarted up, and ſtruck at it in the power of the Lord, and ſtill it was about my body. Then I roſe and walked into the Caſtle-green, and the under-keeper came and told me, There was a maid would ſpeak with me in the priſon. I felt a ſnare in his words too, therefore I went not into the priſon, but

but to the grate; and, looking in, I ſaw a man that was lately brought to priſon for being a conjurer, who had a naked knife in his hand. I ſpoke to him, and he threatened to cut my chaps; but being within the gaol he could not come at me. This was the gaoler's great diſputant. I went ſoon after into the gaoler's houſe, and found him at breakfaſt; he had then got his conjurer out with him. I told the gaoler, his plot was diſcovered. Then he got up from the table, and caſt his napkin away in a rage; and I left them, and went away to my chamber; for at this time we were out of Doomſdale. At the time the gaoler had ſaid the diſpute ſhould be, I went down and walked in the court (the place appointed) till about the eleventh hour; but nobody came. Then I went up to my chamber again; and after a while heard one call for me. I ſtepped to the ſtairs-head, where I ſaw the gaoler's wife upon the ſtairs, and the conjurer at the bottom of the ſtairs, holding his hand behind his back, and in a great rage. I aſked him, 'Man, what haſt thou in thy hand behind thy back? 'Pluck thy hand before thee,' ſaid I; 'let's ſee thy hand, and 'what thou haſt in it?' Then he angrily plucked forth his hand with a naked knife in it. I ſhewed the gaoler's wife their wicked deſign againſt me; for this was the man they brought to diſpute of the things of God. But the Lord diſcovered their plot, prevented their evil deſign; and they both raged, and the conjurer threatened. Then I was moved of the Lord to ſpeak ſharply to him in the dreadful power of the Lord; and the Lord's power came over him, and bound him down; ſo that he never after durſt appear before me, to ſpeak to me. I ſaw it was the Lord alone that preſerved me out of their bloody hands; for the devil had a great enmity to me, and ſtirred up his inſtruments to ſeek my hurt. But the Lord prevented them; and my heart was filled with thankſgivings and praiſes to him.

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Now while I was exerciſed with people of divers ſorts, that came ſome out of good-will to viſit us, ſome out of an envious carping mind to wrangle and diſpute with us, and ſome out of curioſity to ſee us; Edward Pyot, who before his convincement had been a captain in the army, and had a good underſtanding in the laws and rights of the people, being ſenſible of the injuſtice and envy of judge Glynne to us at our trial, and willing to lay the weight thereof upon him, and make him ſenſible thereof alſo, wrote an epiſtle to him, on behalf of us all, which was thus:

'To John Glynne, chief juſtice of England:

'Friend,

'WE are freemen of England, free-born; our rights and liberties 'are according to law, and ought to be defended by it; there-'fore with thee, by whoſe hand we have ſo long ſuffered and yet do 'ſuffer, let us a little plainly reaſon concerning thy proceedings againſt 'us, whether they have been according to law, and agreeable to thy duty 'and office, as chief miniſter of the law or juſtice of England? And in 'meekneſs and lowlineſs abide, that the witneſs of God in thy con-'ſcience may be heard to ſpeak and judge in this matter: for thou and 'we muſt all appear before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, that every 'one may receive according to what he hath done, whether it be good

'or

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‘ or bad. Therefore, friend, in moderation and ſoberneſs weigh what ‘ is herein laid before thee.

‘ In the afternoon, before we were brought before thee at the aſſize ‘ at Lanceſton, thou didſt cauſe divers ſcores of our books to be vio- ‘ lently taken from us by armed men, without due proceſs of law; ‘ which books being peruſed, to ſee if any thing in them could have ‘ been found to have been laid to our charge (who were innocent men, ‘ and then upon our legal iſſue) thou haſt detained from us to this very ‘ day. Our books are our goods, our goods are our property, and our ‘ liberty it is to have and enjoy our property: and of our liberty and ‘ property the law is the defence; which ſaith, “ No freeman ſhall “ be diſſeiſed of his freehold, liberties, or free cuſtoms, &c. nor any- “ way otherwiſe deſtroyed: nor we ſhall not paſs upon him, but by “ lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land, Magna “ Charta, cap. 29.” Now, friend, conſider, is not the taking away of ‘ a man's goods violently, by force of arms, as aforeſaid, contrary to ‘ the law of the land? Is not the keeping of them, ſo taken away, a ‘ diſſeiſing him of his property, and a deſtroying of it and his liberty, ‘ yea, his very being, ſo far as the invading of the guard the law ſets ‘ about him is in order thereunto? Calls not the law this a deſtroying ‘ of a man? Is there any more than one common guard or defence to ‘ property, liberty, and life, viz. the law? And can this guard be ‘ broken on the former, viz. property and liberty, and the latter, viz. ‘ life, be ſure? Doth not he, that makes an invaſion upon a man's pro- ‘ perty and liberty (which he doth, who, contrary to law, which is ‘ the guard, acts againſt either) make an invaſion upon a man's life; ‘ ſince that which is the ground of the one is alſo of the other? If ‘ a penny or penny's worth be taken from a man contrary to law, ‘ may not by the ſame rule all a man hath be taken away? If the ‘ bond of the law be broken upon a man's property, may it not on ‘ the ſame ground be broken upon his perſon? And by the ſame rea- ‘ ſon as it is broken on one man, may it not be broken upon all, ſince ‘ the liberty, property, and beings of all men under a government are ‘ relative, a communion of wealth, as the members in the body, but ‘ one guard and defence to all, the law? One man cannot be injured ‘ therein, but it redounds to all. Do not ſuch things tend to the ſub- ‘ verſion and diſſolution of government? Where there is no law, what ‘ is become of government? And of what value is the law made, ‘ when the miniſters thereof break it at pleaſure upon men's properties, ‘ liberties, and perſons? Canſt thou clear thyſelf of theſe things, as to ‘ us? To that of God in thy conſcience, which is juſt, do I ſpeak. ‘ Haſt thou acted like a miniſter, the chief miniſter of the law, who ‘ haſt taken our goods, and yet detaineſt them, without ſo much as ‘ going by lawful warrant, grounded upon due information, which in ‘ this our caſe thou couldſt not have; for none had peruſed them, ‘ whereby to give thee information? Shouldeſt thou exerciſe violence ‘ and force of arms on priſoners goods, in their priſon-chamber, in- ‘ ſtead of proceeding orderly and legally, which thy place calls upon ‘ thee above any man to tender, defend, and maintain againſt wrong, ‘ and to preſerve intire the guard of every man's being, liberty, and ‘ livelihood? Shouldſt thou, whoſe duty it is to puniſh the wrong- ‘ doer, do wrong thyſelf? Who oughteſt to ſee the law be kept and

'obſerved, break the law, and turn aſide the due adminiſtration thereof? 1656.
'Surely, from thee, conſidering thou art chief juſtice of England, Lancelton
'other things were expected, both by us and by the people of this gaol.
'nation.

'And friend, when we were brought before thee, and ſtood upon 'our legal iſſue, and no accuſer or accuſation came in againſt us, as to 'what we had been wrongfully impriſoned for, and in priſon detained 'for the ſpace of nine weeks, ſhouldeſt not thou have cauſed us to 'have been acquitted by proclamation? Saith not the law ſo? Oughteſt 'thou not to have examined the cauſe of our commitment, and there 'not appearing a lawful cauſe, to have diſcharged us? Is it not the 'ſubſtance of thy office and duty, to do juſtice according to the law 'and cuſtom of England? Is not this the end of the adminiſtration of 'the law? of the general aſſizes? of the gaol-deliveries? of the judges 'going the circuits? Haſt not thou, by doing otherwiſe, acted contrary 'to all theſe, and to Magna Charta? which, Cap. 29. ſaith, "We ſhall "ſell to no man, we ſhall deny or defer to no man, either juſtice or "right." Haſt thou not both deferred and denied to us, who had been 'ſo long oppreſſed, this juſtice and right? And when of thee juſtice 'we demanded, ſaidſt thou not, "If we would be uncovered, thou "wouldſt hear us, and do us juſtice?"—"We ſhall ſell to no man, we "ſhall deny or defer to no man either juſtice or right," ſaith Magna 'Charta as aforeſaid: again, "We have commanded all our juſtices, "that they ſhall from henceforth do even law, and execution of right "to all our ſubjects, rich and poor, without having regard to any "man's perſon; and without letting to do right for any letters or com-"mandments which may come to them from us, or from any other, "or by any other cauſe, &c. upon pain to be at our will, body, lands "and goods, to do therewith as ſhall pleaſe us, in caſe they do con-"trary," ſaith Stat. 20 Edw. III. Cap. 1. Again, "Ye ſhall ſwear, "that ye ſhall do even law and execution of right to all, rich and poor, "without having regard to any perſon; and that ye deny to no man "common right by the king's letters, nor none other man's, nor for "none other cauſe. And in caſe any letter come to you contrary to "the law, that ye do nothing by ſuch letter; but certify the king "thereof, and go forth to do the law notwithſtanding thoſe letters. "And in caſe ye be from henceforth found in default in any of the "points aforeſaid, ye ſhall be at the king's will of body, lands and "goods, thereof to be done, as ſhall pleaſe him:" ſaith the oath ap-'pointed by the ſtatute to be taken by all the judges, Stat. 18 Ed. III. 'But none of theſe, nor any other law, hath ſuch an expreſſion or 'condition in it as this, viz. "Provided he will put off his hat to you, "or be uncovered:" Nor doth the law of God ſo ſay, or that your 'perſons be reſpected; but the contrary. From whence then comes 'this new law, "If ye will be uncovered, I will hear you, and do you "juſtice?" This hearing complaint of wrong, this doing of juſtice, 'upon condition; wherein lies the equity and the reaſonableneſs of 'that? When were theſe fundamental laws repealed, which were the 'iſſue of ſo much blood and war; which to uphold, coſt the miſeries 'and blood of the late wars, that we ſhall now be heard, as to right,

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'and have juſtice done us but upon condition, and that too ſuch a 'trifling one as the putting off the hat? Doth thy ſaying ſo, who art 'commanded, as aforeſaid, repeal them, and make them of no effect, 'and all the miſeries undergone, and the blood ſhed for them of old 'and of late years? Whether it be ſo or not indeed, and to the na-'tion, thou haſt made it ſo to us; to whom thou haſt denied the juſ-'tice of our liberty when we were before thee, and no accuſer nor 'accuſation came in againſt us, and the hearing of the wrong done to 'us who are innocent, and the doing us right. And bonds haſt thou 'caſt and continued upon us until this day, under an unreaſonable and 'cruel gaoler, for not performing that thy condition, for conſcience-'ſake. But thinkeſt thou that this thine own conditional juſtice maketh 'void the law? or can it do ſo? or abſolve thee before God or man? 'or acquit the penalty mentioned in the laws aforeſaid? unto which 'haſt thou not conſented and ſworn? viz. "And in caſe ye be from "henceforth found in default in any of the points aforeſaid, ye ſhall "be at the king's will, of body, lands, and goods, thereof to be done "as ſhall pleaſe him." And is not thy ſaying, "If ye will be unco-"vered (or put off your hats) I will hear you, and do you juſtice;" 'and, becauſe we could not put them off for conſcience-ſake, thy 'denying us juſtice, and refuſing to hear us, as to wrong, who had ſo 'unjuſtly ſuffered, a default in thee againſt the very eſſence of thoſe 'laws, yea, an overthrow thereof, for which things ſake (being of 'the higheſt importance to the well-being of men) ſo juſt, ſo equal, 'ſo neceſſary thoſe laws were made, and all the provi ions therein? 'To make a default in any one point of which proviſions, expoſeth to 'the ſaid penalty. Doſt not thou by this time ſee where thou art? 'Art thou ſure thou ſhalt never be made to underſtand and feel the 'juſtice thereof? Is thy ſeat ſo high, and thy fence ſo great, and art 'thou ſo certain of thy time and ſtation, above all that have gone be-'fore thee, whom juſtice hath cut down, and given them their due, 'that thou ſhalt never be called to an account, nor with its long and 'ſure ſtroke be reached? Deceive not thyſelf, God is come nearer to 'judgment than the workers of iniquity in this age imagine, who per-'ſecute and evil-intreat thoſe that witneſs the Juſt and Holy One, for 'their witneſſing of him, who is come to reign for ever and ever. 'Saith he not, he will be a ſwift witneſs againſt the falſe ſwearers? 'God is not mocked.

'Surely, friend, that muſt needs be a very great offence, which de-'prives a man of juſtice, of being heard as to wrong, of the benefit 'of the law, and of thoſe laws afore-rehearſed; to defend the juſtice 'and equity of which, a man hath adventured his blood, and all that 'is dear to him. But to ſtand covered (or with the hat on) in con-'ſcience to the command of the Lord, is made by thee ſuch an offence '(which is none in law) and rendered upon us (who are innocent, 'ſerving the living God) effectual to deny us juſtice; though the laws 'of God, and of man, and the oath, and equity and reaſon ſay the con-'trary, and on it pronounceth ſuch a penalty. "If ye will be unco-"vered (Uncovered, ſaidſt thou) I will hear you, and do you juſtice:" 'but juſtice we had not, nor were we heard, becauſe Jeſus Chriſt, who 'is the higher power, the lawgiver of his people, in our conſciences

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'commanded us not to reſpect perſons; whom to obey we chuſe rather than man. And for our obedience unto him haſt thou caſt us into priſon, and continueſt us there, till this very day; having ſhewed us neither law for it, nor ſcripture, nor inſtances of either, nor examples of heathens or others. Friend, Come down to that of God, that is juſt in thee, and conſider, was there ever ſuch a thing as this heard of in this nation? What is become of ſeriouſneſs, of true judgment, and of righteouſneſs! An unrighteous man, ſtanding before thee with his hat off, ſhall be heard; but an innocent man, appearing with his hat on in conſcience to the Lord, ſhall neither be heard, nor have juſtice. Is not this regarding of perſons contrary to the laws aforeſaid, and the oath, and the law of God? Underſtand, and judge. Did we not own authority and government oftentimes before the court? Didſt thou not ſay in the court, Thou waſt glad to hear ſo much from us of our owning magiſtracy? Pleaded we not to the indictment, though it was ſuch a new-found one as England never heard of before? Came we not when thou ſenteſt for us? Went we not when thou bidſt us go? And are we not ſtill priſoners at thy command and at thy will? If the hat had been ſuch an offence to thee, couldſt thou not have cauſed it to have been taken off, when thou heardſt us ſo often declare, we could not do it in conſcience to the commands of the Lord; and that for that cauſe we forbore it, not in contempt of thee, or of authority, nor in diſreſpect to thine or any man's perſon (for we ſaid, we honoured all men in the Lord, and owned authority, which was a terror to evil-doers, and a praiſe to them that do well; and our ſouls were ſubject to the higher powers for conſcience ſake) as thou cauſedſt them to be taken off, and to be kept ſo, when thou calledſt the jury to find us tranſgreſſors without a law? What ado haſt thou made to take away the righteouſneſs of the righteous from him, and to cauſe us to ſuffer further, whom thou kneweſt to have been ſo long wrongfully in priſon contrary to law? Is not liberty of conſcience a natural right? Had there been a law in this caſe, and we bound up in our conſciences that we could not have obeyed it, was not liberty of conſcience there to take place? For where the law ſaith not againſt, there needs no plea of liberty of conſcience: but the law have we not offended; yet in thy will haſt thou cauſed, and doſt thou yet cauſe us to ſuffer for our conſciences, where the law requires no ſuch thing: and yet for liberty of conſcience hath all the blood been ſpilt, and the miſeries of the late wars undergone, and, as the protector ſaith, this government undertaken, to preſerve it; and a natural right, he ſaith, it is; and he that would have it, he ſaith, ought to give it. And if it be a natural right, as is undeniable, then to attempt to force it, or to puniſh a man for not doing contrary to it, is to act againſt nature: which as it is unreaſonable, ſo it is the ſame as to offer violence to a man's life. And what an offence that is in the law, thou knoweſt; and how, by the common law of England, all acts, agreements and laws, that are againſt nature, are mere nullities: and all the judges cannot make one caſe to be law, that is againſt nature. But put the caſe, our ſtanding with our hats on had been an offence in law, and we wilfully, and in contempt, and not out

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‘ of conſcience had ſtood ſo (which we deny) yet that is not a ground ‘ wherefore we ſhould be denied juſtice, or to be heard, as to the wrong ‘ done to us. “ If ye will not offend in one caſe, I will do you juſ- “ tice in another:” this is not the language of the law, or of juſtice, ‘ which diſtributes to every one their right; juſtice, to whom juſtice ‘ is due; puniſhment, to whom puniſhment is due. A man who doth ‘ wrong, may alſo have wrong done to him; ſhall he not have right, ‘ wherein he is wronged, unleſs he right him whom he hath wronged? ‘ The law ſaith not ſo; but the wrong-doer is to ſuffer, and the ſuf- ‘ ferer of wrong to be righted. Is not otherwiſe to do, a denying, a ‘ letting or ſtopping of even law, and execution of juſtice, and a bring- ‘ ing under the penalties aforeſaid? Mind and conſider.

‘ And ſhouldſt thou have accuſed, when no witneſs appeared againſt ‘ us, as in the particulars of ſtriking Peter Ceely, and diſperſing books ‘ (as thou ſaidſt) againſt magiſtracy and miniſtry, with which thou didſt ‘ falſly accuſe one of us? Saith not the law, “ The judge ought not “ to be the accuſer?” much leſs a falſe accuſer. And waſt thou not ‘ ſuch an one, in affirming, that he diſperſed books againſt magiſtracy ‘ and miniſtry, when the books were violently taken out of our cham- ‘ ber, undiſperſed by him, or any of us? Nor didſt thou make it ap- ‘ pear in one particular, wherein thoſe books, thou ſo violently didſt ‘ cauſe to be taken away, were againſt magiſtracy or miniſtry? or ‘ gaveſt one inſtance or reply, when he denied what thou chargedſt ‘ therein; and ſpoke to thee to bring forth thoſe books, and make thy ‘ charge appear. Is not the ſword of the magiſtrate of God to paſs ‘ upon ſuch evil-doing? And according to the adminiſtration of the ‘ law, ought not accuſations to be by way of indictment, wherein the ‘ offence is to be charged, and the law expreſſed, againſt which it is? ‘ Can there be an iſſue without an indictment? Or can an indictment ‘ be found, before proof be made of the offence charged therein? And ‘ haſt not thou herein gone contrary to the law, and the adminiſtra- ‘ tion thereof, and thy duty, as a judge? What juſt cauſe of offence ‘ gave George Fox to thee, when, upon thy producing a paper con- ‘ cerning ſwearing, ſent by him (as thou ſaidſt) to the grand jury, ‘ and requiring him to ſay, Whether it was his hand-writing? he an- ‘ ſwered, “ Read it up before the country; and when he heard it “ read, if it were his, he would own it?” Is it not equal, and accord- ‘ ing to law, that what a man is charged with before the country, ‘ ſhould be read in the hearing of him and of the country? When a ‘ paper is delivered out of a man's hand, alterations may be made in ‘ it to his prejudice, which, on a ſudden looking over it, may not ‘ preſently be diſcerned; but by hearing it read up, may be better un- ‘ derſtood whether any ſuch alterations have been made therein? Couldſt ‘ thou in juſtice have expected, or required him otherwiſe to do? Con- ‘ ſidering alſo, that he was not inſenſible how much he had ſuffered ‘ already, being innocent; and what endeavours there were uſed to ‘ cauſe him further to ſuffer? Was not what he ſaid a plain and ſingle ‘ anſwer, and ſufficient in the law? Though (as hath been demon- ‘ ſtrated) contrary to law thou didſt act, and to thy office, in being ‘ his accuſer therein, and producing the paper againſt him. And in his ‘ liberty it was, whether he would have made thee any anſwer at all to

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'what thou didſt exhibit, or demand out of the due courſe of law: 1656.
'for to the law anſwer is to be made; not to thy will. Wherefore then Lanceſton
'waſt thou ſo filled with rage and fury upon that his reply? Calmly, gaol.
'and in the fear of the Lord conſider: Wherefore didſt thou revile
'him, particularly with the reproachful names of juggler and prevari-
'cator? Wherein did he juggle? Wherein did he prevaricate? Where-
'fore didſt thou uſe ſuch threatening language, and ſuch menacings
'to him and us, ſaying, Thou wouldſt ferk us, with ſuch like? Doth
'not the law forbid reviling, and rage, and fury, and threatening and
'menacing of priſoners? Soberly mind; is this to act like a judge, or
'a man? Is not this tranſgreſſion? Is not the ſword of the magiſtrate
'of God to paſs on this as evil-doing, which the righteous law con-
'demns, and the higher power is againſt, which judgeth for God?
'Take heed what ye do; for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord,
'who is with you in the judgment: "Wherefore now, let the fear
"of the Lord be upon you; take heed, and do it: for there is no ini-
"quity with the Lord our God, nor reſpect of perſons, nor taking of
"gifts," ſaid Jehoſhaphat to the judges of Judah. Pride, and fury,
'and paſſion, and rage, and reviling, and threatening are not the Lord's:
'theſe, and the principle out of which they ſpring, are for judgment,
'and muſt come under the ſword of the magiſtrate of God; and of
'an ill ſavour, eſpecially ſuch an expreſſion, as to threaten to ferk us.
'Is not ſuch a ſaying more becoming a pedant, or ſchoolmaſter with
'his rod or ferula in his hand, than thee, who art the chief juſtice of
'the nation, who ſitteſt in the higheſt ſeat of judgment; who oughteſt
'to give a good example, and ſo to judge, that others may hear and
'fear? Weigh it ſoberly, and conſider, Doth not threatening language
'demonſtrate an inequality and partiality in him who ſits as a judge?
'Is it not a deterring of a priſoner from ſtanding to and pleading the
'innocency of his cauſe? Provides not the law againſt it? Saith it not,
'That irons and all other bonds ſhall be taken from the priſoner, that
'he may plead without amazement, and with ſuch freedom of ſpirit
'as if he were not a priſoner? But when he, who is to judge accord-
'ing to the law, ſhall beforehand threaten and menace the priſoner
'contrary to the law, how can the mind of the priſoner be free, to
'plead his innocency before him? or expect equal judgment from him,
'who, before he hears him, threatens what he will do to him? Is not
'this the caſe between thee and us? Is not this the meaſure we have
'received at thy hands? Haſt thou herein dealt according to law? or
'to thy duty? or as thou wouldſt be done unto? Let that of God in
'thy conſcience judge.

'And didſt not thou ſay, there was a law for putting off the hat;
'and that thou wouldſt ſhew a law? and didſt not thou often ſo ex-
'preſs thyſelf? But didſt thou produce any law? or ſhew where that
'law might be found? or any judicial precedent, or in what king's
'reign, when we ſo often deſired it of thee? having never heard of or
'known any ſuch law, by which thou didſt judge us. Was not what
'we demanded of thee reaſonable and juſt? Was that a ſavoury an-
'ſwer, and according to law, which thou gaveſt us, viz. "I am not
"to carry the law-books at my back, up and down the country; I am

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" not to inſtruct you ?" Was ever ſuch an expreſſion heard before
' theſe days to come out of a judge's mouth ? Is he not to be of
' counſel in the law for the priſoner, and to inſtruct him therein ?
' Is it not for this cauſe that the priſoner, in many caſes, is not al-
' lowed counſel by the law ? In all courts of juſtice in this nation,
' hath it not been known ſo to have been ? And to the priſoner hath
' not this been often declared, when he hath demanded counſel, al-
' leging his ignorance in the law, by reaſon of which his cauſe might
' miſcarry though it were righteous, viz. " The court is of counſel
" for you ?" Ought not he, that judgeth in the law, to be ex-
' pert in the law ? Couldſt not thou tell by what act of parliament
' it was made, or by what judicial precedent, or in what king's reign,
' or when it was adjudged ſo by the common law (which are all the
' grounds the law of England hath) had there been ſuch a law, tho'
' the words of the law thou couldſt not remember ? Surely, to in-
' form the priſoner when he deſired it, eſpecially as to a law which
' was never heard of, by which he proceeds to judge him, that he
' may know what law it is by which he is to be judged, becomes
' him who judgeth for God : for ſo the law was read to the Jews, by
' which they were to be judged, yea every ſabbath-day ; this was the
' commandment of the Lord. But inſtead thereof to ſay, " I am
" not to carry the law books at my back up and down the country ;
" I am not to inſtruct you :" To ſay, " There is a law," and to ſay,
" Thou wilt ſhew it ;" and yet not ſhew it, nor to tell where it is to
' be found ; conſider whether it be conſiſtent with ſavourineſs, truth,
' or juſtice ?'

' Have not thy whole proceedings againſt us made it evidently to
' appear that thy deſire was to cauſe us to ſuffer, not to deliver us,
' who, being innocent, ſuffered ; to have us aſperſed and reproached
' before the country, not to have our innocency cleared and vindi-
' cated ? Doth not the taking away our books as aforeſaid, and the
' peruſing of them in ſuch haſte before our trial, and thy accuſing us
' with ſomething which thou ſaidſt was contained in them, make it
' appear that matter was ſought out of them wherewithal to charge
' us, when the Et Cetera warrant would not ſtand in law by which
' we were committed, and were then upon our delivery according to
' the due courſe of law ? Doth it not further appear, by thy re-
' fuſing to take from our hands a copy of the ſtrange Et Cetera war-
' rant by which we were committed, and of the paper for which
' we ſtood apprehended, to read it or cauſe it to be read ; that ſo
' our long ſufferings by reaſon of both might be looked into, and
' weighed in the law, whether juſt or righteous, and the country
' might as well ſee our innocency and ſufferings without a cauſe,
' and the manner of dealing with us, as to hear ſuch reports which
' went of us as great offenders, when we called upon thee often ſo
' to do, and which thou oughteſt to have done, and ſaidſt, Thou
' wouldſt do, but didſt it not ; nor ſo much as took notice before the
' country that we had been falſely impriſoned, and had wrongfully
' ſuffered ? But what might aſperſe and charge us thou broughteſt
' in thyſelf, contrary to law, and didſt call to have us charged there-
' with. Is not this further manifeſt, in that thou didſt cauſe us on

'a ſudden to be withdrawn, and the petty jury to be called in with 1656.
'their verdict; whereupon Peter Ceely's falſly accuſing George Fox Lanceſton
"with telling him privately of a deſign, and perſuading him to join gaol.
"therein," was by George Fox made ſo clear to be a manifeſt falſe-
'hood, and ſo plainly to be perceived, that the cauſe of our ſuffer-
'ings was not any evil we had done, or law that we had tranſgreſſed,
'but malice and wickedneſs? And is it not abundantly clear from
'thy not permitting us to anſwer, and clear ourſelves of the many
'foul ſlanders charged upon us in the new-found indictment, of
'which no proof was made? But when we were anſwering there-
'unto, and clearing ourſelves thereof, thou didſt ſtop us, ſaying,
"Thou mindedſt not thoſe things, but only the putting off the hat:"
'when as before the country the new-found indictment charged us
'with thoſe things, and the petty jury brought in their verdict,
"Guilty of the treſpaſſes and contempts mentioned therein;" of
'which (except as to the hat) not one witneſs or evidence was pro-
'duced; and as to the hat, not any law or judicial precedent, upon
'the tranſgreſſion of which all legal indictments are to be grounded?
'Now the law ſeeks not for cauſes whereby to make the innocent
'ſuffer; but helpeth him to right who ſuffers wrong, relieveth the
'oppreſſed, and ſearcheth out the matter, Whether that of which
'a man ſtands accuſed be ſo or no; ſeeking judgment and haſtening
'righteouſneſs: and it ſaith, "The innocent and the righteous ſlay
"thou not." But whether thou haſt done ſo to us, or the contrary,
'let the witneſs of God in thee ſearch and judge; as theſe thy fruits
'do alſo make manifeſt.

'And, friend, conſider how abominably wicked, and how highly
'to be abhorred, denied, and witneſſed againſt, and how contrary to
'the laws ſuch a proceeding is, as to charge a man with many
'offences in an indictment, which they who draw the indictment,
'they who proſecute, and they who find the bill, know to be falſe,
'and to be put in purpoſely to reproach and wound his good name;
'whom, with ſome ſmall matter which they can prove, they charge
'and indict, as is the common practice at this day. Prove but one
'particular charge in the indictment, and it muſt ſtand (ſay they) for
'a true bill; though there be never ſo many falſhoods and lyes there-
'in, on ſet purpoſe to wrong him who is maliciouſly proſecuted:
'this is known to the judges, and almoſt to every man who hath to
'do with and attends their courts. How contrary is this to the end
'and righteouſneſs of the law, which clears the innocent and con-
'demns the guilty, and condemneth not the righteous with the
'wicked! Much it is cried out of; but what reformation is there
'thereof? How elſe ſhall clerks of aſſize, and other clerks of courts
'fill up their bags (out of which perhaps their maſter muſt have a
'ſecret conſideration) and be heightened in pride and impudence;
'that even in open court they take upon them to check and revile
'men without reproof, when a few lines might ſerve inſtead of an
'hundred? How elſe ſhall the ſpirit that is in men, that luſteth
'unto envy, malice, ſtrife, and contention, be cheriſhed and nou-
'riſhed, to feed the lawyers and dependants on courts with the
'bread of mens children and the ruin of their families, to maintain

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'their long ſuits and malicious contentions! For a judge to ſay, "I "mind not theſe things; I'll not hear you; clear yourſelves of what "you are falſely accuſed of: one thing I mind in your charge, "the reſt are but matter of form, ſet there to render you ſuch "wicked men before the country, as the thing that is to be proved "againſt you is not ſufficient to make out." Oh! abominable 'wickedneſs, and perverting of the righteous end of the law, which 'is ſo careful and tender of every man's peace and innocency! How 'is the law in the adminiſtration thereof adulterated by the lawyers, 'as the ſcriptures are mangled by the prieſts! And that which was 'made to preſerve the righteous, and to puniſh the wicked, per-'verted to the puniſhing of the righteous and the preſerving of the 'wicked! An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, life for life, 'burning for burning, wound for wound, a ſtripe for a ſtripe; he 'that accuſeth a man falſely, to ſuffer the ſame as he ſhould have 'ſuffered, who was falſely accuſed, if he had been guilty. This 'ſaith the righteous law of God; which is agreeable to that of 'God in every man's conſcience. Are not ſuch forms of iniquity to 'be denied, which are ſo contrary to the law of God and man? 'Which ſerve for the gendering of ſtrife, and the kindling of con-'tention? And of this nature was not that, with which thou didſt 'cauſe us to be indicted? And this form didſt not thou uphold, in 'not permitting us to anſwer to the many foul ſlanders therein; 'ſaying, "Thoſe things thou mindedſt not?" Will not the wrath 'of God be revealed from heaven againſt all ungodlineſs and un-'righteouſneſs of men, who hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs; 'who are ſo far from the power of godlineſs, that they have not the 'form, but the form of iniquity, which is ſet up and held up in-'ſtead of and as a law, to overthrow and deſtroy the righteouſneſs 'of the righteous, and ſo to ſhut him up as by the law he can never 'get out? Is not the cry, thinkeſt thou, gone up? "It is time "for thee to ſet to thine hand, O Lord, for thine enemies have "made void thy law!" Draws not the hour nigh? Fills not up 'the meaſure of iniquity apace? Surely the day is coming, and 'haſteneth. Warned ye have been from the preſence, and by the 'mouth of the Lord; and clear will he be when he cometh to 'judgment, and upright when he giveth ſentence. That of God in 'every one of your conſciences ſhall ſo to him bear witneſs and con-'feſs, and your mouths ſhall be ſtopped, and before your judge ſhall 'ye be ſilent, when he ſhall divide you your portion, and render un-'to you according to your deeds. Therefore, whilſt thou haſt time, 'prize it, and repent: for verily, "Our God ſhall come, and ſhall "not keep ſilence; a fire ſhall devour before him, and it ſhall be "very tempeſtuous round about him. He ſhall call to the heavens "from above, and to the earth, that he may judge his people; and "the heavens ſhall declare his righteouſneſs: for God is judge him-"ſelf. Conſider this, ye that forget God, leſt he tear you in pieces, "and there be none to deliver."

'And, friend, ſhouldſt thou have given judgment againſt us '(wherein thou didſt fine us twenty marks a-piece, and impriſonment 'till payment) without cauſing us, being priſoners, to be brought be-

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'fore thee, to hear the judgment, and to move what we had to ſay in 'arreſt of judgment? Is not this contrary to the law, as is manifeſt 'to thoſe who underſtand the proceedings thereof? Is not the pri-'ſoner to be called before judgment be given? And is not the in-'dictment to be read? and the verdict thereupon? And is not li-'berty to be given him to move in arreſt of judgment? And if it be a 'juſt exception in the law, ought not there to be an arreſt of judg-'ment? For the indictment may not be drawn up according to 'law, and may be wrong placed, and the offence charged therein 'may not be a crime in law; or the jury may have been corrupted 'or menaced, or ſet on by ſome of the juſtices; with other parti-'culars, which are known to be legal and juſt exceptions. And the 'judgment ought to be in the priſoner's hearing, not behind his 'back; as if the judge were ſo conſcious of the error thereof, that he 'dares not give it to the face of the priſoner. But theſe privileges 'of the law, this juſtice we (who had ſo long and ſo greatly ſuffered 'contrary to law) received not, nor could have at thy hands; no, 'not ſo much as a copy or ſight of that long and new-found indict-'ment (which in England was never heard of before, nor that the 'matter contained therein was an offence in law, nor ever was there 'any law or judicial precedent that made it ſo) though two friends of 'ours, in our names and behalfs, that night, the next day, and the 'day following often deſired it of the clerk of the aſſize, and his 'aſſiſtant and ſervants; but they could not have it, nor ſo much li-'berty as to ſee it. And it is like it was not unknown or unper-'ceived by thee, that, had we been called as we ought to have been, 'or had known when it was to be given, three or four words might 'have made a ſufficient legal arreſt of the judgment given on that 'new-found indictment, and the verdict thereupon. Therefore as 'our liberties, who are innocent, have not in thy account been 'worth the minding, and eſteemed fit for nothing but to be 'trampled under foot and deſtroyed; ſo, if we find fault with what 'thou haſt done, thou haſt taken care that no door be left open to 'us in the law, but a writ of error: the conſideration whereof, and 'the judgment to be given thereon, is to be had only where thyſelf is 'chief; of whom ſuch complaint is to be made, and the error aſſigned 'for the reverſe of thy judgment. And what the fruit of that may 'be well expected to be, by what we have already mentioned as 'having received at thy hands, thou haſt given us to underſtand. 'And here thou mayſt think thou haſt made thyſelf ſecure and ſuf-'ficiently barred up our way of relief, againſt whom (though thou 'kneweſt we had done nothing contrary to the law or worthy of 'bonds, much leſs of the bonds and ſufferings we had ſuſtained) thou 'haſt proceeded, as hath been rehearſed; notwithſtanding that thou 'art, as are all the judges of the nation, intruſted not with a legiſla-'tive power, but to adminiſter juſtice, and to do "even law and exe-"cution to all, high and low, rich and poor, without having re-"regard to any man's perſon;" and art ſworn ſo to do; and wherein 'thou doſt contrary art liable to puniſhment, as ceaſing from being a 'judge, and becoming a wrong doer and an oppreſſor; which what 'it is to be many of thy predeceſſors have underſtood, ſome by

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'death, others by fine and impriſonment. And of this thou mayſt 'not be ignorant, that to deny a priſoner any of the privileges the 'law allows him, is to deny him juſtice; to try him in an arbitrary 'way, to rob him of that liberty which the law gives him, which is 'his inheritance as a freeman: and which to do, is in effect "to "ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of England, and to "introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government againſt law;" 'which is treaſon by the common law: and treaſons by the common 'law are not taken away by the ſtatutes of 25 Edw. III. 1 H. IV. '1, 2. m. See O. St. Johns, now chief juſtice of the common pleas, 'his argument againſt Strafford, fol. 65, &c. in the caſe.

'Theſe things, friend, we have laid before thee in all plainneſs, 'to the end that (with the light of Jeſus Chriſt, who lighteth every 'one that cometh into the world, a meaſure of which thou haſt, 'which ſheweth thee evil and reproveth thee for ſin, for which thou 'muſt be accountable) thou being ſtill and cool mayſt conſider and 'ſee what thou haſt done againſt the innocent, and ſhame may over-'take thee, and thou mayeſt turn to the Lord, who now calleth thee 'to repentance by his ſervants, whom, for witneſſing his living 'truth in them, thou haſt caſt into, and yet continueſt under cruel 'bonds and ſufferings.

'From the gaol in Lanceſton, 'the 14th day of the 5th 'month, 1656. 'Edw. Pyot.'

By this letter the reader may obſerve how contrary to law we were made to ſuffer; but the Lord, who ſaw the integrity of our hearts to him, and knew the innocency of our cauſe, was with us in our ſufferings, bore up our ſpirits, and made them eaſy to us; and gave us opportunities of publiſhing his name and truth amongſt the people; ſo that ſeveral of the town came to be convinced, many were made loving to us, and friends from divers parts came to viſit us; amongſt whom were two out of Wales, who had been juſtices of peace. Judge Hagget's wife, of Briſtol, came to viſit us, who was convinced, with ſeveral of her children; and her huſband was very kind and ſerviceable to friends, and had a great love to God's people, which he retained to his death.

In Cornwall, Devonſhire, Dorſetſhire, and Somerſetſhire, truth began mightily to ſpread; many were turned to Chriſt Jeſus and his free teaching: for many friends that came to viſit us were drawn to declare the truth in thoſe counties; which made the prieſts and profeſſors rage, and they ſtirred up the magiſtrates to enſnare friends. They ſet up watches in the ſtreets and highways, on pretence of taking up ſuſpicious perſons; under which colour they ſtopped, and took up friends coming to viſit us in priſon; which they did, that they might not paſs up and down in the Lord's ſervice. But that which they thought to have ſtopped the truth by, was the means of ſpreading it ſo much the more; for then friends were frequently moved to ſpeak to one conſtable, and t'other officer, and to the juſtices they were brought before; which cauſed the truth to ſpread the

the more in all their pariſhes. And when friends were got among the watches, it would be a fortnight or three weeks before they could get out of them again; for no ſooner had one conſtable taken and carried them before the juſtices, and they had diſcharged them, but another would take them up and carry them before other juſtices: which put the country to a great deal of needleſs trouble and charges. 1656. Lanceſton gaol.

As Thomas Rawlinſon was coming out of the north to viſit us, a conſtable in Devonſhire took him up; and at night took twenty ſhillings out of his pocket: and after being thus robbed he was caſt into Exeter gaol. They caſt Henry Pollexfen alſo into priſon in Devonſhire, under pretence of his being a jeſuit; who had been a juſtice of peace for the moſt part of forty years before. Many friends were cruelly beaten by them; nay ſome clothiers that were but going to mill with their cloth, and others about their outward occaſions, they took up and whipped; though men of about eighty or an hundred pounds by the year, and not above four or five miles from their families.

The mayor of Lanceſton took up all he could, and caſt them into priſon. He would ſearch ſubſtantial grave women, their petticoats and their head-cloaths. A young man coming to ſee us, I drew up all the groſs, inhuman, and unchriſtian actions of the mayor, gave it him, and bid him ſeal it up, and go out again the back way; and then come into the town through the gates. He did ſo, and the watch took him up, and carried him before the mayor; who preſently ſearched his pockets and found the letter, wherein he ſaw all his actions characterized; which ſhamed him ſo, that from that time he meddled little with the Lord's ſervants.

From the ſenſe I had of the ſnare that was laid, and miſchief intended in ſetting up thoſe watches at that time to ſtop and take up friends, it came upon me to give forth the following lines, as——

An exhortation and warning to the magiſtrates.

'ALL ye powers of the earth, Chriſt is come to reign, and is among you, and ye know him not; who doth enlighten every one of you, that ye all through him might believe in him; who is the light, who treads the wine-preſs alone without the city, and whoſe feet are upon it. Therefore ſee all, and examine with the light what ye are ripe for; for the preſs is ready for you.

'Before honour is humility. You that would have honour before ye have humility, are ye not as the heathen are? Ye would have honour before ye have humility; did not all the perſecutors that ever were upon the earth want this humility? They wanted the honour, and yet would have the honour before they had the humility, and had learned that. So ye that are out of humility are out of the honour, and ye are not to have the honour who have not the humility; for before honour is humility: mark, before it.

'Ye pretend liberty of conſcience, yet one ſhall not carry a letter to a friend, nor men viſit their friends, nor viſit priſoners, nor

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'carry a book about them, either for their own uſe or for their 'friends. Men ſhall not ſee their friends; but watches are ſet up 'againſt them to catch and ſtop them: and theſe muſt be well armed 'too againſt an innocent people, that have not ſo much as a ſtick in 'their hands, who are in ſcorn called Quakers. Yet by ſuch as ſet 'up theſe watches is pretended liberty of conſcience; who take up 'them whoſe conſciences are exerciſed towards God and men, who 'worſhip God in ſpirit and truth; which they that are out of the 'light call hereſy. Theſe ſet up watches againſt thoſe they in ſcorn 'call Quakers, becauſe they confeſs and witneſs the true light, that 'lighteth every one that cometh into the world, amongſt people as 'they paſs through the country, or among their friends. This is the 'dangerous doctrine which watchmen are ſet up againſt, to ſubdue 'error, as they call it, which is the light that doth enlighten every 'man that cometh into the world; him by whom the world was 'made, who was glorified with the Father before the world began. 'For thoſe whom they in ſcorn call Quakers, have they ſet up their 'watches, able men, well armed, to take them up that bear this teſ-'timony either in words, books, or letters. So that is the light you 'hate, which enlightens every man that cometh into the world; 'and theſe that witneſs to this light you put in priſon; and after you 'have impriſoned them, you ſet up your watches to take all up that 'go to viſit them, and to impriſon them alſo: ſo that by ſetting up 'your watches, ye would ſtop all relief from coming to priſoners. 'Therefore this is the word of the Lord God to you, and a charge 'to you all, in the preſence of the living God of heaven and earth: 'every man of you being enlightened with a light that cometh from 'Chriſt, the ſaviour of people's ſouls; to this light, all take heed, 'that with it you may ſee Chriſt from whom the light cometh, you 'may ſee him to be your Saviour by whom the world was made, who 'ſaith, Learn of me. But if ye hate this light, ye hate Chriſt who 'doth enlighten you all, that through him you might believe. But 'not believing in the light, nor bringing your deeds to the light, 'which will make them manifeſt and reprove them, this becomes 'your condemner, even the light. Remember you are warned in 'your life-time; for this light is your way to ſalvation, if you walk 'in it; and this light is your condemner, if you reject and hate it. 'You can never come to Chriſt, the Second Prieſt, until you come to 'the light which the Second Prieſt hath enlightened you withal. So 'ye that come not to the light, ye go to the prieſts that take tithes, 'as did the firſt prieſthood; and ſo hale out of your ſynagogues and 'temples as that prieſthood did which took tithes: which thoſe of 'the ſecond prieſthood did not. Was there ever ſuch a generation! 'Or did ever ſuch a generation of men appear as doth now in this 'age, who are ſo full of madneſs, envy, and perſecution, that they 'ſtand up in watches, with bills and weapons, againſt the truth, to 'perſecute it, as the towns and countries declare; which rings as 'Sodom, and like Gomorrah! And this hath its liberty, and truth 'is ſtood againſt; to reprove ſin is accounted a breach of the peace, 'as thoſe ſay who are out of the truth, and ſet up their watches 'againſt it. 'G. F.'

Beſides

Beſides this general warning, there coming to my hand a copy of a warrant iſſued from the ſeſſions of Exon, in expreſs terms, " For ap- " prehending of all Quakers;" wherein truth and friends were reproached and vilified, I was moved to write an anſwer thereunto, and ſend it abroad, for the clearing of truth and friends from the ſlanders therein caſt upon them: and to manifeſt the wickedneſs of that perſecuting ſpirit from whence it proceeded; which was after this manner: 1656. Lanceſton gaol.

'WHEREAS there was a warrant granted the laſt ſeſſions holden 'at Exon, on the eighteenth day of the fifth month, 1656, which 'warrant is " For the apprehending and taking up all ſuch as are " Quakers, or call themſelves Quakers, or go under the notion of " Quakers;" and is directed " to the chief conſtables, to be ſent by " them to the petty conſtables, requiring them to ſet watches, able men " with bills, to take up all ſuch Quakers as aforeſaid;" and whereas 'in your ſaid warrant you ſpeak of the Quakers ſpreading ſeditious books 'and papers; I anſwer, They, whom ye in ſcorn call Quakers, have 'no ſeditious books or papers; but their books are againſt ſedition, and 'ſeditious men, ſeditious books, ſeditious teachers, and ſeditious ways. 'Thus ye have numbered honeſt men, godly men, holy men, men 'that fear God, among beggars, rogues, and vagabonds; putting no 'difference between the precious and the vile. You are not fit to 'judge, who have ſet up your bills, and armed your men to ſtand up 'together in battle againſt innocent people the lambs of Chriſt, who 'have not lifted up an hand againſt you. But if ye were ſenſible of 'the ſtate of your own country, your cities, your towns, your vil-'lages, how the cry of them is like Gomorrah, the ring like Sodom, 'and the ſound like the old world, where all fleſh had corrupted its 'way, which God overthrew with the flood; if you did conſider this 'with yourſelves, you would find ſomething to turn the ſword againſt, 'and not againſt the lambs of Chriſt, and not make a mock of the 'innocent, that ſtand a witneſs againſt all ſin and unrighteouſneſs in 'your towns and ſteeple-houſes. Noah, the eighth perſon, a preacher 'of righteouſneſs, was grieved with the filthy converſation of the 'wicked: ſo are we now. Juſt Lot was grieved with their unmerci-'ful deeds, and the filthy converſation of Sodom. And were not theſe 'hated of the world, and of them that lived in filthineſs? And where-'as you ſpeak of thoſe you in ſcorn call Quakers, that they are a grief 'to thoſe whom you call pious and religious people, and their religion; 'ſuch as are in the religion that is vain, whoſe tongues are not bridled, 'I believe the Quakers are a grief to; but are not a grief to ſuch as 'are in the pure religion, which keepeth unſpotted of the world; 'which ſets not up bills, nor watches, to maintain it by the world; 'for they are not of the world, who are in the pure religion, which 'keeps them unſpotted of the world: mark, the " pure religion, " which keeps unſpotted of the world." But ſuch as are in the reli-'gion that is not pure, who have a form of godlineſs, and not the 'power, ſuch as you call pious, the truth itſelf to ſuch was always a 'grief; and ſo it is in this age. And now your fruits appear, the end

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'of your religion and profeſſion, and what you poſſeſs; but you are in 'the error, and have been but in the profeſſion, out of the poſſeſſion 'of the Spirit, who are not in the Spirit of truth. For where did that 'ever ſet bounds, and number the juſt and innocent with the wicked? 'But the wicked ſet bounds and limits to the juſt, and numbered them 'among the wicked; yea, all manner of evil they ſpoke of them, as 'ye are doing now of us. According as it was foretold in the ſcrip-'ture, ſuch as tremble at the word of God, you caſt out and hate, 'you that have your temple-worſhip. You ſay, the Quakers come to 'diſturb you in your churches. Was it not the practice of the apoſtles 'to go into the ſynagogues and temples, to witneſs againſt the prieſt-'hood that took tythes? Was it not the practice of the Jews to hale 'them out, perſecute them, and ſtone them, that witneſſed Chriſt the 'ſecond prieſt, and went to bring people off from the firſt prieſthood? 'Was it not the practice of the prophets to go and cry againſt the high 'places? And was it not the practice of the Jews, when they were back-'ſlidden, and of the heathen, to impriſon and perſecute the prophets, 'and ſend after them into other countries? Is not this your practice 'now, who are holding up your high places erected by the Papiſts, 'which ye now call your churches; where ye beat and perſecute? 'What kind of religious people are you, that are filled with ſo much 'madneſs? Did not Paul confeſs he was mad while he was in your 'practice, haling, beating, priſoning, putting out of the ſynagogues, 'having his authority from the chief prieſts? And are not the chief 'prieſts the cauſe of this? Was there ever ſuch a cry made in any age 'paſt, as there is now in the pulpits, railing againſt an innocent peo-'ple, who lift not up an hand againſt you; and who are indeed the 'pious, that are of the pure religion, who fear God, and worſhip him 'in the Spirit and in the truth, but cannot join with you in your reli-'gion? Do not the miniſters of God ſay, that the ſcriptures are a de-'claration, which you call the word? Do not you rob Chriſt of his 'title, and of his honour, and give it to the letter, and ſhew your-'ſelves out of the doctrine of the miniſters of God, who called the 'ſcriptures by the name of writings and treatiſes, and declarations; 'and ſaid, Chriſt's name is called the Word of God? Are not you 'here in the error you ſpeak of, which is common talk among you? 'There was talk among ſome of you of your goſpel-ſhining. Doth 'the goſpel perſecute? Did ever any of thoſe that did poſſeſs it caſt 'into priſon, and not ſuffer others to viſit them? Are you like Chriſ-'tians in this, or like heathen, who ſet bounds and watches over the 'land, that they ſhould not paſs to viſit thoſe in priſon? Was ever the 'like heard in any age? Search and ſee, if you have not outſtript them 'all in your watches, if not in your manner of perſecution, and in 'your impriſonments. Oh! never talk that we are a grief to them 'that are in the pure religion.

'And whereas in your warrant we are repreſented as diſaffected to 'government; I ſay, the law, that is a terror to the evil-doer, we 'own; the higher power, to which the ſoul muſt be ſubject; but 'we deny the evil-doer, the malicious man reigning, and the envious 'man ſeeking for his prey, whoſe envy is againſt the innocent; who

'raiſeth

'raiſeth up the country againſt honeſt men, and ſo becomes a trouble 1656.
'to the country, in raiſing them up to take the innocent: but that Lanceſton
'we leave to the Lord to judge. Your falſe accuſations of hereſy gaol.
'and blaſphemy we deny. You ſhould have laid them down in par-
'ticulars, that people might have ſeen them; and not have ſlandered
'us behind our backs. The law ſaith, The crime ſhould be men-
'tioned in the warrant. Then for your ſaying, "We deny the
"godly miniſters to be a true miniſtry of Chriſt;" that is falſe;
'for we ſay, The godly miniſters are the miniſters of Chriſt. But
'which of your miniſters dare ſay that they are truly godly? And
'for your charging us with ſeducing many weak people, that is falſe
'alſo; we ſeduce none. But you, that deny the light which lighteth
'every man that cometh into the world, are ſeduced from the anoint-
'ing which ſhould teach you: and if ye would be taught by it, ye
'would not need that any man ſhould teach you. But ſuch as are
'taught by the anointing which abideth in them, and deny man's
'teaching, theſe ye call ſeducers, quite contrary to John's doctrine,
'1 Joh. 2. That which is truth, ye call ſeducing; and that which
'he calls ſeducing, you call truth. Read the latter part of the chap-
'ter. I warn you all from the Lord God of glory, ſet not any bound
'againſt him. Limit not the Holy One of Iſrael; for the Lord is
'riſing in power and great glory, who will rule the nations with a
'rod of iron, which to him are but as the drop of a bucket. He
'that meaſures the waters in the hollow of his hand, will daſh na-
'tions together as a potter's veſſel. And know, you that are found
'in this his day blaſpheming his work which he hath brought forth,
'calling it blaſphemy, fighting againſt it, ſetting up your carnal wea-
'pons, making your bonds ſtrong; God will break aſunder that
'which your carnal policy hath invented, and which by your carnal
'weapons ye would uphold, and make you know there is a God in
'heaven, who carries his lambs in his arms, which are come among
'wolves, and are ready to be torn in pieces in every place, yea, in
'your ſteeple-houſes; where people have appeared without reaſon
'and natural affection. Therefore all ye petty conſtables, ſheriffs,
'and juſtices, take warning; take heed what ye do againſt the lambs
'of Chriſt; for Chriſt is come, and coming, who will give to every
'one of you a reward according to your works, you that have the
'letter, which ſpeaks of Chriſt; who are perſecuting that which the
'ſcripture ſpeaks of: ſo your fruits make you manifeſt. Therefore
'every one, ſheriffs, juſtices, conſtables, &c. conſider what ye poſſeſs,
'and what a profeſſion ye are now in, that all theſe carnal weapons
'are ſet up againſt the innocent, yea, againſt the truth; which ſhews,
'that ye have not the ſpiritual weapons; and that ye want the coun-
'ſel of Gamaliel, yea, ye want the counſel of ſuch a man among
'you, who ſaid, "Let the apoſtles alone: if it be of God, it will
"ſtand; if it be not, it will come to nought." But ye may ſee your-
'ſelves, on the contrary, in the ſpirit of them that came with Judas,
'with ſwords and ſtaves from the chief prieſts againſt Chriſt: ſtill it
'is againſt Chriſt, where he is made manifeſt. Paul (while Saul)
'went againſt him, though he and the Jews profeſſed a Chriſt that

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'was to come: yet Paul perſecuted him, where he was manifeſted 'in his ſaints. So ye profeſs a Chriſt that is come, but perſecute 'him where he is manifeſt. You that have the letter, the high 'places, the ſynagogues, you perſecute him where he is made mani-'feſt in his ſaints, as the Jews did. Thoſe who were in the letter, 'out of the life, perſecuted them that were in the life of that which 'they profeſs in the letter: ſo do you perſecute them that are in the 'life, and are yourſelves ſtrangers to it; as your fruits make appear. 'You have numbered the people of God amongſt tranſgreſſors; but 'have you priſoned any of the rogues and tranſgreſſors you ſpeak 'of? You have priſoned the innocent, and let the others go free.

'G. F.'

When I had ſent abroad the foregoing, ſo great a ſenſe came upon me of the veil of darkneſs that was over the prieſts and profeſſors of chriſtianity, that I was moved to give forth the following, as an awakening warning to them:

'BLINDNESS hath happened to the profeſſed chriſtians of the 'letter now-a-days, as blindneſs happened to the Jews; who 'profeſſed the letter, but owned not the life, which the letter ſpeaks 'of: as the chriſtians now, to whom this blindneſs hath happened, 'who profeſs the ſcripture, but own not the life which the ſcripture 'ſpeaks of. For againſt the life the Jews ſtood, who profeſſed the 'letter of the ſcripture; but they were blind, they gathered counſel 'againſt the life: they were in an uproar, when the babe was born 'in Bethlehem, Herod and all the chief prieſts. And Herod ſought 'to deſtroy all the young children in Bethlehem, yet miſſed the babe; 'Herod, that fox, though he put John to death. You may ſee 'here, how the literal profeſſors ſtood up, not for the truth, but 'quite againſt it. Furthermore, the chief prieſts conſulted together 'how they might take Jeſus by ſubtilty, and put him to death; 'mark, by their ſubtilty. The profeſſors of a Chriſt that was to 'come, they preached of a Meſſias, of a Chriſt, of a Saviour; but 'denied the life. When he was made manifeſt, the chief prieſts, 'who were gathered together with the council, ſaid, His diſciples 'had ſtolen him away by night; and gave large ſums of money to 'the ſoldiers to declare this. Likewiſe in the day, when the children 'of Iſrael were in Egypt, and they with their children began to 'ſpread and multiply, "Come," ſaid the Egyptians, "let us deal "wiſely with them to afflict them, and tax them:" which held till 'the Lord overthrew their oppreſſors, and brought his ſeed by his 'mighty power from under the oppreſſor, and exalted his ſon above 'all; though the heathen raged, and the people imagined vain 'things. He made his power known, that all might ſee that there 'was no God upon the earth but himſelf. This power now hath 'brought forth the work of the Lord! Many, who are turned to the 'light, Chriſt, have received the power of God, and are thereby 'become the ſons of God. Now this birth, that is born of God, 'are the powers of the world joined together to crucify; to put to 'death thoſe Jews in the Spirit, as they put Chriſt to death in the

'fleſh

'fleſh formerly. This is the birth that all the wicked world is enraged againſt. Againſt this they ſet their watches, this birth, brought forth by the mighty God of Jacob, who rides upon the high places of the earth. This is the birth that the profeſſed chriſtians without the life in our days rage againſt, and lay out all their wiſdom about. Are not the chief prieſts and wiſe men of the earth conſulting together how they may deſtroy this birth? Is not this the birth that is baniſhed out of your hearts, you that profeſs the ſcripture, and are talkers of it, but do not own the light and life which the ſcripture ſpeaks of, as the Jews would not; and ſo will not have Chriſt to reign over you, as they would not? Do you not hale out of your ſynagogues, and before magiſtrates? Do you not herein fulfil Chriſt's words, who ſaid to his diſciples, They ſhould be haled out of the ſynagogues, and before rulers? Do you not perſecute them from city to city? Do you not almoſt fill your priſons with them? And now ſet your watches, that none ſhould viſit them, whom you have put into priſon? Is not this an unchriſtian ſpirit? How can you for ſhame ſay, you are upholders of truth? Or how can you for ſhame ſay, that truth hath been profeſſed among you? We grant that you have talked of it. And how can you for ſhame ſay, "The goſpel ſhines among you," when you will not own it, the life of it; when you call it error, and the evil ſeed? Yea, the very truth, the very life of truth ye have blaſphemed againſt now, as the Jews did againſt Chriſt, calling him a devil; you now call it error, and the evil ſeed, and ſtand up againſt it, and turn the ſword againſt it. It was the Jews in their days who turned the ſword againſt Chriſt; ſo it is in theſe days the chriſtian profeſſors of the ſcripture, but out of the life that gave it forth; as thoſe were the Jews outward in the fleſh, not the Jews in the Spirit. Is it not a ſhame to the miniſters of the goſpel (as they are called) that they can find no better way to maintain that which they call the truth, and their goſpel, than by carnal weapons, ſtocks, priſons, whips, watches, and wards, and powers of the earth? Were theſe the apoſtles weapons? Carnal watches, ſtocks, priſons, and halings out of the ſynagogues, when they came to ſpeak? Judge yourſelves, what an antichriſtian ſpirit you have. Never talk of defending truth with that which is againſt truth. For are you not ſetting up the rabble of the world againſt it? Do they not join with you, with ſwords and ſtaves againſt it? Is this the life of chriſtians? Is not this the life of error, and of the evil ſeedſman? Surely ye would find work enough, if ye were in the fear of the Lord, to turn your ſwords againſt the prophaneneſs, the oaths and wickedneſs, that are in your ſtreets and highways. How do they ring like Sodom, and give a ſound like Gomorrah! But theſe are become a prey in this age, that reprove in your gate ſin, wickedneſs, and prophaneneſs. They are become your by-word. Againſt them your councils are gathered, them you caſt into priſon, and hale them out of your ſynagogues: and caſt them likewiſe into priſon that write and ſpeak againſt it; and ſet your guards to ſtop and hinder any from viſiting them whom you caſt into priſon, and give them the names of vagabonds and wanderers. Was ever the like heard

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'in the days of the heathen againſt the apoſtles, who witneſſed the 'goſpel? Did they ſet guards and watches in every town, in every 'city, to take the diſciples, the brethren, the believers, that heard 'the apoſtles were caſt into priſon, and came to ſee what they wanted? 'Shew ye not as much rage and fury now in your age, as was in 'thoſe in that age? How can you talk of the goſpel, and of defend-'ing the goſpel, when you are ſetting guards and watches againſt 'it, are defending that which ſtands againſt it; and the lambs of 'Chriſt are almoſt torn to pieces amongſt you, who are like wolves? 'for the Lord hath now ſent his lambs amongſt wolves. Have not 'you profeſſed the words of Chriſt, the prophets and apoſtles, as the 'Jews had long profeſſed the ſcriptures, the words of Moſes, and the 'prophets, that propheſied of Chriſt then to come; and ſtood againſt 'him when he was come? as you do in this day of his reign, in 'this day of his glorious goſpel, who are perſecuting the meſſengers 'of it, impriſoning them, perſecuting them in your ſtreets and high-'ways, and ſetting up your watches againſt them who bring the glad 'tidings of peace to your ſouls: whoſe feet are beautiful a-top of the 'mountains; mark, a-top of the mountains; that againſt which the 'mountains rage and ſwell; but God will make them to melt; the 'Sun is riſen, which will make them to melt. God will cleave the 'rocks and mountains aſunder, and make the hills to bow perpetually; 'for his Son he will exalt, and his glory he will give to him, and not 'to another. Therefore be awakened, ye rulers of the earth, and 'take counſel of the Lord. Take not counſel together againſt him. 'Make not your bonds ſtrong. Set not yourſelves in battle againſt 'him: for ye will be found but as briars and thorns before him, 'which the fire ſhall conſume. Therefore be awakened, all ye talk-'ers of the ſcripture, that gather yourſelves together by your multi-'tudes and meetings, and have had your teachers; but not having 'the Spirit that gave forth the ſcriptures, the Lord God of glory, 'the Father of ſpirits, will ſcatter you. All your bonds will not 'hold you together, who are out of the Spirit, which is the bond of 'peace. The threſhing inſtrument is gone forth, which will beat 'the hills to pieces. Sion is riſen to threſh. Out of the holy moun-'tain is the trumpet ſounded. Stand not up againſt the Lord: for 'all nations are to him as the drop of a bucket. He that mea-'ſures the waters in the hollow of his hand, and weighs the earth 'in ſcales, the Lord of Hoſts is his name, who is now riſen and 'riſing, to plead the cauſe of the innocent, and is exalting his Son, 'and bringing his ſheep to him. Now are they ſeen and known, 'that feed upon wind, that are lifted up, given up to believe lyes; 'who report, and ſay, "Report, and we will report it." Now are 'they ſeen, who have a form of godlineſs, but deny the power; ſo 'Chriſt is denied; for Chriſt is the power of God. And the power 'being denied by you, that have a form of godlineſs, and the words 'of the ſcriptures; the goſpel is denied: for the goſpel is the power 'of God. Thus it is among you that have the knowledge and wiſ-'dom that is ſenſual, earthly, and deviliſh. Doth it not appear ſo? 'Let your gaols and watches witneſs your fruits in every town. Your 'wiſdom is earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh. You have a knowledge

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'and wiſdom, but not that which is from above; for that is pure 'and gentle, ſo is not your knowledge. But to know Chriſt, is life 'eternal. Your fruits have manifeſted, that you are not of this; and 'ſo out of the power of God, which is the croſs of Chriſt; for you 'are found in the world, out of the power of God, out of the croſs 'of Chriſt, perſecuting. So that which doth perſecute, and ſend 'forth writings and decrees to ſtop and take up all, and ſet watches, 'and prepare bonds to limit the Lord; to impriſon and perſecute, 'and ſuffer none to go and viſit them; this ſhews you are not chriſ-'tians, but ſtand againſt the chriſtian life, which brings to love ene-'mies. Where is your love to your enemies, who are thus perſe-'cuting your friends? "He came to his own, and his own received "him not:" Here is a turning the ſword againſt the juſt. Do 'you ſhew here a chriſtian's life, or yourſelves chriſtians, who are 'filling your gaols with the chriſtians in the Spirit, you that are 'in the letter (in ſhadows) as the Jews in the letter did, put the 'Jews in the Spirit into priſon? Is not this the fruit in our days 'of chriſtians in the letter, to put chriſtians in the Spirit into 'priſon? Doth not this ſhew that your decrees, which you have 'ſent forth, proceed from death, who thus act againſt the life, and 'them that are in it; which the ſcriptures were given forth from? 'Is it not here, as it was with Saul, when he went to perſecute, to 'hale to priſon, and bind all that he could find calling upon that 'name, who were chriſtians in the life, the Spirit, ſuch as you are 'perſecuting, becauſe they are in the life, though you profeſs their 'words? Are not your decrees gone forth from the ſame ſpirit of 'envy, againſt the ſame Spirit of Chriſt they were in? Is it not ma-'nifeſt to all that fear God, and to the ſober-minded and honeſt-'hearted people, that ſee your practices, your decrees, your letters, 'to ſtop, to moleſt, to hinder, to impriſon them that are moved of 'the Lord to do his will, or to go to viſit priſoners whom you have 'impriſoned? Doth this ſhew you to have a ſpirit like Paul, yea, or 'nay? Are you not quite contrary, like them that perſecuted Paul? 'The day hath declared it. To that of God in you all I ſpeak, 'which ſhall witneſs it at the laſt day, the day of judgment. Per-'ſecution was blind in all ages; and madneſs and folly led it: yet 'perſecution got always a form or pretence of godlineſs, a talk of 'religion, as in the days of Moſes, of Jeremy, of Chriſt, and of the 'apoſtles. "Come," ſaith the council, "let us cruſh them while "they are young, they have almoſt overſpread the nation in every "corner." This is as much as to ſay, "Let us put this birth to "death, as Pharaoh and Herod did the children." But the Lord 'cauſed his truth the more to ſpread. For you may read what num-'bers came out of Egypt! and what multitudes followed Chriſt! 'Therefore with conſideration read theſe lines, and not with fury. 'Let not fooliſhneſs appear; but conſider in humility the paths you 'go in, what ſpirit you are of, and what the end of your converſa-'tion is; for in love to your ſouls I write, that in the day of your 'viſitation you may conſider it.

'From him who loveth righteouſneſs, and the eſtabliſhing of 'it, and truth, peace, and faith, which is by Chriſt Jeſus

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'(Mercy and peace be multiplied among ſuch!) But a witneſs againſt all hypocrites, and all who have a profeſſion, but live out of the poſſeſſion; in an hypocritical religion, in the luſts and faſhions of the world, having a form of godlineſs, but ſtanding againſt the power with might and main, ſword and ſtaff. Which things declare your converſation and practices to be out of Chriſt's life, againſt the goſpel practice, and contrary to the manner and order of the ſaints.

'G. F.'

We were continued in priſon till the next aſſize: before which divers friends, both men and women, were ſent to priſon, who had been taken by the watches. When the aſſize was come, ſeveral of theſe were called before the judge, and indicted: and though the gaoler brought them into court, yet they indicted them, that they came in 'by force of arms, and in an hoſtile manner;' and the judge fined them, becauſe they would not put off their hats. But we were not called before the judges any more.

Great work we had, and ſervice for the Lord, both between the aſſizes, and after, amongſt profeſſors and people of all ſorts: for many came to ſee us, and to reaſon with us. Elizabeth Trelawny of Plimouth (daughter of one called a baronet) being convinced, the prieſts, profeſſors, and ſome great perſons of her kindred, were exaſperated, and wrote letters to her. She being a wiſe and tender woman, and fearing to give them any advantage, ſent their letters to me; which I anſwered, and returned them to her again, for her to ſend the anſwers to them. Which ſhe did: till growing in the power, Spirit, and wiſdom of God, ſhe became able to anſwer the wiſeſt prieſt and profeſſor of them all; and had dominion over them in the truth, through the power of the Lord, by which ſhe was kept faithful to her death.

While I was in priſon here, the Baptiſts and Fifth-monarchy-men propheſied, That this year Chriſt ſhould come, and reign upon earth a thouſand years. And they looked upon this reign to be outward: when he was come inwardly in the hearts of his people, to reign and rule; where theſe profeſſors would not receive him. So they failed in their prophecy and expectation, and had not the poſſeſſion of him. But Chriſt is come, and doth dwell and reign in the hearts of his people. Thouſands, at the door of whoſe hearts he hath been knocking, have opened to him; and he is come in, and doth ſup with them, and they with him; the heavenly ſupper with the heavenly and ſpiritual man. So many of theſe Baptiſts and Monarchy-people turned the greateſt enemies to the followers of Chriſt: but he reigns in the hearts of his ſaints over all their envy.

At the aſſize divers juſtices came to us, and were pretty civil, and reaſoned of the things of God ſoberly; expreſſing a pity to us. Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Caſtle, came and looked me in the face, and ſaid never a word; but went to his company, and told them, 'He never ſaw a ſimpler man in his life. I called after him, and ſaid, 'Stay, man, we will ſee who is the ſimpler man.' But he went his way. A light chaffy perſon.

Thomas

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Thomas Lower alſo came to viſit us, and offered us money, which we refuſed; accepting nevertheleſs of his love. He aſked us many queſtions concerning our denying the ſcriptures to be the word of God; concerning the ſacraments, and ſuch like: to all which he received ſatisfaction. I ſpoke particularly to him; and he afterwards ſaid, My words were as a flaſh of lightning, they ran ſo through him. He ſaid, He never met with ſuch men in his life, for they knew the thoughts of his heart; and were as the wiſe maſter-builders of the aſſemblies, that faſtened their words like nails. He came to be convinced of the truth, and remains a friend to this day. When he came home to his aunt Hambley's, where he then lived, and made report to her concerning us; ſhe, with her ſiſter Grace Billing, hearing the report of truth, came to viſit us in priſon, and was convinced alſo. Great ſufferings and ſpoiling of goods both he and his aunt have undergone for the truth's ſake.

About this time I was moved to give forth the following exhortation to friends in the miniſtry:

'Friends,

'IN the power of life and wiſdom, and dread of the Lord God of 'life, and heaven and earth, dwell; that in the wiſdom of God over 'all ye may be preſerved, and be a terror to all the adverſaries of God, 'and a dread, anſwering that of God in them all, ſpreading the truth 'abroad, awakening the witneſs, confounding the deceit, gathering 'up out of tranſgreſſion into the life, the covenant of light and 'peace with God. Let all nations hear the ſound by word or writing. 'Spare no place, ſpare no tongue, nor pen; but be obedient to the 'Lord God: go through the work; be valiant for the truth upon 'earth; tread and trample upon all that is contrary. Ye have the 'power, do not abuſe it; and ſtrength and preſence of the Lord; 'eye it, and the wiſdom; that with it you may all be ordered to the 'glory of the Lord God. Keep in the dominion; keep in the power 'over all deceit; tread over them in that, which lets you ſee to the 'world's end, and the utmoſt parts of the earth. Reign and rule 'with Chriſt, whoſe ſceptre and throne are now ſet up, whoſe do'minion is over all to the ends of the earth; whoſe dominion is 'an everlaſting dominion, his throne an everlaſting throne, his king'dom an everlaſting kingdom, his power above all powers. There'fore this is the word of the Lord to you all: "Keep in the wiſdom "of God," that ſpreads over all the earth; the wiſdom of the crea'tion, that is pure from above, not deſtructive. For now ſhall ſalva'tion go out of Zion, to judge the mount of Eſau; now ſhall the law 'go forth from Jeruſalem, to anſwer the principle of God in all; to 'hew down all inventors and inventions. For all the princes of the 'earth are but as air to the power of God, which you are in, and have 'taſted of: therefore live in it, that is the word of the Lord to you 'all; do not abuſe it; keep down and low; and take heed of falſe 'joys, that will change.

'Bring all into the worſhip of God. Plow up the fallow ground. 'Threſh and get out the corn; that the ſeed, the wheat, may be

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'gathered into the barn: that to the beginning all people may come; 'to Chriſt, who was before the world was made. For the chaff is 'come upon the wheat by tranſgreſſion. He that treads it out is out 'of tranſgreſſion, fathoms tranſgreſſion, puts a difference between 'the precious and the vile, can pick out the wheat from the tares, 'and gather into the garner; ſo brings to the lively hope the im-'mortal ſoul into God, out of which it came. None worſhip God 'but who come to the principle of God, which they have tranſ-'greſſed. None are plowed up but he who comes to the principle of 'God in him, that he hath tranſgreſſed. Then he doth ſervice as to 'God; then is the planting, watering, and increaſe from God. So 'the miniſters of the Spirit muſt miniſter to the Spirit that is in pri-'ſon, which hath been in captivity in every one; that with the 'Spirit of Chriſt people may be led out of captivity up to God, the 'Father of Spirits, to ſerve him, and have unity with him, with 'the ſcriptures, and one with another. This is the word of the Lord 'to you all, a charge to you all in the preſence of the living God, 'Be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, iſlands, nations, 'where-ever you come; that your life and conduct may preach 'among all ſorts of people, and to them. Then you will come to 'walk chearfully over the world, anſwering that of God in every 'one; whereby in them ye may be a bleſſing, and make the witneſs 'of God in them to bleſs you: then to the Lord God you ſhall be a 'ſweet ſavour, and a bleſſing.

'Spare no deceit. Lay the Sword upon it; go over it. Keep 'yourſelves clear of the blood of all men, either by word or writing, 'and keep yourſelves clean, that you may ſtand in your throne, and 'every one have his lot, and ſtand in the lot in the Ancient of days. 'The bleſſing of the Lord be with you, and keep you over all the 'idolatrous worſhips and worſhippers. Let them know the living 'God; for teachings, churches, worſhips muſt be thrown down 'with the power of the Lord God, ſet up by man's earthly under-'ſtanding, knowledge, and will. All this muſt be thrown down 'with that which gave forth the ſcripture; and who are in that, reign 'over it all. That is the word of the Lord to you all. In that is 'God worſhipped, that brings to declare his will, and brings to the 'church in God, the ground and pillar of truth: for now is the 'mighty day of the Lord appeared, and the arrows of the Almighty 'gone forth; which ſhall ſtick in the hearts of the wicked. Now 'will I ariſe, ſaith the Lord God Almighty, to trample and thunder 'down deceit, which hath long reigned and ſtained the earth. Now 'will I have my glory out of every one. The Lord God Almighty 'over all in his ſtrength and power keep you to his glory, that you 'may come to anſwer that of God in every one. Proclaim the 'mighty day of the Lord of fire and ſword, who will be worſhipped 'in ſpirit and in truth; and keep in the life and power of the Lord 'God, that the inhabitants of the earth may tremble before you: 'that God's power and majeſty may be admired among hypocrites 'and heathens, and ye in the wiſdom, dread, life, terror, and do-'minion preſerved to his glory; that nothing may rule or reign but 'power and life itſelf, and in the wiſdom of God ye may be pre-

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'ſerved in it. This is the word of the Lord God to you all. The 1656.
'call is now out of tranſgreſſion, the Spirit bids, Come. The call is Lanceſton
'now from all falſe worſhips and gods, from all inventions and dead gaol.
'works, to ſerve the living God. The call is to repentance, to
'amendment of life, whereby righteouſneſs may be brought forth,
'which ſhall go throughout the earth. Therefore ye that be choſen
'and faithful, who are with the Lamb, go through your work faith-
'fully in the ſtrength and power of the Lord, and be obedient to the
'power; for that will ſave you out of the hands of unreaſonable men,
'and preſerve you over the world to himſelf. Hereby you may live
'in the kingdom that ſtands in power, which hath no end; where
'glory and life is.

'G. F.

After the aſſizes, the ſheriff, with ſome ſoldiers, came to guard a woman to execution that was ſentenced to die; and we had a great deal of diſcourſe with them. One of them wickedly ſaid, 'Chriſt 'was as paſſionate a man as any that lived upon the earth.' For which wicked ſaying we rebuked him. Another time we aſked the gaoler, what doings there were at the ſeſſions? He ſaid, Small matters, only about thirty for baſtardy. We thought it very ſtrange that they, who profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, ſhould make ſmall matters of ſuch things. But this gaoler was very bad himſelf. I often admoniſhed him to ſobriety; but he would abuſe people that came to viſit us. Edward Pyot had a cheeſe ſent him by his wife from Briſtol; and the gaoler took the cheeſe from him, and carried it to the mayor, to ſearch it for treaſonable letters, as he ſaid: and tho' they found no treaſon in the cheeſe, they kept it from us. This gaoler might have been rich, if he had carried himſelf civilly; but he ſought his own ruin, which ſoon after came upon him: for the next year he was turned out of his place, and for ſome wickedneſs was caſt into the gaol himſelf; and there begged of our friends. And for ſome unrulineſs in his carriage, he was by the ſucceeding gaoler put into Doomſdale, locked in irons, beaten, and bid to 'remember how 'he had abuſed thoſe good men, whom he had wickedly, without 'any cauſe, caſt into that naſty priſon:' and told, 'That now he 'deſervedly ſhould ſuffer for his wickedneſs, and the ſame meaſure 'he had meted to others, he ſhould have meted out to himſelf.' He became very poor, and died in priſon. His wife and family came to miſery.

While I was in priſon at Lanceſton, a friend went to Oliver Cromwel, and offered himſelf, body for body, to lie in Doomſdale in my ſtead; if he would take him, and ſet me at liberty. Which thing ſo ſtruck him, that he ſaid to his great men and council; 'Which 'of you would do ſo much for me, if I were in the ſame condition? And though he did not accept of the friend's offer, but ſaid, 'He 'could not do it, for it was contrary to law;" yet the truth thereby came mightily over him. A good while after this he ſent down major general Deſborow pretending to ſet us at liberty. When he he came he offered, if we would ſay, 'We would go home and

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'preach no more,' we ſhould have our liberty; but we could not promiſe him. Then he urged, that we ſhould promiſe 'to go home, 'if the Lord permitted:' whereupon Edward Pyot wrote him this following letter:

'To major general Deſborow.

'Friend,

'THOUGH much might be ſaid as to the liberty of Engliſhmen 'to travel in any part of England, it being as the Engliſhman's 'houſe by the law, and he to be protected in any part of it; and if 'he tranſgreſs the law, the penalty upon the tranſgreſſor is to be in-'flicted. And as to the liberty of conſcience, which is a natural 'right, and a fundamental, and the exerciſe of it by thoſe who pro-'feſs faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt, it is to be protected, as by the in-'ſtrument of government it appears, though they differ in doctrine, 'worſhip, and diſcipline; provided that liberty extend not to pro-'perty, or prelacy, nor to licentiouſneſs. Where theſe rights are 'denied us, our liberties are infringed, which are the price of much 'blood and treaſure in the late wars. Yet in the power of God over 'all, by which all are to be ruled, are we, and in it dwell, and by 'it alone are guided to do the will of God; whoſe will is free, and 'we, in the freedom of his will, walk by the power, either as it com-'mands or permits, without any condition or enforcement thereunto 'by men; but as the power moves, either by command or per-'miſſion. And although we cannot covenant or condition to go forth 'of theſe parts, or to do this or that thing, if the Lord permit (for that 'were to do the will of man by God's permiſſion) yet it is like we 'may paſs forth of theſe parts in the liberty of the will of God, as we 'may be ſeverally moved and guided by the pure power, and not of 'neceſſity. We who were firſt committed were paſſing homeward 'when we were apprehended; and, as far as I know, we might 'paſs, if the priſon doors were commanded to be opened, and we 'freed of our bonds. Should we ſtay, if the Lord commands us to 'go, or ſhould we go if the Lord command us to ſtay; or having 'no command to ſtay, but being permitted to paſs from hence, the 'pure power moving thereto, and we yet ſtay; or go, when as be-'fore commanded to ſtay; we ſhould then be wanderers indeed: 'for ſuch are wanderers, who wander out from the will and power 'of God, abroad, at large, in their own wills and earthly minds. 'And ſo, in the fear of the Lord God, well weigh and conſider, 'with the juſt weight and juſt ballance, that juſtice thou mayſt do to 'the juſt and innocent in priſon.

'Edward Pyot.'

Some time having paſſed after the foregoing was delivered him, and he not giving any order for our diſcharge, I alſo wrote to him as followeth:

'To

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'To major general Deſborow.

'Friend,

'WE who are in the power of God, the ruler of all, the upholder 'of all things, and know and dwell in his power, to it we 'muſt be obedient; which brings us to ſtand out of all men's wills, 'unlimited. To ſay, "We will if the Lord permit," in a caſe of 'buying and ſelling to get gain, if the intent be ſo to do, may be 'done; but we ſtanding in the power of God to do his will, and to 'ſtand out of man's will, if man propoſe, "We ſhall have our li-"berty if we will ſay, we will go to our outward being, if the Lord "permit, or if it be the will of God;" and becauſe we cannot ſay theſe 'words in this caſe, ſhall not have our liberty, when we know that 'the will of God is, we ſhall "go to ſpeak at ſome other place:" 'here we cannot ſay theſe words truly. For to ſay, "We will go to "our outward habitation, if it be according to the will of God," 'when we know the will of God is otherwiſe; we cannot ſpeak ſo, 'truly and clearly. Neither can any man ſay ſo to him, that requires 'it of him; who ſtands in the power, and knows the power of God 'to lead him, according to God's will, and it leads him to another 'place than his outward home. But the Son of God, who came to 'do and did the will of God, had no place whereon to lay his head: 'and the apoſtles, and many of the followers of Chriſt, had no cer-'tain dwelling-place. Now if theſe ſhould have been reſtrained, 'becauſe they could not ſay they would go to their outward homes, 'if it were the will of God, when they knew it was the will of God 'they ſhould not, and they could not do the will of God in doing ſo, 'and therefore could not ſpeak thoſe words to ſatisfy man's mind and 'will, would not ſuch reſtraint have been evil? Abraham could 'not do the will of God, but in going from his native country; and 'who are of faith are of Abraham, of whom Chriſt came according 'to the fleſh. Now, if you allege, "This is to let all looſe and at "liberty to idleneſs," I ſay, No: ſuch as are in the power of God, 'who do the will of God, come to receive his wiſdom, by which all 'his creatures were created, and by which they are uſed to his glory. 'This I ſhall ſay, whoever are moved by the Lord God of glory and 'power to go to their outward habitations, ſuch of us may go to our 'outward homes; and there be diligent in ſerving the Lord, that 'they may be a bleſſing from God in their generation; diligently 'ſerving him in life and doctrine, in manners, in converſation, in all 'things. And who are moved of the Lord to go to any other place, 'we ſtanding in his will, and being moved by his power, which 'comprehends all things, and is not to be limited, we ſhall do his 'will which we are commanded to do. So the Lord God open your 'underſtandings, that you may ſee this great power of the Lord, 'which he is now manifeſting among his children in this his day; 'that ye may not withſtand it in our friends, that are come into the 'power of God, and to God, and know him by whom the world was 'made, by whom all things were created that were created, and 'there was not any thing made but what was made for him, and to

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'him, and by him; who is the power of God, and doth enlighten 'every man that cometh into the world. Friends being come to this 'light which cometh from Chriſt, and having received power from 'him by whom all things were created, to whom all power in hea-'ven and earth is given, who is the wiſdom of God; we have re-'ceived wiſdom and power from him, by which the Lord doth give 'us to know how to uſe and order the creatures to the glory of him, 'the Creator of all things. Friends here are taught of the Lord to 'be diligent, ſerving him; and who come into the life, the ſcrip-'tures were given forth from, are given up to ſerve the Lord. Of 'this I have in all your conſciences a witneſs. So, if thou open the 'priſon-door, we ſhall not ſtay there. If thou ſend a liberate, and 'ſet us free, we ſhall not ſtay in priſon; for Iſrael is to go out free, 'whoſe freedom is purchaſed by the power of God and the blood of 'Jeſus. But who goeth out of the power of God loſeth his free-'dom.

'The 13th of the 6th 'month, 1656.'

'George Fox, and the reſt 'who are ſufferers for 'the truth in Lanceſton 'gaol.'

After this major Deſborow came to the Caſtle-green, and played at bowls with the juſtices and others. Several friends were moved to go, and admoniſh them againſt 'ſpending time ſo vainly;' deſiring them to conſider, 'That though they profeſſed themſelves 'to be chriſtians, yet they gave themſelves up to their pleaſures, and 'kept the ſervants of God mean while in priſon;' and alſo told them, 'The Lord would plead with them, and viſit them for ſuch things.' But notwithſtanding what was wrote or ſaid to him, he went away, and left us in priſon. We underſtood afterwards that he left the buſineſs to colonel Bennet, who had the command of the gaol. For ſome time after Bennet would have ſet us at liberty, if we would have paid his gaoler's fees. But we anſwered, 'We could give the gaoler no 'fees, for we were innocent ſufferers; how could they expect fees 'of us, who had ſuffered ſo long wrongfully?' After a while colonel Bennet coming to town ſent for us to an inn, and inſiſted again upon fees, which we refuſed. At laſt the power of the Lord came ſo over him, that the thirteenth of the ſeventh month, 1656, we were ſet at liberty. We had been priſoners nine weeks at the firſt aſſize, called the Lent-aſſize, in the ſpring of the year.

Obſerving while I was here priſoner how much the people (they eſpecially who were called gentry) were addicted to pleaſures and vain recreations, I was moved, before I left the place, to give forth ſeveral papers as a warning to them, and to all that ſo miſpend their time. One of which was thus:

'This to go abroad among thoſe, who are given to pleaſures and 'wantonneſs.

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'THE ſins of Sodom and Gomorrah were pride, fulneſs of bread, 'and abundance of idleneſs. Their filthy converſation vexed 'the righteous ſoul of juſt Lot day by day, and they would not take 'warning; on whom God therefore ſent fire, and turned them into 'aſhes. And in ſpiritual Sodom and Egypt was our Lord Jeſus 'Chriſt crucified; and it is written, "The people ſate down to eat "and to drink, and roſe up to play; with whom God was not well "pleaſed, and there fell three and twenty thouſand in one day." 'Theſe the apoſtle commanded the ſaints they ſhould not follow; 'for theſe things happened to them for examples, and are written for 'our admonition. God ſpared not the old world; but reſerving 'Noah, a preacher of righteouſneſs, brought the flood upon the 'world of the ungodly, making them an example to all that after 'ſhould live ungodly. Mark, ye ungodly ones, who are as natural 'brute beaſts, who ſpeak great ſwelling words of vanity, alluring 'through the luſts of the fleſh, through much wantonneſs, as they 'that count it pleaſure to riot in the day-time, ſporting yourſelves 'with your own deceivings; ye ſhall receive the reward of unrigh-'teouſneſs. Ye are as dogs and ſwine turned to the vomit, and 'wallowing in the mire, ſpeaking evil of things that ye know not; 'and unleſs ye repent, ye ſhall utterly periſh in your own corrup-'tions. Ye have lived in pleaſure on the earth, and been wanton. 'Ye have nouriſhed your hearts, as in a day of ſlaughter. Ye have 'condemned and killed the juſt, and he doth not reſiſt you. Go to, 'weep and howl for the miſery that is coming upon you. She that 'liveth in pleaſures, is dead while ſhe liveth. God condemned the 'cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, making them an example to all 'thoſe that after ſhould live ungodly, in the wicked, filthy conver-'ſation: mark, here is your example. Hear this, ye that are given 'to pleaſures, and read your examples.

'G. F.'

Another, upon my taking notice of the bowlers that came to ſport in the Caſtle-green, was as followeth:

'THE word of the Lord to all you vain and idle-minded people, 'who are lovers of ſports, pleaſures, fooliſh exerciſes, and re-'creations, as you call them; conſider of your ways, what it is 'you are doing. Was this the end of your creation? Did God 'make all things for you, and you to ſerve your luſts and pleaſures? 'Did not the Lord make all things for you, and you for himſelf, to 'fear and worſhip him in ſpirit and in truth, in righteouſneſs and 'true holineſs? But where is your ſervice of God, ſo long as your 'hearts run after luſts and pleaſures? ye cannot ſerve God and the 'fooliſh pleaſures of the world, as bowling, drinking, hunting, 'hawking, and the like. If theſe have your hearts, God will not 'have your lips. Conſider, for it is true. Therefore from the Lord 'muſt you all witneſs woe and miſery, tribulation and wrath, who

'continue

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'continue in the love and practice of your vain ſports, luſts, and 'pleaſures. Now is the day, when all every-where are exhorted to 'repentance. O fooliſh people, wicked and ſlow of heart to believe 'the threatenings of the great Jehovah againſt the wicked! What 'will you do in the day of the Lord's fierce wrath, that makes haſte 'to come upon the world of ungodly men! What good have your 'fooliſh ſports and delights done you, now they are paſt? Or what 'good will they do you, when the Lord calls for your ſouls? There-'fore all now awake from ſleep, and ſee where you are; and let the 'light of Jeſus Chriſt, that ſhines in every one of your conſciences, 'ſearch you thoroughly, and it will let you clearly ſee, for all your 'profeſſion of God, Chriſt, and the ſcriptures, you are ignorant of 'them, and enemies to them all, and your own ſouls alſo; and 'being found living in pleaſures, you are dead while you live. 'Therefore doth the Lord by many meſſengers fore-warn you, and 'calls you to repentance and deep humiliation; that you may forſake 'the evil of your doings, own this day of your viſitation, and while 'you have time prize it; leſt the things which belong to your peace 'be hid from your eyes for your diſobedience and rebellion againſt 'the Holy One. And then it had been good that you never had 'been born: repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Again 'I ſay, Repent!

'To the bowlers
'in the green.'

'Given forth in Lanceſton-
'gaol, in Cornwall.'

Cornwall.

Being releaſed, we got horſes, rid towards Humphry Lower's, and met him upon the road. He told us, 'He was much troubled 'in his mind concerning us, and could not reſt at home; but was 'going to colonel Bennet to ſeek our liberty.' When we told him, 'We were ſet at liberty, and were going to his houſe;' he was exceeding glad. To his houſe we went, and had a fine, precious meeting; many were convinced, and turned by the Spirit of the Lord to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt's teaching.

From his houſe we went to Loveday Hambley's; where we had a fine large meeting. The Lord's power was over all; many were convinced there alſo, and turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, their teacher.

After we had tarried there two or three days, we came to Thomas Mounce's, were we had a general meeting for the whole county; which, being very large, was held in his orchard. Friends from Plimouth were there, and from many places. The Lord's power was over all, and a great convincement there was in many parts of the county. Their watches were down, and all was plain and open; for the Lord had let me ſee, before I was at liberty, that he would make all the country plain before us. Thomas and Ann Curtis, with an alderman of Reading who was convinced, had come to Lanceſton to ſee us while I was priſoner; and when Ann and the other man returned, Thomas Curtis ſtaid behind in Cornwall, and had good ſervice for the Lord at that time.

From

From Thomas Mounce's we paſſed to Lanceſton again, and viſited the little remnant of friends that had been raiſed up there while we were in priſon; and the Lord's plants grew finely, and were eſtabliſhed on Chriſt, their rock and foundation. As we were going out of town again, the conſtable of Lanceſton came running to us with the cheeſe that had been taken from Edward Pyot; which they had kept from us all this while, and were troubled with it. But we, being now at liberty, would not receive it. 1656. Lancnſton.

From Lanceſton we came to Okington; and lay at an inn, which the mayor of the town kept. He had ſtopped and taken up ſeveral friends, but was very civil to us; and was convinced in his judgment. Okington.

From thence we came to Exeter, where many friends were in priſon; and amongſt the reſt, James Nayler. For a little before we were ſet at liberty, James had run out into imaginations, and a company with him, who raiſed up a great darkneſs in the nation *. He came to Briſtol, and made a diſturbance there. From thence he was coming to Lanceſton, to ſee me; but was ſtopped by the way, and impriſoned at Exeter; as were ſeveral others, one of whom, an honeſt, tender man, died in priſon there: whoſe blood lieth on the heads of his perſecutors. Exeter.

The night that we came to Exeter, I ſpoke with James Nayler: for I ſaw he was out, and wrong, and ſo was his company. The next day, being firſt day, we went to viſit the priſoners, and had a meeting with them in the priſon; but James Nayler, and ſome of them could not ſtay the meeting. There came a corporal of horſe into the meeting, who was convinced, and remained a very good friend. The next day I ſpoke to James Nayler again; and he ſlighted what I ſaid, was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kiſſed me. But I ſaid, 'Since he had turned againſt the power of God, I could not receive 'his ſhew of kindneſs. The Lord moved me to ſlight him, and to 'ſet the power of God over him.' So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked ſpirit riſen amongſt friends to war againſt. I admoniſhed him and his company. When he was come to London, his reſiſting the power of God in me, and the truth that was declared to him by me, became one of his greateſt burdens. But he came to ſee his out-going, and to condemn it; and after ſome time he returned to truth again: as in the printed relation of his repentance, condemnation, and recovery may be more fully ſeen.

We paſſed from Exeter through Cullumpton and Taunton, viſiting friends; and had meetings amongſt them. From thence we came to Puddimoor, to William Beaton's; where on a firſt day we had a very large meeting. A great convincement there was up and down that country; many meetings we had, and the Lord's power was over all; Cullumpton. Taunton. Puddimoor.

* James Nayler was a monument of human frailty. His gift in the miniſtry was eminent; his experience in divine things truly great. He fell through unwatchfulneſs, but was reſtored through deep ſufferings and unfeigned repentance. His own writings are the moſt clear and lively deſcription of the various diſpenſations he underwent: ſome of them deſerve to be tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity.

1656. many were turned, by the power and Spirit of God, to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who died for them, and came to ſit under his free teaching.

From thence we went to John Dando's, where we had another precious meeting. The Lord's power was over all, and many were convinced of God's eternal truth. Some contention was raiſed by profeſſors and Baptiſts, in ſome places; but the Lord's power came over them. From thence we came to Edward Pyot's, near Briſtol. It was the ſeventh day at night that we came thither. It was quickly noiſed over the town, that I was come. I had never been there before.

Near Briſtol.

Briſtol meeting.

On firſt day morning I went to the meeting in Broadmead at Briſtol; which was large and quiet. Notice was given of a meeting to be in the afternoon in the orchard. There was at Briſtol a rude Baptiſt, named Paul Gwin, who had uſed before to make great diſturbance in our meetings; being encouraged by the mayor, who, as was reported, would ſometimes give him his dinner to encourage him. Such multitudes of rude people would he gather after him, that it was thought there had been ſometimes ten thouſand people at our meeting in the orchard. As I was going into the orchard, the people told me, That Paul Gwin, the rude, jangling Baptiſt, was going to the meeting. I bid them, 'Never heed; it was nothing to me, who went to it.' When I was come into the orchard, I ſtood upon the ſtone that friends uſed to ſtand on when they ſpoke: and was moved of the Lord to put off my hat, and to ſtand a pretty while; and let the people look at me: for ſome thouſands of people were there. While I thus ſtood ſilent, this rude Baptiſt began to find fault with my hair; but I ſaid nothing to him. Then he ran on into words; and at laſt, 'Ye wiſe men of 'Briſtol,' ſaid he, 'I ſtrange at you, that you will ſtand here, and 'hear a man ſpeak and affirm that which he cannot make good.' Then the Lord opened my mouth (for as yet I had not ſpoken a word) and I aſked the people, 'Whether they ever heard me ſpeak: 'or ever ſaw me before?' And bid them 'take notice what kind of 'man this was that ſhould ſo impudently ſay amongſt them, that I 'ſpoke and affirmed that which I could not make good; and yet neither he nor they ever heard me or ſaw me before. Therefore that 'was a lying, envious, malicious ſpirit that ſpoke in him; and it was 'of the devil, and not of God. I charged him in the dread and power 'of the Lord to be ſilent; and the mighty power of God came over 'him, and all his company. A glorious, peaceable meeting we had; 'the word of life was divided amongſt them; and they were turned 'from darkneſs to light, and to Jeſus their Saviour. The ſcriptures 'were largely opened to them; and the traditions, rudiments, ways, 'and doctrines of men were laid open before the people, and they 'were turned to the light of Chriſt, that with it they might ſee them, 'and ſee him to lead them out of them. I opened alſo to them the 'types, figures, and ſhadows of Chriſt in the time of the law; and 'ſhewed them, That Chriſt was come, and had ended the types, 'ſhadows, tythes, and oaths, and put down ſwearing, and had ſet yea 'and nay inſtead of it, and a free miniſtry: for he was now come to 'teach people himſelf, and his heavenly day was ſpringing from on 'high.' For many hours did I declare the word of life amongſt them

in the eternal power of God; that by him they might come up into the beginning and be reconciled to him. And having turned them to the Spirit of God in themſelves, that would lead into all truth, I was moved to pray in the mighty power of God; and the Lord's power came over all. When I had done, this fellow began to babble again; and John Audland was moved to bid him repent, and fear God. So his own people and followers being aſhamed of him, he paſſed away, and never came again to diſturb the meeting. The meeting broke up quietly, and the Lord's power and glory ſhined over all: a bleſſed day it was, and the Lord had the praiſe. After a while this Paul Gwin went beyond-ſea; and many years after, I met with him again at Barbadoes: of which in its place. 1656. Briſtol meeting.

From Briſtol we returned to Edward Pyot's, where we had a great meeting. The Lord's power was over all, truth was declared and ſpread abroad, and many were turned to Chriſt Jeſus, their life, their Prophet to teach them, their Shepherd to feed them, and their Biſhop to overſee them. After the meeting I had reaſoning with ſome profeſſors; and the Lord's truth and power came over them.

From Edward Pyot's we paſſed to Slattenford, where we had a very large meeting (Edward Pyot and another friend being ſtill with me); and a great turning of people there was to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt their teacher. People were glad that they were brought to know their way, their free teacher, and their Saviour Chriſt Jeſus. Slattenford.

The firſt day following we went to Nathaniel Crips's houſe, who had been a juſtice of peace in Wiltſhire; where it was ſuppoſed between two and three thouſand people were at a meeting, and all was quiet. Wiltſhire.

'The mighty power of God was manifeſt, and people were turned to 'the grace and truth in their hearts, that came by Jeſus Chriſt, which 'would teach them to deny all ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, and to 'live ſoberly and godly in this preſent world. So that every man and 'woman might know the grace of God, which had appeared to all 'men, which was ſaving, and ſufficient to bring their ſalvation. This 'teacher, the grace of God, would teach them how to live, what to 'do, and what to deny: it would ſeaſon their words, and eſtabliſh 'their hearts. This was a free teacher to every one of them: ſo that 'they might come to be heirs of this grace, and of Chriſt, by whom 'it came; who hath ended the prophets, and the prieſts that took 'tythes, and the Jewiſh temple. And as for theſe hireling prieſts that 'take tythes now, and their temples (which prieſts were made at 'ſchools and colleges of man's ſetting up, and not by Chriſt) they, 'with all their inventions, were to be denied. For the apoſtles denied 'the true prieſthood and temple, which God had commanded, after 'Chriſt had put an end thereto. The ſcriptures, and the truths therein 'contained, were largely opened, and the people turned to the Spirit 'of God in their hearts; that by it they might be led into all truth, 'underſtand the ſcriptures, know God and Chriſt, and come to have 'unity with them, and one with another in the ſame Spirit. The people went away generally ſatisfied, and were glad that they were turned to Chriſt Jeſus, their Teacher and Saviour.

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Marlborough. The next day we went to Marlborough, where we had a little meeting. The ſeſſions being held that day, they were granting a warrant to ſend for me; but juſtice Stooks, being at the ſeſſions, ſtopped them, telling them there was a meeting at his houſe yeſterday, at which were ſeveral thouſands. So the warrant was ſtopped, our meeting was quiet; and ſeveral received Chriſt Jeſus their teacher, and came into the new covenant, and abode in it.

Newbury. Reading. From hence we went to Newbury, where we had a large, bleſſed meeting; ſeveral were convinced. Thence we paſſed to Reading, where we had a large, precious meeting in the Lord's power amongſt the plants of God. Many of other profeſſions came in, were reached, and added to the meeting. All was quiet, and the Lord's power was over all. We went from Reading to Kingſton upon Thames, where a few came to us that were turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: but ſince it is become a large meeting.

Kingſton upon Thames.

Hyde Park. Leaving Kingſton, we rode to London. When we came near Hyde Park, we ſaw a great concourſe of people, and looking towards them, eſpied the protector coming in his coach. Whereupon I rode to his coach-ſide. Some of his life-guard would have put me away; but he forbad them. So I rode by his coach-ſide with him, 'declaring 'what the Lord gave me to ſay to him, of his condition, and of the 'ſufferings of friends in the nation; ſhewing him, how contrary this London. 'perſecution was to Chriſt and his apoſtles, and to chriſtianity. When we were come to James's Park Gate, I left him; and at parting he deſired me to come to his houſe. The next day, one of his wife's maids, whoſe name was Mary Sanders, came to me at my lodging, and told me, Her maſter came to her, and ſaid, he would tell her ſome good news. When ſhe aſked him, What it was? He told her, George Fox was come to town. She replied, That was good news indeed (for ſhe had received truth) but ſhe ſaid, She could hardly believe him; till he told her how I met him, and rode from Hyde Park to James's Park with him.

Whitehall. After a little time Edward Pyot and I went to Whitehall; and when we came before him, Dr. Owen, vice-chancellor of Oxford, was with him. We were moved to 'ſpeak to Oliver Cromwell concerning the 'ſufferings of friends, and laid them before him; and directed him 'to the light of Chriſt, who had enlightened every man that cometh 'into the world. He ſaid, It was a natural light; but we ſhewed 'him the contrary; and manifeſted that it was divine and ſpiritual, 'proceeding from Chriſt the ſpiritual and heavenly man; and that which 'was called the life in Chriſt the Word, was called the light in us. 'The power of the Lord God aroſe in me, and I was moved in it to 'bid him lay down his crown at the feet of Jeſus.' Several times I ſpoke to him to the ſame effect. I was ſtanding by the table, and he came and ſat upon the table's ſide by me, ſaying, He would be as high as I was: and ſo continued ſpeaking againſt the light of Chriſt Jeſus; and went his way in a light manner. But the Lord's power came over him, ſo that when he came to his wife and other company, he ſaid, 'I never parted ſo from them before: for he was judged in himſelf.

After

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After he had left us, as we were going out, many great persons came about us; one of them began to speak against the light, and against the truth; and I was made to slight him, for speaking so lightly of the things of God. Whereupon one of them told me, he was the major-general of Northamptonshire. 'What!' said I, 'our old persecutor, 'that has persecuted and sent so many of our friends to prison, and is 'a shame to christianity and religion! I am glad I have met with thee,' said I. So I was moved to speak sharply to him of his unchristian carriages; and he slunk away: for he had been a cruel persecutor in Northamptonshire.

London. Buckinghamshire. Northamptonshire. Nottinghamshire. Lincolnshire.

After I had visited the meetings of friends in and about London, I went into Buckinghamshire, and Edward Pyot was with me; and in several places in that county many received the truth. Great meetings we had, and the Lord's power was eminently manifested. I passed through Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire into Lincolnshire. After several meetings in Lincolnshire, I had at last a meeting, where two knights, one called Sir Richard Wrey, the other Sir John Wrey, with their wives, were at the meeting. One of their wives was convinced, received the truth, and died in it. When the meeting was done, we passed away; and it being in the evening, and dark, a company of wild serving men encompassed me about, with intent, as I apprehended, to have done me some mischief. But I spoke aloud to them, and asked, 'What are ye? highwaymen?' Whereupon some friends and friendly people behind came up to us, and knew some of them. So I reproved them for their uncivil and rude carriage, exhorted them to fear God, and the Lord's power came over them, and stopped their mischievous design: blessed be his name for ever!

Huntingdonshire. Huntingdon.

Then I turned into Huntingdonshire. The mayor of Huntingdon came to visit me, and was very loving, and his wife received the truth.

Cambridgeshire. Fen Country. Crowland.

Thence I passed into Cambridgeshire, and into the Fen Country; where I had many meetings, and the Lord's truth spread. Robert Craven (who had been sheriff of Lincoln) Amor Stoddart, and Alexander Parker were with me. We went to Crowland, a very rude place; for the town's people were got together at the inn we went to, and were half drunk, both priest and people. 'I reproved them for their 'drunkenness, and warned them of the day of the Lord that was 'coming upon all the wicked; exhorting them to leave their drunken-'ness, and turn to the Lord in time.' Whilst I was thus speaking to them, and shewing the priest the fruits of his ministry, the priest and the clerk broke out into a rage, and got up the tongs and fire-shovel at us: so that had not the Lord's power preserved us, we might have been murdered amongst them. Yet, for all their rudeness and violence, some received the truth then; and have stood in it ever since.

Boston.

From thence we passed to Boston, where most of the chief of the town came to our inn, and the people seemed to be much satisfied. But there was a raging man in the yard; and Robert Craven was moved to speak to him, and told him, He shamed christianity; which, with some few other words, so stopped the man, that he went away quiet. Some were convinced there also.

1656. Thus we had large meetings up and down; for I travelled into Yorkſhire, and returned out of Holderneſs, over Humber, viſiting friends; and then going into Leiceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Worceſterſhire, and Warwickſhire, among friends. I had a meeting at Edge-hill. There came to it Ranters, Baptiſts, and ſeveral ſorts of rude people; for I had ſent word about three weeks before, to have a meeting there; ſo that hundreds of people were gathered, and many friends came from far to it. The Lord's everlaſting truth and word of life reached over all; rude and unruly ſpirits were chained down; and many that day were turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by his power and Spirit, who came to ſit under his bleſſed free teaching, and to be fed with his eternal, heavenly food. All was peaceable; the people paſſed quietly away, and ſome of them ſaid, It was a mighty, powerful meeting: for the preſence of the Lord was felt, and his power and Spirit amongſt them.

Yorkſhire. Holderneſs. Humber. Leiceſterſhire. Staffordſhire. Worceſterſhire. Warwickſhire. Edge-hill.

From hence I paſſed to Warwick, and to Bagley; having precious meetings. From thence into Glouceſterſhire, and ſo to Oxford, where the ſcholars were very rude; but the Lord's power came over them, and great meetings we had up and down, as we travelled. Then I went to colonel Grimes's, where was a very large meeting; and from thence to Nathaniel Crips's, where came another juſtice to the meeting, who was alſo convinced. At Cirenceſter alſo we had a meeting, which is much increaſed; ſo we came to Eveſham again, where I met John Cam.

Warwick. Bagley. Glouceſterſhire. Oxford. Cirenceſter. Eveſham.

Thus having travelled over moſt part of the nation, I returned to London, having cleared myſelf of that which lay upon me from the Lord. For after I was releaſed out of Lanceſton gaol, I was moved of the Lord to travel over moſt parts of the nation (the truth being now ſpread, and finely planted in moſt places) that I might anſwer, and remove out of the minds of people ſome objections, which envious prieſts and profeſſors had raiſed and ſpread concerning us. For, what Chriſt ſaid of falſe prophets and antichriſts coming in the laſt days, that they applied to us; and ſaid, We were they.

London.

Therefore was I moved to open this through the nation, and to ſhew, 'That they, who ſaid we were the falſe prophets, antichriſts, 'and deceivers, that ſhould come in the laſt days, were indeed themſelves they. For when Chriſt told his diſciples in the viith and 'xxivth of Matthew, that falſe prophets and antichriſts ſhould come 'in the laſt times, and, if it were poſſible, ſhould deceive the very 'elect, he ſaid, "By their fruits ye ſhall know them: for they "ſhould be inwardly ravening wolves, having the ſheeps cloathing." "And,' ſaid he, "do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thiſ-"tles?" as much as to ſay, Their nature and ſpirit ſhould be like a 'thorn, or like a thiſtle; and he bids his diſciples not go after them. 'But before the diſciples were deceaſed, the antichriſts, falſe pro-'phets, and deceivers were come. For John in his firſt epiſtle ſaid, "Little children, it is the laſt time; and as ye have heard that anti-"chriſt ſhall come, even now are there many antichriſts, whereby "we know that it is the laſt time." So here, as Chriſt ſaid to his 'diſciples, They ſhould come; the diſciples ſaw they were come: 'as may be ſeen at large in Peter, Jude, John, and other places of

'ſcripture;

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‘ ſcripture; “ whereby,” ſays John, “ we know it is the laſt time:” ‘ and this laſt time began above ſixteen hundred years ſince. John ‘ ſaid, “ They went out from us;” the falſe prophets, antichriſts, ſe- ‘ ducers, and deceivers, went out from the church; “ But you,” ſaid ‘ he to the church, “ have an anointing which abideth in you; and “ you need not that any man teach you, but as the ſame anointing “ teacheth you of all things; and as it hath taught you, ye ſhall abide “ in him.” Chriſt ſaid to his diſciples, “ Go not after them, for they “ are inwardly ravening wolves;” and John exhorts the ſaints to the ‘ anointing within them; and the reſt of the apoſtles exhort the churches ‘ to the grace, the light, the truth, the Spirit, the word of faith, and ‘ to Chriſt in their hearts, the hope of glory. Chriſt told the ſaints, ‘ that the Spirit of truth, the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould be their leader into ‘ all truth; and Jude exhorts the church to “ pray in the Holy Ghoſt,” ‘ and “ to be built up in their moſt holy faith, which Chriſt was the “ author of.” Chriſt, by his ſervant John, exhorted the ſeven churches “ to hear what the Spirit ſaid to the churches;” and this was an inward ‘ ſpiritual hearing. Chriſt ſays, the inwardly-ravening wolves ſhould ‘ have the ſheeps cloathing. Paul ſpeaks of ſome in his time that ‘ had a form of godlineſs, but denied the power. John ſaid, “ They “ went out from us.” Jude ſaid, “ They go in Cain's way, and in “ Balaam's and Corah's way.” By all which it may be clearly ſeen, ‘ that the falſe prophets and antichriſts, which Chriſt foretold ſhould ‘ come, the apoſtles ſaw were come; and in their day the laſt time ‘ was begun. Theſe went from them into the world, and the world ‘ went after them! Theſe were the fore-men, the leaders of the world, ‘ that brought them into a form of godlineſs, but inwardly ravened ‘ from the power and Spirit! Theſe have the ſheeps cloathing, the ‘ words of Chriſt, of the prophets, and of the apoſtles; but are in- ‘ wardly ravened from the power and Spirit that they were in who ‘ gave forth the ſcriptures. Theſe have made up the beaſt, and the ‘ whore! Theſe have gotten the dragon's power, the murdering, de- ‘ ſtroying, perſecuting power! And theſe are they that the world won- ‘ ders after! Theſe have drunk the blood of the martyrs, prophets, ‘ and ſaints, and perſecuted the true church into the wilderneſs! Theſe ‘ have ſet up the falſe, compelling worſhips, and have drunk the blood ‘ of the ſaints, that will not drink of their cup! Theſe have made the ‘ cage for the unclean birds, that have their ſeveral unclean notes in ‘ their cage; which cage is made up by the power of darkneſs, and ‘ unclean ghoſt: and the birds of the cage deny the Holy Ghoſt, and ‘ the power of God, which the apoſtles were in, to be now manifeſted ‘ in the ſaints! Thus ſince Chriſt ſaid, the falſe prophets and antichriſts ‘ ſhould come, and the apoſtle ſaid, They were come, the beaſt's and ‘ the dragon's worſhip hath been ſet up; the whore is got up with ‘ her falſe prophets, her cage hath been made, all nations have drunk ‘ of her cup of fornication, the blood of the martyrs and ſaints they ‘ have drunk, and the true church hath fled into the wilderneſs. All ‘ this ſince the apoſtles days. Yet the blind deceivers of all ſorts, the ‘ antichriſts and falſe prophets of our age, would make us and people ‘ believe that the falſe prophets, antichriſts, and deceivers are come

‘ but

1656. London. ‘ but now; though John and other of the apoſtles tell us, they ‘ began to come above ſixteen hundred years ago. And ye may ſee ‘ what work and confuſion they have made in the world; how much ‘ blood theſe Cains have drunk, that went in Cain's way: which ‘ blood cries to God for vengeance upon Chriſtendom! And how ‘ theſe Balaams, who have erred from the power of the Spirit which ‘ the apoſtles were in, have coveted after other men's eſtates, the ‘ many gaols, courts, and ſpoiling of goods will bear witneſs. And ‘ how theſe Corahs have gainſayed the life, power, and ſpirit which ‘ the apoſtles and true church were in, and the free teaching of ‘ Chriſt and of his apoſtles, and the work of their miniſtry, which ‘ was “ to preſent every man perfect in Chriſt Jeſus,” hath been ‘ evident.

‘ Therefore in the name and power of the Lord Jeſus was I ſent ‘ to preach again the everlaſting goſpel, which had been preached be- ‘ fore unto Abraham, and in the apoſtles days; and was to go over ‘ all nations, and to be preached to every creature. For as the ‘ apoſtaſy hath gone over all nations ſince the apoſtles days, ſo that ‘ the nations are become as waters, unſtable, being gone from ‘ Chriſt, the foundation; ſo muſt the goſpel, the power of God, go ‘ over all nations again. We find the falſe prophets, antichriſts, ‘ deceivers, whore, falſe church, beaſt, and his worſhip in the ‘ dragon's power, have got up in the times betwixt the apoſtles and ‘ us. For Chriſt ſaid, “ They ſhould come;” and the apoſtles ſaw, “ They were come,” and coming in their days; and that they went ‘ forth from them, and the world went after them. And now hath ‘ the Lord raiſed us up beyond them, and ſet us over them in the ‘ everlaſting goſpel, the power of God: that as all have been ‘ darkened by the beaſts, whore, falſe prophets, and antichriſts, ſo ‘ the everlaſting goſpel may be preached again by us to all nations, ‘ and to every creature, which will bring life and immortality to ‘ light in them, that they may ſee over the devil and his falſe pro- ‘ phets, antichriſts, ſeducers and deceivers, and over the whore and ‘ beaſt, and to that which was before they were. This meſſage of ‘ the glorious, everlaſting goſpel was I ſent forth to declare and ‘ publiſh, and thouſands by it are turned to God, having received it; ‘ and are come into ſubjection to it, and into the holy order of it. ‘ And ſince I have declared this meſſage in this part of the world and ‘ in America, and have written books of the ſame, to ſpread it uni- ‘ verſally abroad, the blind prophets, preachers, and deceivers have ‘ given over telling us, the falſe prophets ſhould “ come in the laſt “ times;” for a great light is ſprung up and ſhines over their heads; ‘ ſo that every child in truth ſees the folly of their ſayings.

‘ Then they got other objections againſt us, and invented ſhifts to ‘ ſave themſelves from truth's ſtroke. For when we blamed them ‘ for taking tithes, which came from the tribe of Levi, and were ſet ‘ up here by the Romiſh church, they would plead, “ That Chriſt “ told the ſcribes and phariſees, they ought to pay tithes of mint, “ aniſe, and cummin, though they neglected the weightier matters:” ‘ and that Chriſt ſaid, “ The ſcribes and phariſees ſat in Moſes's “ ſeat, therefore all that they bid you do, that do and obſerve.” And

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'when we told them they were envious perſecuting prieſts, they 'would reply, "That ſome preached Chriſt of envy, and ſome of "contention, and ſome of good-will." Now theſe ſcriptures and 'others ſuch-like they would bring to darken the minds of their 'hearers, and to perſuade them and us, "That we ought to do as "they ſay, though they themſelves were like the phariſees; and that "we ſhould rejoice when envious men and men of ſtrife preached "Chriſt; and that we ſhould give them the tithes as the Jews did "to the tribe of Levi." Theſe were fair gloſſes; here was a great 'heap of huſks, but no kernel. Now this was their blindneſs; for 'the Levitical prieſthood Chriſt hath ended, and diſannulled the 'commandment that gave them tithes, and the law by which thoſe 'prieſts were made. Chriſt did not come after that order, neither 'did he ſend forth his miniſters after that order; for thoſe of that 'order were to take tithes for their maintenance, but his miniſters 'he ſent forth freely. And as for hearing the phariſees and the 'Jews paying tithes of mint, aniſe, and cummin, that was before 'Chriſt was ſacrificed and offered up; the Jews were then to do the 'law, and perform their offerings and ſacrifices which the Jewiſh 'prieſts did teach them. But after Chriſt was offered up, he bid 'them then, "Go into all nations and preach the goſpel; and lo," 'ſaid he, "I will be with you to the end of the world;" and in an-'other place he ſaith, "I will be in you." He did not bid them go 'to hear the phariſees then, and pay tithe of mint, aniſe, and cum-'min then; but "Go, preach the goſpel, and believe in the Lord "Jeſus and be ſaved, and receive the goſpel," which would bring 'people off from the Jews, the tithes, the Levitical law, and the of-'ferings thereof, to Chriſt, the one Offering, made once for all. O 'what work had the apoſtle both with the Galatians and the Romans 'to bring them off the law to the faith in Chriſt!

'And as for the apoſtle's ſaying, "Some preached Chriſt of envy "and ſtrife," &c. That was at the firſt ſpreading of Chriſt's name 'abroad, when they were in danger not only to be caſt out of the ſy-'nagogues, but to be ſtoned to death, that confeſſed to the name of 'Jeſus; as may be ſeen by the uproars that were among the Jews 'and Diana's worſhippers at the preaching of Chriſt. So the apoſtle 'might well rejoice if the envious, and men of ſtrife and contention 'did preach Chriſt at that time; though they thought thereby to 'add affliction to his bonds. But afterward, when Chriſt's name 'was ſpread abroad, and many had got a form of godlineſs but denied 'the power thereof, "Envious, proud, contentious men, men of "ſtrife, covetous men, teachers for filthy lucre," the apoſtle com-'manded the ſaints to turn from, and not to have any fellowſhip 'with them. And the deacons and miniſters were firſt to be proved, 'to ſee if they were in the power of godlineſs, and the Holy Ghoſt 'made them overſeers and preachers. So it may be ſeen how the 'prieſts have abuſed theſe ſcriptures for their own ends, and have 'wreſted them to their own deſtruction, to juſtify envious, conten-'tious men, and men of ſtrife. Whereas the apoſtle ſays, "The "man of God muſt be patient, and apt to teach;" and they were to 'follow Chriſt, as they had them for their examples. The apoſtle

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'indeed was very tender to people, while he saw them walk in simplicity, as in the case of those that were scrupulous about meats and 'days; but when the apostle saw, that some drew them into the observation of days, and to settle in such things, he then reproves 'them sharply, and asks them, "Who had bewitched them?" So 'in the case of marrying he was tender, lest their minds should be 'drawn from the Lord's joining; but when they came to forbid 'marriage, and to set up rules for meats and drinks, he called it a "doctrine of devils," and an "erring from the true faith." So also 'he was tender concerning circumcision, and in tenderness suffered 'some to be circumcised; but when he saw they went to make a 'sect of it, and to set up circumcision as a standing practice, he told 'them plainly, "If they were circumcised, Christ would profit them "nothing." In like manner he was tender concerning the baptizing with water; but when he saw they began to make sects 'about it, some crying up Paul, others Apollos, he judged them, and 'called them carnal, and thanks God he had baptized no more but 'such and such; declaring plainly, that he was sent to preach the 'gospel, and not to baptize; and brought them to the one baptism 'by the one spirit, into the one body, which Christ, the spiritual man, 'is the head of; and exhorted the church, "all to drink into that one "Spirit." For he asserted in the church the one faith, which Christ 'was the author of; and one baptism, which was that of the Spirit 'into the one body; and one Lord Jesus Christ, who was the spiritual 'baptizer, who John said should come after him. And further the 'apostle declared, that they, who worshipped and served God in the 'Spirit, were of the circumcision of the Spirit, which was "not "made with hands;" by which the "body of the sins of the flesh "was put off:" which circumcision Christ is the minister of.

'Another great objection they had, "That the Quakers denied "the sacrament," as they called it, "of bread and wine, which," they 'said, "they were to take, and do in remembrance of Christ to the "end of the world." A great deal of work we had with the priests 'and professors about this, and about the several modes of receiving 'it in Christendom, so called: for some of them take it kneeling, 'some sitting; but none of them all, that ever I could find, take it as 'the disciples took it. For they took it in a chamber after supper; 'but these generally take it before dinner; and some say, after the 'priest hath blessed it, it is "Christ's body." But as to the matter, 'Christ said, "Do this in remembrance of me." He did not tell 'them how oft they should do it, or how long; neither did he enjoin them to do it always as long as they lived, or that all believers 'in him should do it to the world's end. The apostle Paul, who was 'not converted till after Christ's death, tells the Corinthians, that he 'had received of the Lord that which he delivered unto them concerning this matter, and relates Christ's words concerning the cup 'thus; "This do ye," as oft as ye drink it, "in remembrance of "me:" and himself adds, "For [as often as] ye do eat this bread, "and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come." 'So according to what the apostle here delivers, neither Christ nor 'he did enjoin people to do this always, but leaves it to their liberty,

"[as

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" [as oft as ye drink it, &c.]" The Jews did uſe to take a cup, and ' to break bread and divide it among them in their feaſts; as may be ' ſeen in the Jewiſh Antiquities; ſo the breaking of bread and drink- ' ing of wine were Jewiſh rites, which were not to laſt always. ' They did alſo baptiſe with water, which made it not ſeem a ſtrange ' thing to them, when John the Baptiſt came with his decreaſing ' miniſtration of water-baptiſm. But as to the bread and wine, ' after the diſciples had taken it, ſome of them queſtioned whether ' Jeſus was the Chriſt? For ſome of them ſaid, after he was cruci- ' fied, " We truſted that it had been he which ſhould have redeemed " Iſrael," &c. And though the Corinthians had the bread and ' wine, and were baptiſed in water, the apoſtle told them they ' were " reprobates, if Chriſt was not in them;" and bid them " examine themſelves." And as the apoſtle ſaid, " As oft as ye " do eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do ſhew forth the Lord's " death [till he come];" ſo Chriſt had ſaid before that he was the " bread of life," which " came down from heaven;" and that " he " would come, and dwell in them;" which the apoſtles did witneſs ' fulfilled; and exhorted others to ſeek for that which " comes down " from above:" but the outward bread and wine, and water, are ' not from above, but from below. Now ye that eat and drink this ' outward bread and wine in remembrance of Chriſt's death, and ' have your fellowſhips in that, will ye come no nearer to Chriſt's ' death than to take bread and wine in remembrance of it? After ' ye have eaten in remembrance of his death, ye muſt come into his ' death, and die with him, as the apoſtles did, if ye will live with ' him. This is a nearer and further advanced ſtate, to be with him ' in the fellowſhip of his death, than only to take bread and wine in ' remembrance of it. You muſt have fellowſhip with Chriſt in ' his ſufferings; if ye will reign with him, ye muſt ſuffer with ' him; if ye will live with him, ye muſt die with him; and if ye ' die with him, ye muſt be buried with him; and being buried with ' him in the true baptiſm, ye alſo riſe with him. Then having ſuf- ' fered with him, died with him, and been buried with him, if ye ' are riſen with Chriſt, " ſeek thoſe things which are above, where " Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God." Eat the bread which ' comes down from above, which is not outward bread; and drink ' the cup of ſalvation which he gives in his kingdom, which is not ' outward wine. And then there will not be a looking at the things ' that are ſeen (as outward bread and wine and water are): for, as ' ſays the apoſtle, " The things that are ſeen are temporal, but the " things that are not ſeen are eternal." So here are many ſtates and ' conditions to be gone through before people come to ſee that, and ' partake of that which " cometh down from above." For firſt, ' There was " a taking of the outward bread and wine in remem- " brance of Chriſt's death." This was temporary, and not of ne- ' ceſſity; but at their liberty, " As oft as ye do it," &c. Secondly, ' There muſt be " a coming into his death, a ſuffering with Chriſt;" ' and this is of neceſſity to ſalvation; and not temporary, but con- ' tinual: there muſt be " a dying daily." Thirdly, " a being buried " with Chriſt." Fourthly, " a riſing with Chriſt." Fifthly, After

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'they are riſen with Chriſt, then "a ſeeking thoſe things which are "above, a ſeeking the bread that comes down from heaven," and a "feeding on that and having fellowſhip in that." For outward 'bread, wine, and water are from below, and are viſible and tem-'poral; but, ſaith the apoſtle, "We look not at things that are "ſeen, for the things that are ſeen are temporal, but the things that "are not ſeen are eternal." So the fellowſhip that ſtands in the uſe 'of bread, wine, water, circumciſion, outward temple, and things 'ſeen will have an end: but the fellowſhip which ſtands in the goſ-'pel, the power of God, which was before the devil was, and which 'brings life and immortality to light, by which people may ſee over 'the devil that has darkened them, this fellowſhip is eternal, and 'will ſtand. And all that are in it ſeek that which is heavenly and 'eternal, which comes down from above, and are ſettled in the 'eternal myſtery of the fellowſhip of the goſpel, which is hid from 'all eyes that look only at viſible things. The apoſtle told the 'Corinthians, who were in diſorder about water, bread, and wine, 'that he "deſired to know nothing amongſt them, but Jeſus Chriſt, "and him crucified."

Thus were the objections which the prieſts and profeſſors had raiſed againſt friends anſwered, and the ſtumbling-blocks they had laid in the way of the weak removed. And as things were thus opened, people came to ſee over them and through them, and to have their minds ſettled upon the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, their free teacher: which was the ſervice for which I was moved to travel over the nation after my impriſonment in Lanceſton gaol. In this year the Lord's truth was finely planted over the nation, and many thouſands were turned to the Lord; inſomuch that there were ſeldom fewer than one thouſand in priſon in this nation for truth's teſtimony; ſome for tithes, ſome for going to the ſteeple-houſes, ſome for contempts, as they called them, ſome for not ſwearing, and others for not putting off their hats, &c.

After I had viſited moſt parts of the nation, and was come to London again, finding that evil ſpirit at work which had drawn J. N. and his followers out of the truth, to run friends into heats about him, I wrote a ſhort epiſtle to friends, as followeth:

'TO all the elect ſeed of God called Quakers, where the death 'is brought into death, and the elder is ſervant to the younger, 'and the elect is known, which cannot be deceived, but obtains 'victory. This is the word of the Lord God to you all, Go not 'forth to the aggravating part, to ſtrive with it out of the power of 'God, leſt ye hurt yourſelves, and run into the ſame nature, out of 'the life. For patience muſt get the victory, and to anſwer that of 'God in every one, which muſt bring every one to it to bring them 'from the contrary. Let your moderation, temperance, and pa-'tience be known unto all men in the ſeed of God. For that which 'reacheth to the aggravating part without life, ſets up the aggravating 'part and breeds confuſion; and hath a life in outward ſtrife, but 'reacheth not to the witneſs of God in every one, through which

'they might come into peace and covenant with God, and fellow- 1656.
'ſhip one with another. Therefore that which reacheth this wit- London.
'neſs of God in yourſelves, and in others, is the life and light;
'which will out-laſt all, is over all, and will overcome all. There-
'fore in the ſeed of life live, which bruiſeth the ſeed of death.

'G. F.'

I wrote another ſhort epiſtle to friends to encourage them to keep up their meetings in the Lord's power; which here followeth:

'Dear friends,

'KEEP your meetings in the power of the Lord; which power 'is over all that which is in the fall and muſt have an end. 'Therefore be wiſe in the wiſdom of God, which is from above, 'by which all things were made and created; that that may be 'juſtified among you, and you all kept in the ſolid life, which was 'before death was; and in the light which was before darkneſs was 'with all its works. In which light and life ye all may feel and 'have heavenly unity and peace, poſſeſſing the goſpel-fellowſhip 'that is everlaſting; which was before that which doth not laſt for 'ever, and will remain when that is gone. For the goſpel being the 'power of God, is pure and everlaſting. Know it to be your por- 'tion; in which is ſtability, life, and immortality, ſhining over that 'which darkens the mortal. So be faithful every one to God in 'your meaſures of his power and life, that ye may anſwer God's 'love and mercy to you, as obedient children of the Moſt High; 'dwelling in love, unity, peace, and innocency of heart towards one 'another; that God may be glorified in you, and you kept faithful 'witneſſes for him, and valiant for the truth on earth. God Al- 'mighty preſerve you all to his glory, that ye may feel his bleſſing 'among you, and that ye may be poſſeſſors thereof.

'G. F.'

About this time many mouths being opened in our meetings to declare the goodneſs of the Lord, ſome that were young and tender in the truth would ſometimes utter a few words in thankſgiving and praiſes to God; that no diſorder might ariſe from thence in our meetings, I was moved to write an epiſtle to friends by way of advice in that matter:

'ALL my dear friends in the noble ſeed of God, who have 'known his power, life, and preſence among you, let it be 'your joy to hear or ſee the ſprings of life break forth in any; thro' 'which ye have all unity in the ſame, feeling life and power. And 'above all things take heed of judging any one openly in your meet- 'ings, except they be openly prophane or rebellious, ſuch as are out 'of the truth; that by the power, life, and wiſdom ye may ſtand 'over them, and by it anſwer the witneſs of God in the world, that 'ſuch, whom ye bear your teſtimony againſt, are none of you: that

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'therein the truth may ſtand clear and ſingle. But ſuch as are 'tender, if they ſhould be moved to bubble forth a few words, 'and ſpeak in the ſeed and Lamb's power, ſuffer and bear that; 'that is, the tender. And if they ſhould go beyond their meaſure, 'bear it in the meeting for peace and order's ſake, and that the 'ſpirits of the world be not moved againſt you. But when the 'meeting is done, if any be moved to ſpeak to them, between you 'and them, one or two of you that feel it in the life, do it in the 'love and wiſdom that is pure and gentle from above, for love is 'that which edifies, bears all things, ſuffers long, and fulfils the 'law. In this ye have order and edification, ye have wiſdom 'to preſerve you all wiſe and in patience; which takes away the oc-'caſion of ſtumbling the weak, and the occaſion of the ſpirits of 'the world to get up: but in the royal ſeed, the heavy ſtone, ye 'keep down all that is wrong, and by it anſwer that of God in all. 'For ye will hear, ſee, and feel the power of God preaching, as your 'faith is wholly in it (when ye do not hear words) to bind, to chain, 'to limit, to fruſtrate, that nothing ſhall riſe nor come forth but what 'is in the power; with that ye will hold back, with that ye will let 'up and open every ſpring, plant, and ſpark; in which will be your 'joy and refreſhment in the power of God. Ye that know the 'power of God and are come to it, which is the croſs of Chriſt, 'that crucifies you to the ſtate that Adam and Eve were in in the 'fall, and ſo to the world, by this power of God ye come to ſee the 'ſtate that Adam and Eve were in before they fell: which power of 'God is the croſs, in which ſtands the everlaſting glory, which 'brings up into righteouſneſs and holineſs, the image of God, and 'crucifies to unrighteouſneſs and unholineſs, the image of ſatan, that 'Adam and Eve and their ſons and daughters are in under the fall. 'Through this power of God ye come to ſee the ſtate they were in 'before they fell; yea, and I ſay, to an higher ſtate, to the Seed 'Chriſt, the Second Adam, by whom all things were made. For 'man hath been driven from God. All Adam and Eve's ſons and 'daughters, being in the ſtate of the fall in the earth, are driven from 'God. But it is ſaid, "The church is in God, the Father of our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt:" ſo who come to the church, which is in God 'the Father of Chriſt, they muſt come to God again, out of the 'ſtate that Adam and his children are in in the fall, out of the image 'of God, out of righteouſneſs and holineſs; and they muſt come into 'the righteouſneſs, into the true holineſs, the image of God, and out 'of the earth whither man hath been driven, when they come to the 'church which is in God. The way to this is Chriſt, the Light, the 'Life, the Truth, the Saviour, the Redeemer, the Sanctifier, and 'the Juſtifier, in and through whoſe power, light, and life, con-'verſion, regeneration, and tranſlation is known from death to life, 'from darkneſs to light, and from the power of ſatan to God again. 'Theſe are members of the true church, who know the work of re-'generation in the operation and feeling of it; and being come to be 'members of the church of God, they are indeed members one of 'another in the power of God, which was before the power of dark-

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'neſs was. So they that come to the church that is in God and Chriſt, muſt come out of the ſtate that Adam was in in the fall, driven from God, to know the ſtate that he was in before he fell. But they that live in the ſtate that Adam was in in the fall, and cannot believe a poſſibility of coming into the ſtate he was in before he fell, come not to the church which is in God; but are far from that, are not paſſed from death to life, but are enemies to the croſs of Chriſt, which is the power of God. For they mind earthly things, and ſerve not Chriſt; nor love the power which ſhould bring them up to the ſtate that Adam was in before he fell, and crucify them to the ſtate that man is in in the fall; that through this power they might ſee to the beginning, the power that man was in before the heavenly image, holineſs and righteouſneſs was loſt: by which power they might come to know the Seed, Chriſt, which brings out of the old things, and makes all things new; in which life eternal is felt. For all the poorneſs, emptineſs, and barrenneſs is in the ſtate that man is in in the fall, out of God's power; by which power he is made rich again, and in which power he hath ſtrength again: which power is the croſs, in which the myſtery of the fellowſhip ſtands; and in which is the true glorying, which crucifies to all other gloryings. And friends, though ye may have been convinced, and have taſted of the power, and felt the light, yet afterwards ye may feel a winter-ſtorm, tempeſt and hail, froſt and cold, and temptation in the wilderneſs. Be patient and ſtill in the power and in the light that doth convince you, to keep your minds to God; in that be quiet, that ye may come to the ſummer; that your flight be not in the winter. For if ye ſit ſtill in the patience which overcomes in the power of God, there will be no flying. The huſbandman, after he hath ſown his ſeed, is patient. And ye by the power being kept in the patience, will come by the light to ſee through and feel over winter-ſtorms and tempeſts, and all the coldneſs, barrenneſs, and emptineſs: and the ſame light and power will go over the tempter's head; which power and light was before he was. So in the light ſtanding ſtill, ye will ſee your ſalvation, ye will ſee the Lord's ſtrength, ye will feel the ſmall rain, ye will feel the freſh ſprings, your minds being kept low in the power and light: for that which is out of the power lifts up. But in the power and light ye will feel God, revealing his ſecrets, inſpiring your minds, and his gifts coming in unto you; through which your hearts will be filled with God's love, and praiſes to him that lives for evermore: for in his light and power his bleſſing is received. So in that, the eternal power of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt preſerve and keep you! Live every one in the power of God, that ye may all come to be heirs of that, and know that to be your portion; even the kingdom that hath no end, and the endleſs life which the Seed is heir of. Feel that ſet over all, which hath the promiſe and bleſſing of God for ever.

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'G. F.'

About

1656. London. About this time I received ſome lines from a high-flown profeſſor, concerning the way of Chriſt; to which I returned the following anſwer:

'Friend,

'IT is not circumſtances we contend about, but the way of Chriſt 'and his light, which are but one; though the world hath imagined 'many ways, and all out of the light, which by the light are con-'demned. He who preached this light, ſaid, "He that knoweth "God, heareth us; he that is not of God, heareth us not: hereby "know we the Spirit of truth, and the ſpirit of error." It is the ſame 'now with them that know the truth; though the whole world lies 'in wickedneſs. All diſpenſations and differences that are not one in 'the light we deny; and by the light, that was before ſeparation, do 'we ſee them to be ſelf-ſeparations in the ſenſual, having not the 'Spirit. Their fruits and end are weighed in the even balance, and 'found to be in the dark, the Lo-here, and Lo-there thou telleſt of; 'and the preſence of Chriſt is not with them, though the blind ſee 'it not; who ſee not with the pure eye, which is ſingle; but with the 'many eyes, which lead into the many ways. Nor are any the people 'of God, but who are baptized into this principle of light; which 'all the faithful ſervants of the Lord were ever guided by in all ages, 'ſince the apoſtaſy and before. For the apoſtaſy was and is from 'the light; and all that oppoſe the light are apoſtates. Who con-'teſt againſt the truth, are enemies to it, and are not actuated by the 'Spirit; but have another way than the light. All ſuch are in the 'world, its words, faſhions, and cuſtoms, though of ſeveral forms, 'as to their worſhip; yet all under the god of this world, oppoſing 'the light and appearance of Chriſt, which ſhould lead out from un-'der his power, of what form ſoever they are; yet are they all joined 'againſt the light. All theſe are of the world; and fighting againſt 'them who are not of the world, but are gathered and gathering 'out of the world: ſo it ever was againſt the people of God, under 'what name ſoever. They only are ſaints by calling, who are called 'into the light; and ſons of Sion, which vary not from the light, to 'which the Spirit is promiſed, which is not tied to any forms out of 'the light; wherein all inherit, who are co-heirs with Chriſt; which 'many talk of, who inherit the earthly, inſtead of the heavenly. And 'whereas thou ſpeakeſt of Chriſt and his apoſtles cloathing themſelves 'with the ſayings and words of the prophets; and of their being your 'example in ſo doing; I ſay, wolves will take the ſheeps cloathing; 'but the light and life finds them out, and judges (not by their ſtolen 'words, but) by their works. Nor did Chriſt cover himſelf with any 'words, but what were fulfilled in him; neither do any of Chriſt's 'boaſt in other men's lines made ready without them; to which rule 'if ye be obedient, fewer words and more life will be ſeen among 'you. Then ye will not count it ſtraitneſs to ſilence the fleſh; and 'hear what he ſaith, who ſpeaks peace, "that his people turn no more "to folly." If ye once know, that what is ſtolen muſt be reſtored 'fourfold; the mouth of the falſe prophet will be ſtopped, which builds

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'up in deceit, but not in righteouſneſs. And whereas thou ſayeſt, "The Spirit of truth affords nothing but endleſs varieties;" I ſay, 'the Spirit of truth thou knoweſt not: for the Spirit of truth 'ſaid, "There is but one thing needful;" and to ſpeak the ſame 'thing again is ſafe for the hearers; but that ſpirit which af-'fords nothing but endleſs varieties, is not the Spirit of truth, but is 'gone out into curious notions; and the number of his names and co-'lours is read no-where but in the unity of the Spirit of truth. All 'others call truth deceit, and deceit truth, as the blind that oppoſed the 'light ever did, who are ever learning endleſs varieties, but never able 'to come to the knowledge of the truth, nor to an end of their la-'bours: but when they are out of one form get into another, ſo long 'as they can find a green tree without. Thus ye are kept at work all 'your life, and to the grave in ſorrow, as the dumb prieſts, thou telleſt 'of, have been before you; only ye have got a finer image, but leſs 'life. And thou, whoſe teaching hath no end, art in the horſe-mill 'thou ſpeakeſt of. I have read the epiſtles to Timothy, and to the 'Hebrews; and there I find, the duty of all believers is to ſee the 'law of the new covenant written in the heart, whereby all may know 'God, from the leaſt to the greateſt. I know the holy ſcriptures are 'profitable for the man of God; but what is that to the man of ſin, 'to the firſt-born, who is out of the light, and being unſtable and 'unlearned, wreſt them to their own deſtruction; but to the life can-'not come? And for your two ordinances thou ſpeakeſt of, I ſay, 'upon the ſame account ye deny the prieſts of the world therein, we 'deny you; being both of you not only out of the life, but out of the 'form too. That command, Matth. xxviii. 19. ye never had, nor its 'power; which was, "To baptize into the name of the Father, Son, "and Holy Ghoſt." What Paul received of the Lord, that body and 'that bread, ye know as little of, but what ye have found in the chap-'ter; nor of the coming of Chriſt neither, who cannot believe his 'light. And whereas thou ſpeakeſt of preaching Chriſt of envy, and 'pleadeſt for it; I ſay, ſuch preachers we have enough of in theſe 'days. What elſe art thou doing, who ſayeſt, Paul was ſent to bap-'tize; though Paul ſays, he was not: ſo thou wouldeſt prove him a 'lyar, if any would believe thee before him. Thou ſayeſt alſo, "For "aught thou knoweſt, he might baptize thouſands." Thou mighteſt 'as eaſily have ſaid millions, and as ſoon have proved it. Thou mayeſt 'ſay the ſame of circumciſion alſo, and on the ſame ground. As for 'the ſigns that followed thoſe that believed, which thou ſayeſt are 'ceaſed; I ſay, they who cannot receive the light cannot ſee the 'ſigns, nor could believe them, if they ſhould ſee them to carp at; 'no more than formerly they could do, who oppoſed the light in 'former ages. They cannot properly be ſaid to ceaſe to ſuch, who 'never had them; but have only heard or read that others long ago 'had them. But that the power, and ſigns, and preſence of God is 'not the ſame that ever it was, in the meaſure wherein he is received 'in the light, that I deny; and declare it to be falſe, and from a ſpi-'rit that knows not God, nor his power. And as for the goſpel-'foundation thou ſpeakeſt of, I ſay, it is to be laid again in all the 'world. Ye never were on it, ſince the man of ſin ſet up his forms

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'without power. Till ye can own the light of Chriſt, which the 'ſaints preached, and their life and practice; for ſhame, ceaſe to talk 'of their foundation, or glorious work, or quakings and tremblings, 'the ſaints experiences, which the world knows not, nor can own: 'though ye cannot read that ever any came aright to declare how they 'knew God, or received his word, without them. In thy exhortation 'thou biddeſt me, 'Love Chriſt, whereſoever I ſee him." But hadſt 'thou told me where one might come to ſee him, or how one might 'know him, thou hadſt ſhewn more of a chriſtian in that than in all 'thou haſt ſpoken. But it ſeems, ye are not all of one mind. Some 'of you ſay, "He is gone, and will be no more ſeen till doomſday." 'But if ever ye come to ſee Chriſt to your comfort, while ye oppoſe 'his light, then God hath not ſpoken by me. This thou ſhalt re-'member, when thy time thou haſt ſpent.

'G. F.'

Great oppoſition did the prieſts and profeſſors make about this time againſt the light of Chriſt Jeſus, denying it to be univerſally given; and againſt the pouring forth of the Spirit, and ſons and daughters propheſying thereby. Much they laboured to darken the minds of people, that they might keep them ſtill in a dependence on their teaching. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to give forth the following lines, for the opening of the minds and underſtandings of people, and to manifeſt the blindneſs and darkneſs of their teachers.

'TO you profeſſors, prieſts, and teachers, who are in darkneſs, and 'know not the Spirit in priſon, nor the light that ſhines in dark-'neſs, which the darkneſs doth not comprehend; but are as infidels, 'whom the god of the world hath blinded, and to whom the goſpel 'is hid. For though ye have the four books, the goſpel is hid to you; 'who are now ſtranging at the work of God, and do not believe that 'Chriſt hath enlightened every one that cometh into the world. To 'you I offer ſome ſcriptures to read, which will prove your ſpirits, and 'try them, how contrary they are to the apoſtles ſpirit, the Spirit of 'Chriſt and of the ſaints. "Chriſt went, and preached to the ſpirits "in priſon," 1 Pet. iii. 19. He that readeth, let him underſtand whe-'ther this was a meaſure of the Spirit, yea or nay, or the Spirit with-'out meaſure, which he miniſtered to? "For he whom God hath "ſent, ſpeaketh the words of God; for God giveth not the Spirit by "meaſure unto him," Joh. iii. 34. Here Chriſt had not the Spirit 'given unto him by meaſure. The apoſtle ſaid, "We will not boaſt "of things without (or beyond) our meaſure," 2 Cor. x. 13. So here 'was meaſure, and not by meaſure. Chriſt, who received not the 'Spirit by meaſure, told his diſciples he would ſend them the Com-"forter, the Spirit of truth, that he ſhould guide them into all truth: "for he ſhould not ſpeak of himſelf, but whatſoever he ſhall hear, "that ſhall he ſpeak, and he will ſhew you things to come. He ſhall "glorify me: for he ſhall receive of mine, and ſhew it unto you," 'Joh. xvi. 13, 14. Mind, read, and learn; the Comforter ſhall re-'ceive of mine, ſaith Chriſt, and ſhall ſhew it unto you: who hath

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‘ the meaſure, receives of his who hath not by meaſure. The Com-
‘ forter, when he comes, is to reprove the world of ſin, of righteouſ-
‘ neſs, and of judgment, ver. 8. Now mind the great work of God:
‘ the Spirit of truth, which leads the ſaints into all truth, which re-
‘ ceives of Chriſt's, and ſhews it unto the diſciples, who are in the mea-
‘ ſure, he ſhall reprove the world of ſin, becauſe they do not believe,
‘ &c. The Comforter, whom Chriſt will ſend, takes of his, and ſhews
‘ it to the diſciples; the ſame reproves the world. Mind now, whe-
‘ ther this be a meaſure, yea or nay, which comes from him who re-
‘ ceived not the Spirit by meaſure? He that leads the believer into all
‘ truth, reproves the unbeliever in the world, of ſin, of righteouſneſs,
‘ and of judgment. He that is led into all truth, ſees that which is
‘ reproved, by the Spirit of truth that leads him. Chriſt ſaith, “ He
“ ſhall take of mine, and ſhew it unto you.” Is this a meaſure, yea
‘ or nay, from him whom God gave the Spirit not by meaſure unto?

‘ Again the Lord ſaid, both by his prophet, Joel ii. 28. and his
‘ apoſtle, Acts ii. 17, 18. “ It ſhall come to paſs in the laſt days, I
“ will pour out of my Spirit upon all fleſh, your ſons and your daugh-
“ ters ſhall propheſy, your young men ſhall ſee viſions, and your old
“ men ſhall dream dreams: and on my ſervants and on my hand-
“ maidens I will pour out in thoſe days of my Spirit, and they ſhall
“ propheſy.” Look, ye deceivers; here the Lord ſaith, he will pour
“ of his Spirit: mark the word OF the Lord's Spirit upon all fleſh.
‘ What! young men, old men, ſons and daughters, and maids, all
‘ theſe to have the Spirit of God poured upon them? Here, ſay they,
‘ theſe deny the means then. Nay, that's the means. And the great
‘ and notable day of the Lord is coming, wherein it ſhall come to paſs,
‘ that whoſoever ſhall call on the name of the Lord ſhall be ſaved.
‘ The God of the ſpirits of all fleſh is known: and, ſaith the apoſtle,
‘ who would not boaſt of things beyond his meaſure, “ That which
“ may be known of God, is manifeſt in them; for God hath ſhewed
“ it unto them,” Rom. i. 19. By this which was of God manifeſt in
‘ them, they knew covetouſneſs, malice, murder, deceit, and ungodli-
‘ neſs; knew that the judgments of God were upon ſuch things; and
‘ that they were worthy of death, not only that did the ſame, but who
‘ had pleaſure in them that did them. Therefore, ſaid the apoſtle,
“ the wrath of God is revealed from heaven againſt all ungodlineſs and
“ unrighteouſneſs of men,” &c. Now this of God manifeſt in them,
‘ which God ſhewed unto them, by which they know unrighteouſneſs,
‘ and God's judgments thereupon, and that they which commit ſuch
‘ things are worthy of death; whether this be a meaſure, yea or nay,
‘ which is of God, and which he hath ſhewed to them? What was
‘ that in them, that “ did by nature the things contained in the law,
“ which ſhewed the work of the law written in their hearts,” Rom. ii.
‘ 14, 15. Mark, “ written:” ſhall not this judge them that have the
‘ outward law, but are out of the life of it? The apoſtle ſaith, “ The
“ manifeſtation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal,”
‘ 1 Cor. xii. 7. There are diverſities of gifts, but the ſame Spirit; the
‘ manifeſtation of it is given to “ every man” to profit withal. Mark,
“ To one is given by the Spirit, the word of wiſdom; to another the

“ word

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" word of knowledge by the ſame Spirit: to another faith by the " ſame Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the ſame Spirit: to " another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another " diſcerning of ſpirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another " the interpretation of tongues: but all theſe worketh that one and the " ſelf-ſame Spirit, dividing to every man ſeverally as he will." Mark ' that, To every man ſeverally as he will.

' Again the apoſtle ſaith, " The grace of God, that bringeth ſal- " vation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungod- " lineſs and worldly luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly " in this preſent world," Tit. ii. 11, 12. Now ye that turn from this ' grace, which brings ſalvation, into laſciviouſneſs, ye deny it, and ſay, ' that which teacheth the ſaints, who by grace are ſaved, hath not ap- ' peared to all men. Jude ſaith, " Behold, the Lord cometh with ten " thouſands of his ſaints, to execute judgment upon all, and to con- " vince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds, " which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard ſpeeches, " which ungodly ſinners have ſpoken againſt him," ver. 15. Here ' mark again; him that cometh with ten thouſands of his ſaints, to ' convince all of their ungodly deeds and hard ſpeeches: here it is, ' ALL of their ungodly deeds; and ALL of their hard ſpeeches; none ' left out, but ALL to be convinced and judged, the world reproved, by ' him who comes with ten thouſands of his ſaints, and will reign, and ' be king and judge. And have not ye all ſomething in you, that ' doth reprove you for your hard ſpeeches, and your ungodly deeds, ' the ungodlieſt of you all, who live in your hard ſpeeches againſt ' him, and againſt his light and ſpiritual appearance in his people?

' Again, the apoſtle writing to the Gentiles, ſaith, " But unto every " one of us is given grace, according to the meaſure of the gift of " Chriſt," Epheſ. iv. 7. Now mark, Here is the meaſure of the gift ' of Chriſt, " who lighteth every man that cometh into the world," ' Joh. i. 9. " that all men through him might believe. He that be- " lieveth on him is not condemned: but he that believeth not is con- " demned, &c. And this is the condemnation, that light is come " into the world," &c. Joh. iii. 18, 19. Now every man that cometh ' into the world being enlightened, one loveth it, and brings his deeds ' to the light, that with the light he may ſee whether they be wrought ' in God: the other hates the light, " becauſe his deeds are evil;" he ' will not bring his deeds to the light, becauſe he knows the light will ' reprove him. So he that hates the light, wherewith Chriſt hath en- ' lightened him, knows the light will reprove him for his evil deeds; ' and therefore he will not come to the light.

' Again, the Lord by his prophet ſaith concerning Chriſt, " I will " give him for a light to the Gentiles, that he may be my ſalvation to " the ends of the earth," Iſa. xlix. 6. And what is that which the ' children, that walk according to the courſe of this world, according ' to the prince of the power of the air, the " ſpirit that now worketh " in the children of diſobedience," Epheſ. ii. 2. are diſobedient to? ' Mark, and read yourſelves, who, being diſobedient, walk according ' to the courſe of this world, according to the prince of the power of

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'the air; Mark, I ſay, what it is that all ſuch are diſobedient to? He 'that hath an ear, let him hear. The apoſtle ſaith to the Coloſſians, "The wrath of God cometh upon the children of diſobedience," Col. 'iii. 6. Come, ye profeſſors, let us ſee, Is not this ſomething of God 'that is diſobeyed? Is it not that which is of God manifeſt in them, 'which God hath ſhewed them, which lets them ſee God's judgments 'are upon ſuch, when they act unrighteouſly? Is not this the meaſure 'of God, the Spirit that is in priſon? and the Spirit of God that is 'grieved?

'And ye profeſſors, come, let us read the parable of the talents, 'and reckon with you, and ſee who it is that hath hid the Lord's mo-'ney in the earth? Come, ye that have gained, enter ye into your 'maſter's joy. Go, thou that haſt hid the Lord's money in the earth, 'into utter darkneſs; "take it from him, and give it to him that "hath:" every man ſhall have his reward. For the Lord hath given 'to "every man according to his ſeveral ability," Mat. xxv. 15. Mark "that, "To every man according to his ſeveral ability:" Read this, 'if you can. Now is the Lord coming to call every man ſeverally 'to account, to whom he hath given ſeverally, according to their abi-'lity. Now the wicked and ſlothful ſervant, who hid the Lord's mo-'ney in the earth, will be found out; and the Lord's money will be 'taken from him, although he hath hidden it. To him the Lord's 'commands have been grievous; but to us they are not, who love 'God and keep his commandments. "And," ſaith the apoſtle to the 'Romans, "I ſay, through the grace given unto me, to every man "that is among you, not to think of himſelf more highly than he "ought to think; but to think ſoberly, according as God hath dealt to "every man the meaſure of faith," Rom. xii. 3. Read and mark, 'here is a meaſure of faith.

"And," ſaith another apoſtle, "as every man hath received the "gift, even ſo miniſter the ſame one to another, as ſtewards of the "manifold grace of God," 1 Pet. iv. 10. "For the grace of God "hath appeared to all men." The good ſtewards can give their ac-'count with joy: but ye bad ſtewards, that turn from the grace of God 'into laſciviouſneſs, ye will be reckoned withal; ye ſhall have your re-"ward. "But," ſay the world, "muſt every one miniſter as he "hath received the gift?" Yea, ſay I, "but let him ſpeak as the ora-"cles of God; and let him do it as of the ability which God giveth," 'ver. 11. John in the Revelation ſaith, "They were judged every "man according to their works," Rev. xx. 13. Chriſt ſaith, "Every "idle word that men ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give account thereof in "the day of judgment," Mat. xii. 36. "Ye, that name the name "of Chriſt, depart from iniquity," 2 Tim. ii. 19. "The Son of "Man ſhall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels, and "then he ſhall reward every man according to his works," Mat. xvi. 'He who is gone into a far country, and hath given talents to every 'one of you, according to your ſeveral ability, "will render to every "man according to his deeds," Rom. ii. 6. "And further I ſay unto "you, if any man have not the Spirit of Chriſt, he is none of his. "And if Chriſt be in you, the body is dead becauſe of ſin; but the

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" Spirit is life, becauſe of righteouſneſs," Rom. viii. 9, 10. So let ' the light, which cometh from Chriſt, examine; for the Lord is ap- ' pearing. Ye that have received according to your ability, ſmite not ' your fellow-ſervant. Think not that the Lord delayeth the time ' of his coming. Be not as they that ſaid, " Let us eat and drink, " for to-morrow we ſhall die."

' The apoſtle tells the Epheſians, that unto him " this grace was " given —to make all men ſee what is the fellowſhip of the myſtery " which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who " created all things by Jeſus Chriſt," Eph. iii. 9. Read and under- ' ſtand every one with the light which comes from Chriſt, the my- ' ſtery; which will be your condemnation, if ye believe not in it. ' This is to all who ſtumble at the work of the Spirit of God, the ' manifeſtation of it, " which is given to every man to profit withal." ' Come, ye profeſſors, who ſtumble at it; let us read the parables. " A ſower went forth to ſow; and ſome ſeed fell on the highway- " ground, and ſome on ſtony ground, and ſome on thorny ground: " the ſeed is the Word, the Son of Man is the ſeedſman. He that " hath an ear, let him hear," Mat. xiii. Now look, all ye profeſſors, ' what ground ye are? And what ye have brought forth? And whe- ' ther the wicked ſeedſman hath not got his ſeed into your ground? " He that hath an ear, let him hear it." And come, read another ' parable of the houſholder hiring labourers to go into the vineyard, ' and agreeing with every man for a penny, Mat. xx. Every man ' is to have his penny; the laſt that went in, as well as the firſt: " and the laſt ſhall be firſt, and the firſt ſhall be laſt; for many are " called, but few are choſen. He that hath an ear, let him hear." ' There was a query put to Cain, " If thou doſt well, ſhalt thou not " be accepted?" Gen. iv. 7. And Eſau had a birthright, but de- ' ſpiſed it. Yet it is not " of him that willeth," Rom. ix. 16. " but by grace ye are ſaved," Epheſ. ii. 8. And ſtand ſtill, and ſee ' your ſalvation, Exod. xiv. 13. And ye that are children of light, ' put on the armour of light, that ye may come into the unity of the ' faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God; unto a " perfect " man, unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt: that " henceforth ye be no more children toſſed to and fro," Eph. iv. 13.

' The Lord ſaid, he would make a new covenant, by " writing " his law in people's hearts, and putting his Spirit in their inward " parts," whereby they ſhould all come to know the Lord, by whom ' the world was made. Now every one of you mind the law writ- ' ten in your hearts, and this Spirit put in your inward parts, that it ' need not be ſaid to you, " Know the Lord;" but that ye may ' witneſs the promiſe of God fulfilled in you. But, ſay the world ' and profeſſors, " If every one muſt come to witneſs the law of God " written in their hearts, and the Spirit put in the inward parts, " what muſt we do with all our teachers?" As we come to witneſs ' that, we need not any man to teach us to know the Lord, having ' his law written in our hearts, and his Spirit put in our inward ' parts. This is the covenant of life, the everlaſting covenant, which decays not, nor changes not: and here is the way to the Father, without which no man cometh unto the Father. Here is the ever-

'lasting priesthood, the end of the old priesthood, whose lips were 1656.
'to preserve knowledge; but now, saith Christ, "Learn of me:" London.
'who is the high-priest of the new priesthood. And, saith the
'apostle,——"That ye may grow up in the knowledge of Jesus
"Christ, in whom are hid the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."
'So we are brought off from the old priesthood that did change, to
'Christ, to the new priesthood that doth not change; off from the
'first covenant that doth decay, to the everlasting covenant that doth
'not decay, Christ Jesus, the Covenant of Light, from whom every
'one of you have a light, that ye might believe in the Covenant of
'Light. If ye do not believe, ye are condemned; for light is come
'into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because
'their deeds are evil. "I am come a light into the world," saith
'Christ, "that whosoever believeth in me should not abide in
"darkness, but have the light of life," John xii. 46. "Believe in the
"light, that ye may be children of the light." Ye who do not be-
'lieve in the light, but hate it because it manifests your deeds to be
'evil, ye are condemned by the light. Therefore while ye have
'time, prize it. Seek the Lord while he may be found, and call
'upon him while he is nigh; lest ye say, "Time is past:" for the
'rich glutton's time was past. Therefore, while time is not quite
'past, consider, search yourselves, and see if you be not they that
'hate the light, and so are builders that stumble at the corner-stone;
'for they that hated the light, and did not believe in the light, did
'so in ages past. "I am the light of the world," saith Christ,
"who," the apostle saith, "doth enlighten every man that cometh
"into the world." Christ also saith, "Learn of me;" and of him
'God saith, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him." Here is
'your Teacher. But ye that hate the light do not learn of Christ,
'will not have him to be your king to reign over you; him, to whom
'all power in heaven and earth is given, who bears his government
'upon his shoulders, who is now come to reign, who lighteth every
'man that cometh into the world, who will give to every man a
'reward according to his works, whether they be good or evil. So
'every man, with the light that comes from Christ, will see his
'deeds, both he that hates it and he that loves it. And he that will
'not bring his deeds to the light, because the light will reprove him,
'that is his condemnation; and he shall have a reward according to
'his deeds. For the Lord is come to reckon with you. He looks
'for fruits; the ax is laid to your root; and every tree of you, that
'bears not good fruit, must be hewn down and cast into the fire.

'G. F.'

Having staid some time in London, and visited the meetings of friends in and about the city, and cleared myself of what services the Lord had at that time laid upon me there, I left the town, and travelled into Kent, Sussex, and Surry, visiting friends; amongst whom I had great meetings, and often met with opposition from Baptists and other jangling professors; but the Lord's power went over them. Kent. Sussex. Surry.

We lay one night at Farnham, where we had a little meeting. The people were exceeding rude; but at last the Lord's power came over them. Farnham.

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them. After meeting we went to our inn, and gave notice, 'That 'any who feared God might come to our inn to us.' There came abundance of rude people, the magiſtrates of the town, and ſome profeſſors. I declared the truth to them; and thoſe of the people that behaved themſelves rudely, the magiſtrates put out of the room. When they were gone, another rude company of profeſſors came up, and ſome of the chief of the town. They called for faggots and drink, though we forbad them, and were as rude a people as ever I met withal. The Lord's power chained them, that they had not power to do us any miſchief; but when they went away they left all the faggots and beer, which they had called for into the room, for us to pay for in the morning. We ſhewed the innkeeper what an unworthy thing it was; but he told us, "we muſt pay it;" and pay it we did. Before we left the town, I wrote to the magiſtrates and heads of the town, and to the prieſt, ſhewing them how he had taught his people, and laying before them their rude and uncivil carriage to ſtrangers that ſought their good.

Baſingſtoke. Leaving that place we came to Baſingſtoke, a very rude town; where they had formerly very much abuſed friends. There I had a meeting in the evening, which was quiet; for the Lord's power chained the unruly. At the cloſe of the meeting I was moved to put off my hat, and to pray to the Lord to open their underſtandings; upon which they raiſed a report, 'That I put off my hat to them, 'and bid them good night,' which was never in my heart. After the meeting, when we came to our inn, I ſent for the innkeeper, as I uſed to do; and he came into the room to us, and ſhewed himſelf a very rude man. I admoniſhed him to be ſober, and fear the Lord; but he called for faggots and a pint of wine, and drank it off himſelf; then called for another, and called up half a dozen men into our chamber. Thereupon I bid him go out of the chamber, and told him he ſhould not drink there; for we ſent for him up to ſpeak to him concerning his eternal good. He was exceeding mad, rude, and drunk. When he continued his rudeneſs and would not be gone, I told him, 'The chamber was mine for the time I lodged in it;' and called for the key. Then he went away in a rage. In the morning he would not be ſeen; but I told his wife of his unchriſtian carriage towards us.

Bridport. After this we came to Bridport, having meetings in the way. We went to an inn, and ſent into the town for ſuch as feared God; and there came a ſhopkeeper, a profeſſor, and put of his hat to us: and ſeeing we did not the like to him again, but ſaid Thou and Thee to him, he told us, 'He was not of our religion;' and after ſome diſcourſe he went away. After a while he ſent to the inn to us, to deſire us 'to come to his houſe, for ſome would ſpeak with us.' Thomas Curtis went to his houſe; where when he came, the man had got the prieſt and magiſtrates thither, and they boaſted much that they had catched George Fox, taking him for me. When they perceived their miſtake they were very angry; yet the Lord's power came over them, ſo that they let him go again. Mean while I had an opportunity of ſpeaking to ſome ſober people that came to the inn. When Thomas was returned, and we were paſſing out of the town, ſome

ſome came to us, and ſaid, 'The officers were coming to fetch me;' but the Lord's power was over them, ſo that they had not power to touch me. There were ſome convinced in the town who were turned to the Lord, and have ſtood faithful in their teſtimony to the truth ever ſince, and a fine meeting is ſettled there. 1656. Bridport.

Paſſing from hence we viſited Portſmouth and Pool, where we had glorious meetings; and many were turned to the Lord. At Ringwood we had a large general meeting, where the Lord's power was over all. At Weymouth we had a meeting; and from thence came thro' Dorcheſter to Lime, where the inn we went to was taken up with mountebanks, ſo that there was hardly any room for us or our horſes. In the evening we drew up ſome queries concerning the ground of all diſeaſes, and the nature and virtues of medicinable creatures, and ſent them to the mountebanks; letting them know, 'If they would not anſwer them, we would ſtick them on the croſs 'next day.' This brought them down and made them cool, for they could not anſwer them; but in the morning they reaſoned a little with us. We left the queries with ſome friendly people that were convinced in the town, to ſtick upon the market-croſs. The Lord's power reached ſome of the ſober people in that place, who were turned by the Light and Spirit of Chriſt to his free teaching. 1657. Portſmouth. Pool. Ringwood. Weymouth. Dorcheſter. Lime.

We then travelled to Exeter; and at the Seven Stars, an inn at the bridge foot, we had a general meeting of friends out of Cornwall and Devonſhire; to which came Humphry Lower, Thomas Lower, and John Ellis from the Land's-end, Henry Pollexfen, with friends from Plimouth, Elizabeth Trelawny, and divers other friends. A bleſſed heavenly meeting we had, and the Lord's everlaſting power came over all; in which I ſaw, and ſaid, 'That the Lord's power 'had ſurrounded this nation round about as with a wall and bulwark, 'and his ſeed reached from ſea to ſea.' Friends were eſtabliſhed in the everlaſting ſeed of life, Chriſt Jeſus, their life, rock, teacher, and ſhepherd. Exeter.

The next morning, major Blackmore ſent ſoldiers to apprehend me; but I was gone before they came. As I was riding up the ſtreet, I ſaw the officers going down. So the Lord croſſed their deſign, and friends paſſed away peaceably and quietly. The ſoldiers examined ſome friends after I was gone, 'What they did there?' but when they told them, 'They were in their inn, and had buſi-'neſs in the city,' they paſſed away without meddling any further with them.

From Exeter I took meetings as I went, till I came to Briſtol; and was at the meeting there. After it was done I did not ſtay in the town, but paſſed into Wales, and had a meeting at the Slone. Thence going to Cardiff, a juſtice of peace ſent to me, deſiring, 'I 'would come with half a dozen of my friends to his houſe.' So I took a friend or two and went to him, and he and his wife received us very civilly. The next day we had a meeting in Cardiff in the town-hall; to which that juſtice ſent about ſeventeen of his family. There came ſome diſturbers, but the Lord's power was over them; and many were turned to the Lord. To ſome who had run out with James Nayler, and forſook meetings, I had to ſend word, 'That Briſtol. Wales. Slone. Cardiff.

1657. 'the day of their viſitation was over;' and they never proſpered after.

Swanſea. We travelled from Cardiff to Swanſea, where we had a bleſſed meeting; and a meeting was ſettled there in the name of Jeſus. In our way thither we paſſed over in a paſſage-boat with the high ſheriff of the county. The next day I went to have ſpoken with him, but he refuſed.

We went to another meeting in the country; where the Lord's preſence was much with us. From thence we went to a great man's houſe, who received us very lovingly; but the next morning he would not be ſeen: one, that in the mean time came to him, had ſo eſtranged him, that we could not get to ſpeak with him again.

We paſſed through the countries, having meetings, and gathering people in the name of Chriſt, their heavenly teacher, till we came to Brecknock; where we ſet up our horſes at an inn. There went with

Brecknock. me Thomas Holmes and John ap John, who was moved of the Lord to 'ſpeak in the ſtreets.' I walked out but a little into the fields; and when I returned the town was in an uproar. When I came into the chamber in the inn it was full of people, and they were ſpeaking in Welch. I deſired them to ſpeak in Engliſh, which they did; and much diſcourſe we had. After a while they went away. Towards night the magiſtrates gathered in the ſtreets with a multitude of people, and they bid them ſhout, and gathered up the town; ſo that, for about two hours together, there was ſuch a noiſe as the like we had not heard; and the magiſtrates ſet them on to ſhout again when they had given over. We thought it looked like the uproar, which we read was amongſt Diana's craftſmen. This tumult continued till it was within night, and if the Lord's power had not limited them, they ſeemed likely to have pulled down the houſe, and us to pieces.

At night the woman of the houſe would have had us go to ſupper in another room; but we, diſcerning her plot, refuſed. Then ſhe would have had half a dozen men come into the room to us, under pretence of diſcourſing with us. We told her, 'No per-'ſons ſhould come into our room that night, neither would we go 'to them.' Then ſhe ſaid, we ſhould 'ſup in another room;' but we told her, we would have no ſupper if we had it not in our own room. At length, when ſhe ſaw ſhe could not get us out, ſhe brought up our ſupper. So ſhe and they were croſſed in their deſign; for they had an intent to have done us miſchief, but the Lord prevented them. Next morning I wrote a paper to the town concerning their unchriſtian carriage, ſhewing the fruits of their prieſts and magiſtrates; and as I paſſed out of town I ſpoke to the people, and told them, They were a ſhame to Chriſtianity and religion.

From this place we went to a great meeting in a ſteeple-houſe yard; where was a prieſt, and Walter Jenkin, who had been a juſtice, and another juſtice. A bleſſed glorious meeting we had. There being many profeſſors, I was moved of the Lord to open the 'ſcrip-'tures to them, and to anſwer the objections which they ſtuck at

'in their profeſſion (for I knew them very well); and to turn them 1657.
'to Chriſt, who had enlightened them; with which light they might Brecknock.
'ſee the ſins and treſpaſſes they had been dead in, and their Saviour
'who came to redeem them out of them, who was to be their way
'to God, the truth and the life to them, and their prieſt made higher
'than the heavens; ſo that they might come to ſit under his teach-
'ing.' A peaceable meeting we had; many were convinced, and ſettled in the truth that day. After the meeting, I went with Walter Jenkin to the other juſtice's, who ſaid to me, 'You have 'this day given great ſatisfaction to the people, and anſwered all the 'objections that were in their minds.' For the people had the ſcriptures, but they were not turned to the Spirit, which ſhould let them ſee that which gave them forth, the Spirit of God, which is the key to open them.

From hence we paſſed to Richard Hamborow's at Pontemoil, Pontemoil.
where was a great meeting; to which there came another juſtice, and ſeveral great people; whoſe underſtandings were opened by the Lord's Spirit and power, and they were turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, from whence it came. A great convincement there was; a large meeting is gathered in thoſe parts, and ſettled in the name of Jeſus.

After this returning to England, we came to Shrewſbury, where England.
we had a great meeting; and viſited friends up and down the coun- Shrewſbury.
try in their meetings, till we came to William Gandy's, in Cheſhire, Cheſhire.
where we had a meeting of between two and three thouſand people, as it was thought; and the everlaſting word of life was held forth, and received that day. A bleſſed meeting it was; for friends were ſettled by the power of God upon Jeſus Chriſt, the rock and foundation.

At this time there was a great drought; and after this general meeting was ended there fell ſo great a rain, that friends ſaid, They thought we could not travel, the waters would be ſo riſen. But I believed the rain had not gone ſo far as they had come that day to the meeting. The next day in the afternoon, when we turned back into ſome parts of Wales again, the ways were duſty, and no rain had fallen thereabouts.

When Oliver Cromwell ſet forth a proclamation for a faſt throughout the nation for rain, in a very great drought, it was obſerved, that as far as truth had ſpread in the north, there were pleaſant ſhowers and rain enough; yet the ſouth, in many places, was almoſt ſpoiled for want of rain. At that time I was moved to write an anſwer to the Protector's proclamation; wherein I told him: 'If he had come 'to own God's truth, he ſhould have had rain; and that drought was 'to them a ſign of their barrenneſs, and want of the water of life.'

About the ſame time was wrote the following paper to 'diſtinguiſh 'betwixt the true and falſe faſts.'

Concerning

1657. London.

Concerning the true Faſts and the falſe.

'TO all you that are keeping faſts, who "ſmite with the fiſt of wickedneſs, and faſt for ſtrife and debate;" againſt you hath the voice cried aloud, like a trumpet, that you may come to know the true faſt which is accepted, and the faſt which is in the ſtrife and the debate, and "ſmiting with the fiſt of wickedneſs:" which faſt is not required of the Lord. "Behold, in the day of your faſt "you find pleaſure, and exact all your labour: behold, ye faſt for ſtrife "and debate, and to ſmite with the fiſt of wickedneſs: ye ſhall not "faſt, as ye do this day, to make your voice known on high. Is it "ſuch a faſt that I have choſen," ſaith the Lord, "a day for a man "to afflict his ſoul? Is it to bow down his head like a bulruſh, and "to ſpread ſack-cloth under him? Wilt thou call this a faſt and an "acceptable day to the Lord?"

'Conſider all you that faſt, ſee if it be not "hanging down the "head for a day like a bulruſh," and faſting for "ſtrife and debate," and to "ſmite with the fiſts of wickedneſs, to make your voice to "be known on high?" But this faſt is not accepted with the Lord; but that which leads you from ſtrife, from debate, from wickedneſs; which is not the "bowing down of the head as a bulruſh for "a day," and yet live in exacting and pleaſure; this is not accepted with the Lord: but that which ſeparates from all theſe beforementioned. That which ſeparates from "wickedneſs, debate, "ſtrife, pleaſures, ſmiting with the fiſt of wickedneſs," brings to know the true faſt, which "breaks the bonds of iniquity, and deals "bread to the hungry; brings the poor that are caſt out to his own "houſe; and when he ſees any naked he covers them, and hides not "himſelf from his own fleſh." Here is the true faſt which ſeparates from them, where the bonds of iniquity are ſtanding, the heavy burthens of the oppreſſed remaining, and the yoke not broken; who deal not bread to the hungry, and bring not the poor to their own houſe; and ſee the naked but let him go uncloathed, and hide themſelves from their own fleſh. Yet ſuch will make their voice to be heard on high, as Chriſt ſpeaks of the phariſees, who "ſounded a trumpet before them, and disfigured their faces," to appear to men to faſt; but the bonds of iniquity were ſtanding, ſtrife and debate was ſtanding, ſtriking with the fiſts of wickedneſs ſtanding; thoſe made their voice heard on high, who had their reward.'

'But that which brings to the true faſt, which appears not to men to faſt, but unto the Father "who ſees in ſecret; the Father that "ſeeth in ſecret ſhall reward this openly." This faſt ſeparates from the phariſees faſt, and them that "bow the head for a day like a "bulruſh." This is it which brings "to deal bread to the hungry, "and to cloath thine own fleſh when thou ſeeſt them naked, to bring "the poor to thine houſe, and to looſe the bonds of wickedneſs:" mark, this is the faſt; and "to undo every heavy burden (mark "again) and to let the oppreſſed go free;" this is the faſt: and "to "break every yoke." When thou obſerveſt this faſt, "Then ſhall "thy

" thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health ſhall ſpring 1657.
" forth ſpeedily, and thy righteouſneſs ſhall go before thee; the London.
" glory of the Lord ſhall be thy rere-ward. Then ſhalt thou call, and
" the Lord ſhall anſwer; thou ſhalt cry, and he ſhall ſay, Here I
" am: if thou take away from the midſt of thee the yoke, the
" putting forth of the finger, and ſpeaking vanity: and if thou
" draw out thy ſoul to the hungry, and ſatisfy the afflicted ſoul, then
" ſhall thy light ariſe in obſcurity, and thy darkneſs be as the noon-
" day." The light brings to know this faſt; and walking in it,
' this faſt is kept: and he that believeth in the light, abides not
' in darkneſs. And again; " The Lord ſhall guide thee continually,
" and ſatisfy thy ſoul in drought, and make fat thy bones; and thou
" ſhalt be like a watered garden, and like a ſpring of water, whoſe
" waters fail not," Iſa. lviii. 11. Theſe are they that are guided with
' the light, which comes from Chriſt where the ſprings are.

' And again: " They that ſhall be of thee (that keep this faſt)
" ſhall build the old waſte places, and thou ſhalt raiſe up the foun-
" dation of many generations; and thou ſhalt be called the repairer
" of the breach, the reſtorer of paths to dwell in," Iſa. lviii. 12.
' Now that which gives to ſee the foundation of many generations, is
' the light which ſeparates from all that which is out of the light; and
' they that go out of the light, though they may pretend a faſt, and
' bowing down the head for a time; yet they are far from this faſt,
' that doth raiſe up the foundation of many generations, and is the
' repairer of the breach, and reſtorer of the paths to dwell in. That
' which doth give to ſee this foundation of many generations, and
' theſe breaches that are to be repaired and reſtored, and paths to
' dwell in, is the light which brings to know the true faſt; and
' where this faſt is known, which is from wickedneſs, from debate,
' from ſtrife, from pleaſures, from exacting, from the voice that is
' heard on high, from the ſpeaking of vanity, from the bonds of
' iniquity, which breaks every yoke, and lets the oppreſſed go free;
' here the health grows, here the morning is known, righteouſ-
' neſs goes forth; the glory of the Lord is the rere-ward, the light
' riſeth, the ſoul is drawn out to the hungry, and ſatisfies the
' afflicted ſoul; and the ſprings of living water are known and felt.
' The waters fail not here; the Lord guides continually, and the
' foundation of many generations comes to be ſeen and raiſed up:
' the repairer of breaches is here witneſſed, the reſtorer of paths to
' dwell in.

' But all ſuch as are out of the light which the prophets were in,
' with which they ſaw Chriſt, and ſuch to be in faſts where was
' ſtrife, where was wickedneſs, where was debate, where was
" bowing the head like a bulruſh for a day," lifting their voice on
' high, and the bonds of wickedneſs yet ſtanding, the burdens un-
' looſed, the oppreſſed not let go free, the yoke not broken, the
' nakedneſs not cloathed, the bread not dealt to the hungry, and this
' foundation of many generations not raiſed up; until theſe things
' before-mentioned be broken down, on ſuch the light breaks not
' forth as the morning, and the Lord hears them not. Such have
' their reward; their iniquities have ſeparated them from their God,

1657. London.

'their ſins have hid his face from them that he will not hear, their 'hands are defiled with blood, and their fingers with iniquity; 'whoſe lips have ſpoken lyes, and tongues have muttered perverſe-'neſs. "None calleth for juſtice, nor any plead for truth; they "truſt in vanity and ſpeak lyes, they conceive miſchief and bring "forth iniquity. They hatch cockatrice eggs, and weave the ſpider's "web; he that eateth of their eggs, dies, and that which is "cruſhed breaks out into a viper: their webs ſhall not become "garments, neither ſhall they cover themſelves with their works." 'Mark and take notice; "Their works are works of iniquity, and "the act of violence is in their hands: their feet run to do evil, and "they make haſte to ſhed innocent blood. Their thoughts are "thoughts of iniquity, waſting and deſtruction are in their paths; "the way of peace they know not, and there is no judgment in their "doings. They have made them a crooked path; whoſoever goes "therein ſhall not know peace:" mark: Such go from the light, 'therefore is judgment far off, neither doth juſtice overtake. Here 'is obſcurity, here is the walking in darkneſs, here is the groping 'like blind men, as though they had no eyes, and their ſtumbling at 'noon-day in deſolate places, like blind men. Here is the 'roaring like bears, and mourning ſorely like doves; here judgment 'is looked for, but there is none, and ſalvation is put far off: for 'the light is denied, which gives to ſee it. But here is the multi-'plying of tranſgreſſion, and their ſins teſtifying againſt them, and 'the tranſgreſſion that was within them, and their iniquities which 'they knew in tranſgreſſing and lying againſt the Lord, ſpeaking 'the things they ſhould not; when they knew by that of God in 'them, they ſhould not ſpeak it. So departing from the way of 'God, ſpeaking oppreſſion, revolting, conceiving and uttering 'forth from the heart words of falſhood; here judgment is turned 'away backward, and juſtice ſtands afar off: truth is fallen in the 'ſtreets, and equity cannot enter. Yea, truth faileth; and he that 'departeth from evil, makes himſelf a prey! The Lord ſaw it, and 'it diſpleaſed him. Theſe are ſuch as are in the faſt which God 'doth not accept; and are not in the true faſt, whoſe "light breaks "forth as the morning:" but theſe are ſuch as are in the falſe faſt, 'who grope like blind men.

'That which gives to know the true and falſe faſt, is the light, 'which gives the eye to ſee each faſt; where the true judgment is, 'and the iniquity ſtandeth not, nor the tranſgreſſor, nor the ſpeaker 'of lyes: but that is judged and condemned with the light, which makes 'it manifeſt. And thoſe who are in this faſt, when they call upon the 'Lord, the Lord will anſwer them, "Here am I." Here truth is 'pleaded for and falſhood flies away. But they who are out of this faſt 'in the perverſeneſs, their tongues uttering perverſe things, are ſtum-'bling and groping like blind men, out of the light, in the iniquity 'which ſeparates from God, who hides his face from them that he will 'not hear: going from the light, they go from the Lord and his face. 'So this is it which muſt be faſted from, for this it is which ſeparates 'from God: and here comes the reward openly, which condemns 'all that which is contrary to the light; injuſtice, iniquity, tranſ-

'greſſion,

'greſſion, vanity, that which brings forth miſchief; which hatcheth 1657.
'the cockatrice-eggs, and weaves the ſpiders web: he that eateth of London.
'theſe eggs, dies. Mark, "That which is cruſhed breaks out into a "viper." Mark again, "Their webs ſhall not become garments, nei-"ther ſhall they cover themſelves with their works of vanity: acts of "violence are in their hands." This is all from the light, in the 'wickedneſs. "Their feet run to do evil, and they make haſte to "ſhed innocent blood; their thoughts are thoughts of vanity; waſting "and deſtruction is in their path." This is all far from the light. 'Again: "The way of peace they know not, there is no judgment "in their goings: they have made them crooked paths, whoſoever "goes therein ſhall not know peace." Mark; who goes in their way, 'that know not the way of peace, ſhall they know peace? "Whoſe 'path is crooked, where there is no judgment in their goings:" take 'notice, "No judgment in their goings:" This is all from the light, 'which manifeſteth that which is to be judged; where the covenant 'of peace is known, where all that which is contrary to it is kept 'out. All who live in thoſe things contrary to the light, in the falſe 'faſt, may mark their path, and behold their reward; who are out of 'the light, ſtumbling and groping like blind men. They that be in 'the true faſt are ſeparated from all theſe; their words, their actions 'and fruits, and their faſt; but to thoſe whoſe faſt breaks the bonds of 'iniquity, whom the Lord hears, and to whom righteouſneſs ſprings 'forth, and goes before them, the glory of the Lord is their rere-'ward.

'G. F.'

We paſſed into Wales through Montgomeryſhire, and ſo into Rad- Montgome-
norſhire, where there was a meeting like a leaguer, for multitudes. I ryſhire.
walked a little aſide, whilſt the people were gathering: and there came Radnorſhire.
to me John ap John, a Welſhman, whom I deſired to go to the people; and if he had any thing upon him from the Lord to them, he might ſpeak in Welſh, and thereby gather more together. Then came Morgan Watkins to me, who was become loving to friends, and ſaid, 'The people lie like a leaguer, and the gentry of the country are come 'in.' I bade him go up alſo, and leave me; for I had a great travail upon me for the ſalvation of the people. When they were well gathered, I went into the meeting, and ſtood upon a chair about three hours. I ſtood a pretty while, before I began to ſpeak: after ſome time I felt the power of the Lord over the whole aſſembly; and his everlaſting life and truth ſhined over all. 'The ſcriptures were opened to them, and 'the objections they had in their minds anſwered. They were directed 'to the light of Chriſt, the heavenly man; that by it they might ſee 'their ſins, and Chriſt Jeſus to be their Saviour, their Redeemer, their 'Mediator, and come to feed upon him, the bread of life from heaven. 'Many were turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to his free teaching 'that day; and all were bowed down under the power of God; ſo 'ſo that though the multitude was ſo great that many ſat on horſeback 'to hear, there was no oppoſition. A prieſt ſat with his wife on horſe-'back, heard attentively, and made no objection. The people parted

1657. Radnorſhire.

'peaceably, with great ſatisfaction; many of them ſaying, They never 'heard ſuch a ſermon before, nor the ſcriptures ſo opened. For the 'new covenant was opened, and the old, the nature and terms of 'each, and the parables were explained. The ſtate of the church in 'the apoſtles days was ſet forth, the apoſtaſy ſince laid open; and the 'free teaching of Chriſt and the apoſtles was ſet a-top of all the hireling 'teachers; and the Lord had the praiſe of all, for many were turned 'to him that day.'

Leominſter.

I went from thence to Leominſter, where was a great meeting in a cloſe; many hundreds of people being gathered together. There were about ſix congregational preachers and prieſts amongſt the people; and Thomas Taylor, who had been a prieſt, but was now become a miniſter of Chriſt Jeſus, was with me. I ſtood up, and declared about three hours; and none of the prieſts were able to open their mouths in oppoſition; the Lord's power and truth ſo reached and bound them. At length one prieſt went off about a bow-ſhot from me; drew ſeveral of the people after him, and began to preach to them. So I kept our meeting, and he kept his. After a while Thomas Taylor was moved to go and ſpeak to him; upon which he gave over: and he, with the people he had drawn off, came to us again; and the Lord's power went over all. At laſt a Baptiſt, that was convinced, ſaid, 'Where's 'prieſt Tombs? how chance he doth not come out?' This Tombs was prieſt of Leominſter. Hereupon ſome went and told the prieſt; who came with the bailiffs and other officers of the town. When he was come, they ſet him upon a ſtool over-againſt me. I was ſpeaking of the heavenly, divine light of Chriſt, which he 'enlightens every one 'withal that cometh into the world; to give them the knowledge of 'the glory of God in the face of Chriſt Jeſus their Saviour.' When prieſt Tombs heard this, he cried out, 'That is a natural light, and a 'made light.' Then I deſired the people to take out their bibles, and aſked the prieſt, 'Whether he did affirm that was a created, na-'tural, made light, which John, a man ſent from God, bore witneſs 'to, when he ſaid, "In him (to wit, in the Word) was life, and that "life was the light of men," John i. 4. Doſt thou affirm and mean, 'ſaid I, that this light here ſpoken of was a created, natural, made 'light? He ſaid, Yes. Then I ſhewed by the ſcriptures, that the 'natural, created, made light is the outward light in the outward 'firmament, proceeding from the ſun, moon, and ſtars? "And "doſt thou affirm" ſaid I "that God ſent John to bear witneſs "to the light of the ſun, moon, and ſtars?" "Then," ſaid he, "Did I ſay ſo?" I replied, "Didſt thou not ſay it was a natural, "created, made light, that John bore witneſs unto? If thou doſt not "like thy words, take them again, and mend them." Then he ſaid "That light, which I ſpoke of, was a natural, created light." I told 'him, He had not at all mended his cauſe; for that light, which I 'ſpoke of, was the very ſame that John was ſent of God to bear wit-'neſs to; which was the life in the Word, by which all the natural 'lights, ſun, moon, and ſtars, were made. "In him (to wit, the "Word) was life, and that life was the light of men." I directed the people to turn to the place in their bibles, and recited to them the words of John, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with "God,

" God, and the Word was God. The ſame was in the beginning with " God: All things were made by him, and without him was not any " thing made that was made." (So all natural, created lights were made by Chriſt the Word.) ' In him was life, and the life was the ' light of men: and that was the true light which lighteth every man ' that cometh into the world.' And Chriſt ſaith of himſelf, John viii. 12. ' I am the light of the world:" and bids them ' believe in the ' light,' John xii. 36. And God ſaid of him by the prophet Iſaiah, ch. xlix. 6. ' I will alſo give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou ' mayeſt be my ſalvation to the ends of the earth.' So Chriſt in his light is ſaving. And the apoſtle ſaid, ' The light, which ſhined in ' their hearts, was to give them the light of the knowledge of the ' glory of God in the face of Jeſus Chriſt:' which was their treaſure in their earthen veſſels, 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7. 1657. Leominſter.

When I had thus opened the matter to the people, the prieſt cried to the magiſtrates, ' Take this man away, or elſe I ſhall not ſpeak any more.' ' But,' ſaid I, ' prieſt Tombs, deceive not thyſelf, thou art not in thy ' pulpit now, nor in thy old maſs-houſe; but we are in the fields.' So he was ſhuffling to be gone: and Thomas Taylor ſtood up, and undertook to prove our principle by Chriſt's parable concerning the ſower, Mat. 13. Then ſaid the prieſt, ' Let that man ſpeak, and ' not the other.' So he got up into jangling for a while; till the Lord's power catched him again, ſtopped and confounded him. Afterwards a friend ſtood up and told him, He had ſued him for tithe eggs, and other friends for other tithes: for he was an Anabaptiſt preacher, yet had a parſonage at Leominſter, and had ſeveral journeymen under him. He ſaid, ' He had a wife, and he had a concubine; his ' wife was the baptized people, and his concubine was the world.' But the Lord's power came over all, the everlaſting truth was declared that day, and many were turned by it to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, their teacher and way to God. Of great ſervice that meeting was in thoſe parts. The next day Thomas Taylor went to this prieſt, reaſoned with him, and overcame him by the power of the Word.

From this place I travelled in Wales, having ſeveral meetings, till I came to Tenby; where as I rode up the ſtreet, a juſtice of peace came out of his houſe, deſired me to alight, and ſtay at his houſe; which I did. On firſt day the mayor with his wife, and ſeveral others of the chief of the town, came in about the tenth hour, and ſtaid all the time of the meeting. A glorious meeting it was. John ap John being then with me, left the meeting, and went to the ſteeple-houſe; and the governor caſt him into priſon. On ſecond day morning the governor ſent one of his officers to the juſtice's to fetch me; which grieved the mayor and the juſtice; for they were both with me in the juſtice's houſe, when the officer came. The mayor and the juſtice went to the governor before me; and a while after I went with the officer. When I came in, I ſaid, " Peace be unto this houſe." And before the governor could examine me, I aſked him, ' Why he caſt my friend into ' priſon? He ſaid, ' For ſtanding with his hat on in the church.' I ſaid, ' Had not the prieſt two caps on his head, a black one and a white ' one? Cut off the brims of the hat, and then my friend would have Tenby.

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'but one; and the brims of the hat were but to defend him from 'weather.' 'These are frivolous things,' said the governor. 'Why 'then,' said I, 'dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous 'things?' He asked me, 'Whether I owned election and reproba-'tion?' 'Yes,' said I, 'and thou art in the reprobation.' At that he was in a rage, and said, 'He would send me to prison till I proved 'it.' I told him, 'I would prove that quickly, if he would confess 'truth.' I asked him, 'Whether wrath, fury, rage, and persecution, 'were not marks of reprobation? for he that was born of the flesh, 'persecuted him that was born of the Spirit; but Christ and his dis-'ciples never persecuted nor imprisoned any. He fairly confessed, That he had too much wrath, haste, and passion in him. I told him, 'Esau was up in him, the first-birth; not Jacob, the second birth.' The Lord's power so reached the man, and came over him, that he confessed to truth; and the other justice came, and shook me kindly by the hand.

As I was passing away, I was moved to speak to the governor again; and he invited me to dinner with him; and set my friend at liberty. I went back to the other justice's house: and after some time the mayor and his wife, and the justice and his wife, and divers other friends of the town, went about half a mile out of town with us, to the water-side, when we went away; and there, when we parted from them, I was moved of the Lord to 'kneel down with them, and pray 'to the Lord to preserve them.' So after I had recommended them to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and free teacher, we passed away in the Lord's power; and he had the glory. A meeting continues in that town to this day.

Pembrokeshire. Pembroke. Haverford-west.

We travelled to Pembrokeshire; and in Pembroke town had some service for the Lord. From thence we passed to Haverford-west, where we had a great meeting. All was quiet; the Lord's power came over all, many were settled in the new covenant, Christ Jesus, and built upon him, their rock and foundation: and they stand a precious meeting to this day. The next day, being their fair-day, we passed through the fair, and 'sounded the day of the Lord, and 'his everlasting truth amongst them.'

After this we came into another county, and at noon into a great market-town; and went to several inns, before we could get any meat for our horses. At last we came to one, where we got some. Then John ap John being with me, went, and spoke through the town, declaring the truth to the people; and when he came to me again, he said he thought all the town were as people asleep. After a while he was moved to go and declare truth in the streets again; then the town was all in an uproar, and cast him into prison. Presently after, several of the chief of the town came down, with others, to the inn where I was, and said, 'They have cast your man into 'prison.' 'For what?' said I. 'He preached in our streets,' said they. I asked them, 'What did he say? Had he reproved some of 'the drunkards and swearers, and warned them to repent, and leave 'off their evil doings, and turn to the Lord?' I asked them, 'Who 'cast him into prison?' They said, 'The high-sheriff, the justices,

'and

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'and the mayor.' I asked their names, and whether they understood themselves? and whether that was their carriage to travellers who passed through their town; and to strangers that admonished them, and exhorted them to fear the Lord, and reproved sin in their gates?' These went and told the officers what I said; and after a while they brought John ap John guarded with halberts, in order to put him out of the town. I being at the inn-door, bid the officers take their hands off of him. They said, 'The mayor and justices had com-'manded them to put him out of town.' I told them, 'I would 'talk with their mayor and justices anon concerning their uncivil 'and unchristian carriage towards him.' I spoke to John to go look after the horses, and get them ready; and charged the officers not to touch him; and after I had declared the truth to them, and shewed the fruits of their priests, and their incivility and unchristian-like carriage, they went away and left us. They were a kind of Independents; a very wicked town, and false. We bid the inn-keeper give our horses a peck of oats; and no sooner had we turned our backs, but the oats were stolen from our horses. After we had refreshed ourselves a little, and were ready; we took horse, and rode up to the inn, where the mayor, sheriff, and justices were. I called to speak with them, and asked them the reason, 'Wherefore they 'had imprisoned John ap John, and kept him in prison two or three 'hours?' But they would not answer me a word; only looked out at the windows upon me. I shewed them 'how unchristian their car-'riage was to strangers and travellers, and manifested the fruits of 'their teachers; and declared the truth to them, and warned them 'of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all the evil-doers: 'and the Lord's power came over them, that they looked ashamed; but not a word could I get from them in answer. So when I had warned them to repent, and turn to the Lord, we passed away; and at night came to a little inn, very poor, but very cheap; for our own provision, and our two horses cost but eight pence: but the horses would not eat their oats. We declared the truth to the people of the place, and sounded the day of the Lord through the countries.

From thence we came to a great town, and went to an inn. Edward Edwards went into the market, and declared the truth amongst the people; who followed him to the inn, filled the inn-yard, and were exceeding rude. Yet a good service we had for the Lord amongst them. For the life of christianity and the power of it tormented their chaffy spirits, and came over them, so that some were reached and convinced; the Lord's power came over all; and the magistrates were bound, they had no power to meddle with us.

After this we came to another great town on a market-day; where John ap John declared the everlasting truth through the streets, and proclaimed the day of the Lord. In the evening many gathered about the inn; and some of them, being drunk, would fain have had us into the street again; but seeing their design, I told them, 'If there were 'any that feared God, and desired to hear truth, they might come 'into our inn; or else we might have a meeting with them next morn-'ing.' Some service for the Lord we had amongst them, both over night,

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night and in the morning: and though they were hard to receive the truth, yet the ſeed was ſown; and thereabouts the Lord hath a people gathered to himſelf. In that inn alſo I turned my back to the man that was giving oats to my horſe; and looking back, he was filling his pockets with the provender. A wicked, thieviſh people, to rob the poor dumb creature of his food! I had rather they had robbed me.

Leaving this town, and travelling on, a great man overtook us on the way. He purpoſed (as he told us afterwards) to have taken us up at the next town for highwaymen. But before we came to the town, I was moved of the Lord to ſpeak to him. What I ſpoke, reached to the witneſs of God in the man; who was ſo affected therewith, that he had us to his houſe, and entertained us very civilly. He and his wife deſired us to give them ſome ſcriptures, both for proof of our principles, and againſt the prieſts. We were glad of the ſervice, and furniſhed him with ſcriptures enough; and he wrote them down, and was convinced of the truth, both by the Spirit of God in his own heart, and by the ſcriptures, which were a confirmation to him. Afterwards he ſet us on in our journey; and as we travelled, we came to an hill, which the people of the country ſay is two or three miles high; from the ſide of this hill I could ſee a great way. And I was moved to ſet my face ſeveral ways, and to ſound the day of the Lord there: and I told John ap John (a faithful Welſh miniſter) in what places God would raiſe up a people to himſelf, to ſit under his own teaching. Thoſe places he took notice of; and ſince there hath been a great people ariſen there. The like I have been moved to do in many other parts inhabited by rude people: yet I have been moved to declare the Lord had a ſeed in thoſe places: and afterwards there hath been a brave people raiſed up in the covenant of God, and gathered in the name of Jeſus; where they have ſalvation and free teaching.

Dolegelle.

From this hill we came to Dolegelle: and went to an inn. John ap John declared through the ſtreets: and the town's people roſe and gathered about him. There being two Independent prieſts in the town, they came out, and diſcourſed with him both together. I went to them: and finding them ſpeaking in Welſh, I aſked them, 'What 'was the ſubject they ſpoke upon, and why they were not more moderate, and ſpoke one by one? For the things of God,' I told them, 'were weighty, and they ſhould ſpeak of them with fear and reverence.' Then I deſired them to ſpeak in Engliſh, that I might diſcourſe with them; and they did ſo. They affirmed, 'That the Light, which John 'came to bear witneſs of, was a created, natural, made light.' I took the bible, and ſhewed them (as I had done to others before) 'That 'the natural lights, which were made and created, were the ſun, moon, 'and ſtars: but this light, which John bare witneſs to, and which he 'called the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the 'world, is the life in Chriſt the Word, by which all things were made 'and created. The ſame that is called the life in Chriſt, is called the 'light in man. This is an heavenly, divine light, which lets men ſee 'their evil words and deeds, and ſhews them all their ſins; and (if 'they would attend to it) would bring them to Chriſt, from whom it 'comes, th t they might know him to ſave them from their ſin, and

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'to blot it out. This light, I told them, ſhined in the darkneſs in 1657.
'their hearts, and the darkneſs in them could not comprehend it; but Wales.
'in thoſe hearts, where God had commanded it to ſhine out of dark- Dolegelle.
'neſs, it gave unto ſuch the knowledge of the glory of God in the
'face of Chriſt Jeſus their Saviour. I opened the ſcriptures largely to
'them, and turned them to the Spirit of God in their hearts; which
'would reveal the myſteries in the ſcriptures to them, and would lead
'them into all truth, as they became ſubject thereunto. I directed
'them to that which would give every one of them the knowledge of
'Chriſt, who died for them; that he might be their way to God, and
'might make peace betwixt God and them.' The people were atten-
tive, and I deſired John ap John to ſtand up, and ſpeak it in Welſh to
them; which he did: and they generally received it, and with hands
lifted up, bleſſed and praiſed God. The prieſts mouths were ſtopped,
ſo that they were quiet all the while; for I had brought them to be
ſober at the firſt, by telling them, 'when they ſpoke of the things of
'God and of Chriſt, they ſhould ſpeak with fear and reverence. Thus
the meeting broke up in peace in the ſtreet. Many of the people ac-
companied us to our inn, rejoiced in the truth that had been declared
to them; and that they were turned to the light and Spirit in them-
ſelves, by which they might ſee their ſin, and know ſalvation from it.
When we went out of the town, the people were ſo affected, that they
lifted up their hands, and bleſſed the Lord for our coming. A pre-
cious ſeed the Lord hath there-away; and a great people in thoſe parts
is ſince gathered to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to ſit under his free teaching;
and they have ſuffered much for him.

From this place we paſſed to Caernarvon, a town like a caſtle. When Caernarvon.
we had ſet up our horſes at an inn, and refreſhed ourſelves, John ap
John went and ſpoke through the ſtreets; which were ſo ſtrait and
ſhort, that one might ſtand in the midſt of the town, and ſee both
the gates. I followed John ap John, and a multitude were ſoon ga-
thered about him; amongſt whom a very dark prieſt began to babble;
but his mouth was ſoon ſtopped. When John had cleared himſelf, I
declared the word of life amongſt the people; 'directing them to the
'light of Chriſt in their hearts, that by it they might ſee all their own
'ways, religions, and teachers, and might come off from them all to
'Chriſt, the true and living way, and the free teacher.' Some of the
people were rude, but the greater part were civil; and told us, 'They
'had heard how we had been perſecuted and abuſed in many places,
'but they would not do ſo to us there.' I commended their mode-
ration and ſobriety, 'and warned them of the day of the Lord that
was coming upon all ſin and wickedneſs; teſtifying unto them, that
'Chriſt was now come to teach his people himſelf, by his Spirit and
'power.'

From hence we went to Beaumaris, a town wherein John ap John Beaumaris.
had formerly been a preacher. After we had put up our horſes at an
inn, John went and ſpoke through the ſtreet; and there being a gar-
riſon in the town, they took him, and put him into priſon. The
inn-keeper's wife came, and told me, 'That the governor and magi-
'ſtrates were ſending for me, to commit me to priſon alſo." I told

1657. Beaumaris. her, 'They had done more than they could anſwer already; and had 'acted contrary to chriſtianity in impriſoning him for reproving ſin in 'their ſtreets and gates, and for declaring the truth.' Soon after came other friendly people, and told me, 'If I went into the ſtreet, 'they would impriſon me alſo; therefore they deſired me to keep 'within the inn.' Upon this I was moved to go and walk up and down in the ſtreets; and told the people, 'What an uncivil,unchriſtian 'thing they had done, in caſting my friend into priſon. And they 'being high profeſſors, I aſked them, If this was the entertainment 'they had for ſtrangers? And if they would willingly be ſo ſerved 'themſelves? And whether they, who looked upon the ſcriptures to 'be their rule, had any example in the ſcriptures, from Chriſt or his 'apoſtles, for what they had done?' So after a while they ſet John ap John at liberty.

Next day, being market-day, we were to croſs a great water; and not far from the place where we were to take boat, many of the market-people drew to us; amongſt whom we had good ſervice for the Lord, 'declaring the word of life and everlaſting truth unto 'them, and proclaiming the day of the Lord amongſt them, 'which was coming upon all wickedneſs; and directing them to the 'light of Chriſt, which he, the heavenly man, had enlightened them 'withal; by which they might ſee all their ſins, and all their falſe 'ways, religions, worſhips and teachers: and by the ſame light 'might ſee Chriſt Jeſus, who was come to ſave them, and lead them 'to God.' After the truth had been declared to them in the power of God, and Chriſt the free teacher ſet over all the hireling teachers; I bid John ap John get his horſe into the boat, which was then ready. But there being a company of wild gentlemen, as they called them, got into it, whom we found very rude, and far from gentleneſs; they, with others, kept his horſe out of the boat. I rode to the boat's ſide, and ſpoke to them, ſhewing them, 'What an unmanly and unchriſ-'tian carriage it was; and told them, they ſhewed an unworthy 'ſpirit, below chriſtianity or humanity. As I ſpoke, I leaped my horſe into the boat amongſt them; thinking John's horſe would have followed, when he had ſeen mine go in before him: but the water being pretty deep, John could not get his horſe into the boat. Wherefore I leaped out again on horſeback into the water, and ſtaid with John on that ſide, till the boat returned. There we tarried from the eleventh hour of the forenoon to the ſecond in the afternoon, before the boat came to fetch us; and then had forty-two miles to ride that evening; and by that time we had paid for our paſſage, we had but one groat left between us in money. We rode about ſixteen miles, and then got a little hay for our horſes. Setting forward again, we came in the night to a little ale-houſe, where we thought to have ſtaid and baited. But finding we could have neither oats nor hay

Wrexham. there, we travelled all night; and about the fifth hour in the morning got to a place within ſix miles of Wrexham; where that day we met with many friends, and had a glorious meeting: the Lord's everlaſting power and truth was over all: and a meeting is continued there to this day. Very weary we were with travelling ſo hard

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up and down in Wales; and in many places we found it difficult to get meat either for our horſes or ourſelves. 1657. Wales.

The next day we paſſed from thence into Flintſhire, ſounding the day of the Lord through the towns: and came into Wrexham at night. Here many of Floyd's people came to us; but very rude, wild, and airy they were, and little ſenſe of truth they had: yet ſome were convinced in that town. Next morning one called a lady ſent for me, who kept a preacher in her houſe. I went to her houſe, but found both her and her preacher very light and airy; too light to receive the weighty things of God. In her lightneſs ſhe came and aſked me, 'If ſhe ſhould cut my hair?' I was moved to reprove her, and bid her cut down the corruptions in herſelf with the ſword of the Spirit of God; ſo after I had admoniſhed her to be more grave and ſober, we paſſed away. Afterwards in her frothy mind ſhe made her boaſt, that ſhe 'came behind me, and cut off the curl of 'my hair;' but ſhe ſpoke falſely. Wrexham.

From Wrexham we came to Weſt-cheſter; and it being the fair-time, we ſtaid there a while, and viſited friends. For I had travelled through every county in Wales, preaching the everlaſting goſpel of Chriſt; and a brave people there is now, who have received it, and ſit under Chriſt's teaching. But before I left Wales, I wrote to the magiſtrates of Beaumaris concerning their impriſoning John ap John; letting them ſee their condition, the fruits of their chriſtianity, and of their teachers. Afterwards I met with ſome of them near London; but oh! how aſhamed they were of their action! Weſt-cheſter.

From Weſt-cheſter we came to Liverpoole, where was at that time a fair; and as I rode through the fair, there ſtood a friend upon the croſs, declaring the truth to the people; who ſeeing me ride by, and knowing I had appointed a meeting to be the next day upon an hill not far off, gave notice to the people, 'That George Fox, the 'ſervant of the Lord, would have a meeting next day upon ſuch 'an hill; and if any feared the Lord, they might come and hear 'him declare the word of life to them.' We went that night to Richard Cubban's, who himſelf was convinced, though not his wife; but at that time ſhe was convinced alſo. Liverpoole.

Next day we went to the meeting on the top of the hill, which was very large. Some rude people with a prieſt's wife came, and made a noiſe for a while; but the Lord's power came over them, the meeting became quiet, and the truth of God was declared amongſt them. Many were that day ſettled upon the rock and foundation Chriſt Jeſus, and under his teaching; who made peace betwixt God and them.

We had a ſmall meeting with a few friends and people at Malpoth. From thence we came to another place, where we had a meeting. There came a bailiff with a ſword, and was rude; but the Lord's power came over him, and friends were eſtabliſhed in the truth. Malpoth.

From thence we came to Mancheſter: and the ſeſſions being there that day, many rude people were come out of the country. In the meeting they threw at me coals, clods, ſtones, and water: yet the Lord's power bore me up over them, that they could not ſtrike me down. Mancheſter.

1657. Mancheſter. down. At laſt, when they ſaw they could not prevail by throwing water, ſtones, and dirt at me, they went and informed the juſtices in the ſeſſions; who thereupon ſent officers to fetch me before them. The officers came in while I was declaring the word of life to the people, plucked me down, and haled me into their court. When I came there all the court was in a diſorder and a noiſe. Wherefore I aſked, 'Where were the magiſtrates, that they did not keep the peo-'ple civil?' Some of the juſtices ſaid, They were magiſtrates. I aſked them, 'Why then they did not appeaſe the people, and keep 'them ſober?' For one cried, I'll ſwear, and another cried, I'll ſwear. I declared to the juſtices, 'How we were abuſed in our 'meeting by the rude people, who threw ſtones, clods, dirt, and water: 'and how I was haled out of the meeting and brought thither, con-'trary to the inſtrument of government, which ſaid, "None ſhould "be moleſted in their meetings that profeſſed God, and owned the "Lord Jeſus Chriſt;" which I did.' The truth ſo came over them, that when one of the rude followers cried, 'He would ſwear;' one of the juſtices checked him, ſaying, 'What, will you ſwear? 'hold your tongue.' At laſt they bid the conſtable, 'Have me to 'my lodging, and there I ſhould be ſecured till to-morrow morning 'that they ſent for me again.' So the conſtable had me to my lodging. As we went the people were exceeding rude; but I let them ſee the 'fruits of their teachers, how they ſhamed chriſtianity, 'and diſhonoured the name of Jeſus which they profeſſed.' At night we went to a juſtice's in the town, who was pretty moderate, and I had a great deal of diſcourſe with him. Next morning we ſent to the conſtable to know if he had any thing more to ſay to us? He ſent us word, 'He had nothing to ſay to us, we might go whither we 'would.' The Lord hath ſince raiſed up a people to ſtand for his name and truth in that town over thoſe chaffy profeſſors.

Preſton. Lancaſter. We paſſed from Mancheſter, having many precious meetings in ſeveral places, till we came to Preſton; between which and Lancaſter I had a general meeting: from which I went to Lancaſter. There at our inn I met with colonel Weſt, who was very glad to ſee me; who meeting with judge Fell, told him, 'I was mightily 'grown in the truth;' when indeed he was come nearer to the truth, and ſo could better diſcern it.

Sands-ſide. We came from Lancaſter to Robert Widders's. On the firſt-day after I had a general meeting near the Sands-ſide, of friends of Weſtmoreland and Lancaſhire, when the Lord's everlaſting power was over all; in which the word of eternal life was declared, and friends were ſettled upon the foundation, Chriſt Jeſus, under his free teaching; and many were convinced, and turned to the Lord.

Swarthmore. Next day I came over the Sands to Swarthmore, where friends were glad to ſee me. I ſtaid there two firſt-days, viſiting friends in their meetings there-away. They rejoiced with me in the goodneſs of the Lord, who by his eternal power had carried me through and over many difficulties and dangers in his ſervice: to him be the praiſe for ever!

Having got a little reſpite from travel, I was moved to write an epiſtle to friends, as followeth:

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'ALL friends of the Lord every where, whoſe minds are turned in towards the Lord, take heed to the light within you, which is the light of Chriſt; which, as you love it, will call your minds inward, that are abroad in the creatures: ſo your minds may be renewed by it, and turned to God in this which is pure, to worſhip the living God, the Lord of hoſts over all the creatures. That which calls your minds out of the luſts of the world, will call them out of the affections and deſires, and turn you to ſet your affections above. The ſame that calls the mind out of the world, will give judgment upon the world's affections and luſts, that which calls out your minds from the world's teachers and the creatures, to have your minds renewed. There is your obedience known and found; there the image of God is renewed in you, and ye come to grow up in it. That which calls your minds out of the earth, turns them towards God, where the pure Babe is born of the virgin; and the Babe's food is known, the children's bread, which comes from the living God, and nouriſhes up to eternal life: which babes and children receive their wiſdom from above, from the pure living God, and not from the earthly one; for that is trodden under foot by ſuch. All who hate this light, whoſe minds are abroad in the creatures, in the earth, and in the image of the devil, get the words of the ſaints (that received their wiſdom from above) into the old nature and their corrupted minds. Such are murderers of the juſt, enemies to the croſs of Chriſt, in whom the prince of the air lodgeth, ſons of perdition, betrayers of the juſt. Therefore take heed to that light, which is oppreſſed with that nature; which light, as it ariſes, ſhall condemn all that curſed nature, ſhall turn it out, and ſhut it out of the houſe. So ye will come to ſee the candle lighted, and the houſe ſweeping and ſwept. Then the pure pearl ariſeth, then the eternal God is exalted. The ſame light that calls in your minds out of the world (that are abroad) the ſame turns them to God, the father of lights. Here in the pure mind is the pure God waited upon for wiſdom from above; the pure God is ſeen night and day, and the eternal peace, of which there is no end, enjoyed. People may have openings, and yet their minds go into the luſts of the fleſh; but there the affections are not mortified. Therefore hearken to that, take heed to that, which calls your minds out of the affections and luſts of the world to have them renewed. The ſame will turn your minds to God; the ſame light will ſet your affections above, and bring you to wait for the pure wiſdom of God from on high, that it may be juſtified in you. Wait all in that, which calls in your minds and turns them to God; here is the true croſs. That mind ſhall feed upon nothing that is earthly, but be kept in the pure light up to God, to feed upon the living food which comes from the living God. The Lord God Almighty be with you all, dear babes, and keep you all in his ſtrength and power to his glory, over all the world, ye whoſe minds are called out of it, and turned to God, to worſhip the Creator and ſerve him, and not the creature. The light of God which calls the mind out of the creatures, and turns it to himſelf, brings into a being of endleſs joy and peace. Here is always a ſeeing God

 'preſent,

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'preſent, which is not known to the world, whoſe hearts are in the 'creatures, whoſe knowledge is in the fleſh, whoſe minds are not 'renewed. Therefore all friends, the ſeed of God mind and dwell 'in, to reign over the unjuſt; and the power of the Lord dwell in, to 'keep you clear in your underſtandings, that the ſeed of God may 'reign in you all; the Seed of God, which is but one in all, is Chriſt 'in the male and in the female, which the promiſe is to. Wait upon 'the Lord for the juſt to reign over the unjuſt, for the ſeed of God to 'reign over the ſeed of the ſerpent, and be the head; and that all that 'is mortal may die: for out of that will riſe preſumption. So fare 'ye well, and God Almighty bleſs, guide, and keep you in his wiſ-'dom.

'G. F.'

About this time friends that were moved of the Lord to go to the ſteeple-houſes and markets, to 'reprove ſin, and warn people of the 'day of the Lord,' ſuffered much hardſhip from rude people, and alſo from the magiſtrates; being commonly pulled down, buffetted, beaten, and frequently ſent to priſon. Wherefore I was moved to give forth the following expoſtulation to be ſpread amongſt people, to ſhew them how contrary they acted therein to the apoſtles doctrine and practice, and to bring them to more moderation.

'IS it not better for you that have caſt into priſon the ſervants and 'children of the Lord God for ſpeaking, as they were moved, in 'ſteeple-houſes or markets, Is it not better, I ſay, for you to "try all "things, and hold faſt that which is good?" Is it not of more ho-'nour and credit, to "prove all things, and try all things, than "to pluck down in the ſteeple-houſes, pull off the hair of their "heads, and caſt them into priſon?" Is this an honour to your 'truth and goſpel you profeſs? Doth it not ſhew that ye are out 'of the truth, and are not ready to inſtruct the gainſayers? Hath not 'the Lord ſaid, "He will pour out of his Spirit upon all fleſh, and his "ſons and daughters ſhall propheſy, and old men ſhall dream dreams, "and young men ſee viſions, and on his handmaids he will pour forth "of his Spirit?" Was not this prophecy in ages paſt ſtood againſt by 'the wiſe, learned men in their own wiſdom, and by the ſynagogue-'teachers? Were not ſuch haled out of the ſynagogues and temple, 'who witneſſed the Spirit poured forth upon them? Doth not this 'ſhew, that ye have not received the pourings forth of this Spirit upon 'you, who fill the gaols with ſo many ſons and daughters, and hold up 'ſuch teachers as are bred up in learning at Oxford and Cambridge, 'and are made by the will of man? Doth not this ſhew, that ye who 'are bred up there, who are made teachers by the will of man, and who 'perſecute for propheſying, are ſtrangers to the Spirit that is "poured "forth upon ſons and daughters;" by which Spirit they come to "miniſter to the ſpirits that are in priſon?" The Lord hath a contro-'verſy with you who are found priſoning and perſecuting ſuch as the 'Lord hath poured his Spirit upon. Do not your fruits ſhew, in all 'the nation where ye come, in towns, cities, villages, and countries, 'that ye are the ſeedſmen made by the will of man, who ſow to the

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‘ fleſh, of which nothing but corruption is reaped in nations, coun-
‘ tries, cities, and villages? Ye are looked upon and your fruits, and
‘ that which may be gathered is ſeen by all that are in the light, as
‘ they paſs through your countries, towns, cities, and villages, that
‘ ye are all the ſeedſmen that have ſown to the fleſh. Of this take ye
‘ notice, who are of that birth that is born of the fleſh; ye ſow to your
‘ own, perſecuting him that is born of the Spirit, who ſows to the
‘ Spirit, and of the Spirit reaps life eternal. Such ye, who ſow to the
‘ fleſh, caſt into priſon. Do ye not hale out of the ſynagogues? perſe-
‘ cute and beat in the ſynagogues, and knock down? Are not theſe
‘ the works of the fleſh? Have not many been almoſt murdered and
‘ ſmothered in your ſynagogues? Have not ſome been haled out of
‘ your ſynagogues, for but looking at a prieſt, and after caſt into pri-
‘ ſon? Doth not all this make manifeſt what ſpirit ye are of, and
‘ your fruits to be of the fleſh? What pleaſures and ſports in every
‘ town are to be ſeen among your flocks, that ſow to the fleſh and are
‘ born of it! Whereas the miniſters of the Spirit cried againſt ſuch as
“ ſported in the day-time,” ſuch as “ ate and drank, and roſe up to
“ play,” ſuch as “ lived wantonly upon earth in pleaſures,” ſuch as
‘ lived in “ fulneſs of bread and idleneſs,” ſuch as “ defile the fleſh;”
‘ ſuch did God overthrow, deſtroy, and ſet forth as examples to all
‘ them that after ſhould live ungodly. But are not the fruits of this
‘ reaped in every town? Cannot ye from hence ſee, that here is
‘ ſowing to the fleſh? Again, what ſcorning, ſcoffing, mocking,
‘ deriſion, and ſtrife! What oaths, drunkenneſs, uncleanneſs, and
‘ curſed ſpeaking! What luſt and pride is ſeen in the ſtreets! Theſe
‘ fruits we ſee are reaped of the fleſh. So here we ſee the ſeedſman,
‘ him that ſows to this fleſh, of which nothing but corruption is
‘ reaped, as the countries, towns, cities, and villages make manifeſt.
‘ But the miniſters of the Spirit, who ſow to the Spirit, come to reap
‘ life eternal. Theſe diſcern the other ſeedſman, who ſows to the fleſh,
‘ and of the fleſh reaps corruption. For the day hath manifeſted each
‘ ſeedſman, and what is reaped from each is ſeen; glory be to the
‘ Lord God for ever! The miniſters of the Spirit, born of the Spirit,
‘ ſons and daughters which have the Spirit poured upon them, and
‘ witneſs the promiſe of God fulfilled in them, by the Spirit of God
‘ preach and miniſter to the ſpirit in priſon in every one, in the ſight of
‘ God, the Father of ſpirits. God's hand is turned againſt you all that
‘ have deſtroyed God's creatures upon your luſt. God's hand is turned
‘ againſt you that have wronged by unjuſt dealing, defrauded, and op-
‘ preſſed the poor, and have reſpected the perſons of the proud, and
‘ lend not your ear to the cry of the poor. The Lord's hand and arm
‘ againſt you all is turned, and his righteous judgment and juſtice upon
‘ you all will be accompliſhed and repaid, who ſhall have a reward,
‘ every one according to his works. Oh! the abomination and hy-
‘ pocritical profeſſion that is upon the earth, where God and Chriſt,
‘ faith, hope, the holy Spirit, and truth is profeſſed, but the fear of
‘ God, and the faith that purifies and gives victory over the world, not
‘ lived in! Doth it not appear that the wiſdom which rules in all thoſe,
‘ whom the ſeedſman that ſows to the fleſh ſows for, and who are born

‘ of

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‘ of the fleſh, are from below, earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh, their un-
‘ derſtanding brutiſh, and their knowledge natural as the brute beaſts?
‘ For men and women in that ſtate have not patience to ſpeak one to
‘ the other of the ſcriptures, without much corruption and fleſh ap-
‘ pearing, yet they have a feigned humility, a will-worſhip, and
‘ righteouſneſs of ſelf; but they own not the light, which “ lighteth
“ every man that cometh into the world, Chriſt Jeſus, the righteouſneſs
“ of God:” which light being owned, ſelf, and the righteouſneſs of
‘ ſelf, comes to be denied. Here is the humility that is contrary to the
‘ light, and that is below and feigned. Here is the wiſdom that is
‘ from below, earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh; for people can ſcarce
‘ differ from one another without deſtroying one another, priſoning and
‘ perſecuting one another, when they ſpeak of the ſcriptures. This is
‘ the deviliſh wiſdom murdering and deſtroying. This is not the wiſdom
‘ that is from above, which is pure and peaceable, gentle and eaſy to be
‘ intreated, full of mercy and good fruits. Here all may read each ſeedſ-
‘ man, which hath each wiſdom. He that ſows to the fleſh, and is
‘ born of that, hath the wiſdom that is earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh;
‘ he that ſows to the Spirit, a miniſter of the Spirit, hath the wiſdom
‘ from above, which is pure, peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be intreated;
‘ the wiſdom by which all things were made and created. Now is each
‘ wiſdom diſcovered, and each ſeedſman: the day, which is the light,
‘ hath diſcovered them.

‘ G. F.’

I was moved alſo to give forth the following epiſtle to friends, to ſtir them up to be bold and valiant for the truth, and to encourage them in their ſufferings for it.

‘ ALL friends and brethren every-where, now is the day of your
‘ trial, now is the time for you to be valiant, and to ſee that the
‘ teſtimony of the Lord doth not fall. Now is the day for the exerciſe
‘ of your gifts, of your patience, and of your faith. Now is the time
‘ to be armed with patience, with the light, with righteouſneſs, and
‘ with the helmet of ſalvation. Now is the trial of the ſlothful ſervant,
‘ who hides his talent, and will judge Chriſt hard. Now, happy are
‘ they that can ſay, “ The earth is the Lord's and the fulneſs thereof,
“ and he gives the increaſe;” therefore who takes it from you? Is it
‘ not the Lord ſtill that ſuffers it? For the Lord can try you as he did
‘ Job, whom he made rich, whom he made poor, and whom he made
‘ rich again; who ſtill kept his integrity in all conditions. Learn
‘ Paul's leſſon, In all ſtates to be content; and have his faith, That
“ nothing is able to ſeparate us from the love of God, which we
“ have in Chriſt Jeſus.” Therefore be rich in life, and in grace,
‘ which will endure, ye who are heirs of life, and born of the womb
‘ of eternity, that noble birth that cannot ſtoop to that which is born in
‘ ſin, and conceived in iniquity; who are better bred and born, whoſe
‘ religion is from God, above all the religions that are from below; and
‘ who walk by faith, by that which God hath given you, and not by
‘ that which men make, who walk by ſight, from the Maſs-book to the
‘ Directory.

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'Directory. Such are ſubject to ſtumble and fall, who walk by ſight and not by faith. Therefore mind him that deſtroys the original of ſin, the devil and his works, and cuts off the entail of Satan, viz. ſin; who would have by entail an inheritance of ſin in men and women from generation to generation, and pleads for it by all his lawyers and counſellors. For though the law, which made nothing perfect, did not cut it off; yet Chriſt being come deſtroys the devil and his works, and cuts off the entail of ſin. This angers all the devil's lawyers and counſellors, that Satan ſhall not hold ſin by entail in thy garden, in thy field, in thy temple, thy tabernacle. So keep your tabernacles, that there ye may ſee the glory of the Lord appear at the doors thereof. Be faithful; for ye ſee what the worthies and valiants of the Lord did attain unto by faith. Enoch by faith was tranſlated. Noah by faith was preſerved over the waters in his ark. Abraham by faith forſook his father's houſe and religion, and all the religions of the world. Iſaac and Jacob by faith followed his ſteps. See how Samuel and other of the Lord's prophets, with David, by faith were preſerved to God over his enemies! Daniel and the three children by faith eſcaped the lions and the fire, and preſerved their worſhip clean, and by it were kept over the worſhips of the world. The apoſtles by faith travelled up and down the world, were preſerved from all the religions of the world, and held forth the pure religion to the dark world, which they had received from God; and likewiſe their fellowſhip was received from above, which is in the goſpel that is everlaſting. In this, neither powers, principalities nor thrones, dominions nor angels, things preſent nor things to come, heights nor depths, nor death, mockings, nor ſpoiling of goods, priſons nor fetters were able to ſeparate them from the love of God, which they had in Chriſt Jeſus. And friends, "Quench not the Spirit nor deſpiſe propheſying," where it moves; neither hinder babes and ſucklings from crying Hoſannah; for out of their mouths will God ordain ſtrength. There were ſome in Chriſt's day that were againſt ſuch, whom he reproved; and there were ſome in Moſes's day, who would have ſtopped the prophets in the camp; whom Moſes reproved, and ſaid by way of encouragement to them, "Would God, that all the Lord's people were prophets!" So I ſay now to you. Therefore ye that ſtop it in yourſelves do not quench it in others, neither in babe nor ſuckling; for the Lord hears the cries of the needy, and the ſighs and groans of the poor. Judge not that, nor the ſighs and groans of the Spirit, which cannot be uttered, leſt ye judge prayer; for prayer as well lies in ſighs and groans to the Lord as otherwiſe. Let not the ſons and daughters, nor the hand-maids be ſtopped in their propheſyings, nor the young men in their viſions, nor the old men in their dreams; but let the Lord be glorified in and through all, who is over all, God bleſſed for ever! So every one may improve their talents, every one exerciſe their gifts, and every one ſpeak as the Spirit gives them utterance. Thus every one may miniſter, as he hath received the grace, as a good ſteward to him that hath given it him; ſo all plants may bud, and "bring forth fruit" to the glory of God:

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" for the manifeſtation of the Spirit is given to every one to profit " withal." See that every one hath profited in heavenly things; ' male and female, look into your own vineyards, ſee what fruit ye ' bear to God; look into your own houſes, ſee how they are decked ' and trimmed; ſee what odors, myrrh, and frankincenſe ye have ' therein, and what a ſmell and ſavour ye have to aſcend to God ' that he may be glorified. Bring your deeds all to the light, which ' ye are taught to believe in by Chriſt, your head, the heavenly man; ' and ſee how they are wrought in God. Every male and female, ' let Chriſt dwell in your hearts by faith (Chriſt in the male and in ' the female); and let your mouths be opened to the glory of God ' the Father, that he may rule and reign in you. We muſt not have ' Chriſt Jeſus, the Lord of Life, put any more in a ſtable amongſt ' the horſes and aſſes; he muſt now have the beſt chamber, the ' heart, and the rude, debauched ſpirit muſt be turned out. There- ' fore let him reign whoſe right it is, who was conceived by the ' Holy Ghoſt; by which Holy Ghoſt ye call him Lord, in which ' Holy Ghoſt ye pray, and have comfort and fellowſhip with the ' Father and with the Son. Therefore know the triumph in it, ' and in God and his power (which the devil is out of) and in the ' ſeed which is Firſt and Laſt, the Begining and Ending, the Top ' and Corner-ſtone: in which is my love to you, and in which I ' reſt——

' Your friend, G. F.'

POSTSCRIPT.

' Friends, be careful how ye ſet your feet among the tender plants ' that are ſpringing up out of God's earth, leſt ye tread upon them, ' hurt them, bruiſe them, or cruſh them in God's vineyard.'

Weſtmoreland.

After I had tarried two firſt-days at Swarthmore, and viſited meetings thereabouts, I paſſed into Weſtmoreland in the ſame work, till I came to John Audland's, where was a general meeting. The night before I had a viſion of a ' deſperate creature that was coming to de- ' ſtroy me, but I got victory over it.' The next day in the meeting-time came one Otway, with ſome rude fellows. He rode round about the meeting with his ſword or rapier, and would fain have got in through the friends to me; but the meeting being great, the friends ſtood thick, ſo that he could not eaſily come at me. When he had rid about ſeveral times raging, and found he could not get in, being alſo limited by the Lord's power, he at length went away. It was a glorious meeting, ended peaceably, and the Lord's everlaſting power came over all. This wild man went home, became diſtracted, and not long after died. I ſent a paper to John Blaykling to read to him while he lay ill, ſhewing him his wickedneſs; and he did acknowledge ſomething of it.

Kendal.

From hence I went through Kendal, where a warrant had long lain to apprehend me; and the conſtables ſeeing me ran to fetch their warrant as I was riding through the town; but before they could come up with it I was paſt, and ſo eſcaped their hands.

I travelled northwards, viſiting meetings, till I came to Strickland-head, where I had a great meeting. Moſt of the gentry of that country being gathered to an horſe-race, not far from the meeting, I was moved to go and declare the truth to them; and a chief-conſtable did alſo admoniſh them. Our meeting was quiet, the Lord was with us; and by his word and power friends were ſettled in the eternal truth. 1657. Strickland-head.

From hence we paſſed into Cumberland, where we had many precious, living meetings. After we had travelled to Gilſland, and had a meeting there, we came to Carliſle, where they uſed to put friends out of the town; but there came a great flood while we were there, that they could not put us out of the town; ſo we had a meeting there on the firſt day. After which we paſſed to Abbey-holm, and had a little meeting there. This is a place where I told friends long before there would be a great people come forth to the Lord; which hath ſince come to paſs, and a large meeting there is gathered to the Lord in thoſe parts. Cumberland. Gilſland. Carliſle. Abbey-holm.

I paſſed from hence to a general meeting at Langlands in Cumberland, which was very large; for moſt of the people had ſo forſaken the prieſts, that the ſteeple-houſes in ſome places ſtood empty. And John Wilkinſon, a preacher, that I have often named before, who had three ſteeple-houſes, had ſo few hearers left, that, giving over preaching in the ſteeple-houſes, he firſt ſet up a meeting in his houſe, and preached there to them that were left. Afterwards he ſet up a ſilent meeting (like friends) to which came a few; for moſt of his hearers were come to friends. Thus he held on, till he had not paſt half a dozen left; the reſt ſtill forſaking him, and coming away to friends. At laſt, when he had ſo very few left, he would come to Pardſey-Crag (where friends had a meeting of ſeveral hundreds of people, who were all come to ſit under the Lord Jeſus Chriſt's teaching) and he would walk about the meeting on the firſt-days, like a man that went about the commons to look for ſheep. During this time, I came to Pardſey Crag meeting, and he with three or four of his followers, yet left him, came to the meeting that day; and were all thoroughly convinced. After the meeting, Wilkinſon aſked me two or three queſtions, which I anſwered to his ſatisfaction; from that time he came amongſt friends, became an able miniſter, preached the goſpel freely, and turned many to Chriſt's free teaching. And after he had continued many years in the free miniſtry of Chriſt Jeſus, he died in the year 1675. Langlands.

I had for ſome time felt drawings on my ſpirit to go into Scotland; and had ſent to colonel William Oſborn of Scotland, deſiring him to meet me; and he, with ſome others, were come out of Scotland to this meeting. After it was over (which, he ſaid, was the moſt glorious meeting that ever he ſaw in his life) I paſſed with him and his company into Scotland; having Robert Widders with me; a thundering man againſt hypocriſy, deceit, and the rottenneſs of the prieſts. Scotland.

The firſt night we came into Scotland, we lodged at an inn. The inn-keeper told us, an earl lived about a quarter of a mile off, who had

1657. had a deſire to ſee me; and had left word at his houſe, that if ever I came into Scotland, he ſhould ſend him word. He told us, there were three draw-bridges to his houſe; and that it would be nine o' clock before the third bridge was drawn. Finding we had time in the evening, we walked to his houſe. He received us very lovingly; and ſaid, He would have gone with us on our journey, but that he was before engaged to go to a funeral. After we had ſpent ſome time with him, we parted very friendly, and returned to our inn. Next morning we travelled on, and paſſing through Dumfries, came to Douglas, where we met with ſome friends; from thence we paſſed to the Heads, where we had a bleſſed meeting in the name of Jeſus, and felt him in the midſt.

Scotland. Dumfries. Douglas. Heads.

Leaving Heads, we went to Badcow, and had a meeting there; to which abundance of people came, and many were convinced: amongſt whom was one called a lady. From thence we paſſed towards the Highlands to William Oſburn's, where we gathered up the ſufferings of friends, and the principles of the Scotch prieſts, which may be ſeen in a Book called, "The Scotch Prieſts Principles."

Badcow. Highlands.

Afterwards we returned to Heads, Badcow, and Garſhore, where the ſaid lady Margaret Hambleton was convinced; who afterwards went to warn O. Cromwell and Charles Fleetwood of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

Badcow. Garſhore.

On firſt day we had a great meeting, and ſeveral profeſſors came to it. Now the prieſts had frighted the people with the doctrine of election and reprobation; telling them, 'That God had ordained the 'greateſt part of men and women for hell; that, let them pray, or 'preach, or ſing, and do what they could, it was all to no purpoſe, 'if they were ordained for hell; that God had a certain number, 'which were elected for heaven; and let them do what they would, 'as David an adulterer, and Paul a perſecutor, yet elected veſſels for 'heaven. So the fault was not at all in the creature, leſs or more; 'but God had ordained it ſo.' I was led to open to the people the 'falſeneſs and folly of their prieſts doctrines, and ſhewed them, 'the prieſts had abuſed thoſe ſcriptures which they had brought and 'quoted to them, as in Jude, and other places. For whereas they 'ſaid, "There was no fault at all in the creature;" I ſhewed them, 'that they, whom Jude ſpeaks of, to wit, Cain, Core, and Balaam, 'who, he ſays, were ordained of old to condemnation, the fault was 'in them. For did not God warn Cain and Balaam, and put the 'queſtion to Cain, "If thou doſt well, ſhalt thou not be accepted?" 'And did not the Lord bring Core out of Egypt, and his company? 'yet did not he gainſay both God and his law, and his prophet 'Moſes? Here people might ſee that there was a fault in Cain, 'Corah, and Balaam; and ſo there is in all that go in their ways. 'For if they, who are called chriſtians, reſiſt the goſpel as Core 'did the law, err from the Spirit of God as Balaam did, and do 'evil as Cain did, is not here a fault? which fault is in themſelves, 'and is the cauſe of their reprobation, and not God. Doth not 'Chriſt ſay, "Go, preach the goſpel to all nations?" Which is the 'goſpel of ſalvation. He would not have ſent them into all nations,

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1657. Scotland.

'to preach the doctrine of ſalvation, if the greateſt part of men had been ordained for hell. Was not Chriſt a propitiation for the ſins of the whole world, for thoſe that became reprobates, as well as for the ſaints? He died for all men, the ungodly as well as the godly, as the apoſtle bears witneſs, 2 Cor. v. 15. Rom. v. vi. And "he enlightens every man that cometh into the world," that through him they might all believe. And Chriſt bids them believe in the light: but all they that hate the light, which Chriſt bids all believe in, are reprobated. Again, "The manifeſtation of the Spirit of God "is given to every man to profit withal;" but they that vex, quench, and grieve it, are in the reprobation; and the fault is in them, as it is alſo in them that hate his light. The apoſtle ſaith, "The grace of "God, which brings ſalvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching "us, that denying ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world," Tit. ii. 11, 12. Now all thoſe that live ungodly, and in the luſts of the world, that turn from this grace of God into wantonneſs, and walk deſpitefully againſt it, and ſo deny God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt that bought them, the fault is in all ſuch that turn from the grace of God into wantonneſs, and walk deſpitefully againſt that which would bring their ſalvation, and ſave them out of the reprobation. But the prieſts, it ſeems, can ſee no fault in ſuch as deny God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt that bought them, ſuch as deny his light, which they ſhould believe in, and his grace, which ſhould teach them to live godly, and which ſhould bring them their ſalvation. Now all that believe in the light of Chriſt, as he commands, are in the election; and ſit under the teaching of the grace of God, which brings their ſalvation. But ſuch as turn from this grace into wantonneſs are in the reproba-tion: and ſuch as hate the light are in the condemnation. There-fore I exhorted all to believe in the light, as Chriſt commands, and own the grace of God their free teacher; and it would aſſur-edly bring them their ſalvation: for it is ſufficient.' Many other ſcriptures were opened concerning reprobation, and the eyes of the people were opened; and a ſpring of life roſe up among them.

Theſe things ſoon came to the prieſts ear; for the people, that ſat under their dark teachings, began to ſee light, and to come into the covenant of light. The noiſe was ſpread over Scotland, amongſt the prieſts, That I was come thither; and a great cry was among them, that all would be ſpoiled: for they ſaid, 'I had ſpoiled all the ho-neſt men and women in England already' (ſo according to their own account, the worſt were left to them). Upon this they gathered great aſſemblies of prieſts together, and drew up a number of curſes to be read in their ſeveral ſteeple-houſes, that all the people ſhould ſay Amen to. Some few I will here ſet down; the reſt may be read in the book before-mentioned of "The Scotch Prieſts Principles."

The firſt was, 'Curſed is he that ſaith, Every man hath a light within him ſufficient to lead him to ſalvation: and let all the people ſay, Amen.

The ſecond, 'Curſed is he that ſaith, Faith is without ſin: and let all the people ſay, Amen.'

1657. The third, Curſed is he that denieth the ſabbath-day: and let all
Scotland. 'the people ſay, Amen.'

In this laſt they make the people curſe themſelves: for on the ſabbath-day (which is the ſeventh day of the week, which the Jews kept by the command of God to them) they kept markets and fairs, and ſo brought the curſe upon their own heads.

As to the firſt, concerning the light, Chriſt ſaith, 'Believe in the 'light, that ye may become children of the light:' and 'he that 'believeth ſhall be ſaved; he that believeth ſhall have everlaſting 'life: he that believeth paſſes from death to life, and is grafted in-'to Chriſt.' 'And ye do well,' ſaith the apoſtle, 'that ye take heed 'unto the light that ſhines in the dark place, until the day dawn, 'and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts.' So the light is ſufficient to lead unto the day-ſtar.

As concerning faith, it is the gift of God; and every gift of God is pure. The faith, which Chriſt is the author of, is precious, divine, and without ſin. This is the faith which gives victory over ſin, and acceſs to God; in which faith they pleaſe God. But thoſe are reprobates themſelves concerning this faith, and are in their dead faith, who charge ſin upon this faith under pain of a curſe: which faith gives victory over their curſe, and returns it into their own bowels.

Badcow. There were a company of Scots near Badcow, who challenged a diſpute with ſome of our Scotch friends (for with me they would not diſpute): ſo ſome of the Scotch friends met them at the market-place. The diſpute was to be concerning the ſabbath-day, and ſome other of their principles before-mentioned; and I having got their principles and aſſertions, ſhewed the friends where they might eaſily be overthrown; and a Scotch friend, a ſmith, overthrew them clearly.

There were two Independent churches in Scotland, in one of which many were convinced; but the paſtor of the other was in a great rage againſt truth and friends. They had their elders, who ſometimes would exerciſe their gifts amongſt the church members, and were ſometimes pretty tender: but their paſtor ſpeaking ſo much againſt the light, and us, the friends of Chriſt, he darkened his hearers; ſo that they grew blind and dry, and loſt their tenderneſs. He continued preaching againſt friends, and againſt the light of Chriſt Jeſus, calling it natural; at laſt one day in his preaching he curſed the light, and fell down as dead in his pulpit. The people carried him out, laid him upon a grave-ſtone, and poured ſtrong waters into him, which fetched him to life again; and they carried him home, but he was mopiſh. After a while he ſtripped off his cloaths, put on a Scotch plaid, and went into the country amongſt the dairy-women. When he had ſtaid there about two weeks he came home, and went into the pulpit again. Whereupon the people expected ſome great manifeſtation or revelation from him; but, inſtead thereof, he began to tell them what entertainment he had met with; how one woman gave him ſkimmed milk, another butter-milk, and another good milk: ſo the people were obliged to take him out of the pulpit again, and carry him home. He that gave me this account, was Andrew Robinſon, one of his chief hearers, who came afterwards to be convinced, and received the truth. He ſaid, he never heard that he recovered his

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ſenſes again. By this people may ſee what came upon him that curſed the light, which light is the life in Chriſt, the word; and it may be a warning to all others that ſpeak evil againſt the light of Chriſt. 1657. Scotland. Badcow.

Now were the prieſts in ſuch a rage, that they poſted to Edinburgh, to O. Cromwell's council there, with petitions againſt me. The noiſe was, 'That all was gone;' for ſeveral friends were come out of England, and ſpread over Scotland, ſounding the day of the Lord, preaching the everlaſting goſpel of ſalvation, and turning people to Chriſt Jeſus, who died for them, that they might receive his free teaching. After I had gathered the principles of the Scotch prieſts, and the ſufferings of friends, and had ſeen friends in that part of Scotland ſettled, by the Lord's power, upon Chriſt their foundation, I went to Edinburgh, and in the way came to Linlithgow; where lodging at an inn, the inn-keeper's wife, who was blind, received the word of life, and came under the teaching of Chriſt Jeſus her Saviour. At night came in abundance of ſoldiers, and ſome officers, with whom we had much diſcourſe; ſome were rude. One of the officers ſaid, 'He would 'obey the Turk's or Pilate's command, if they ſhould command him 'to guard Chriſt to crucify him.' So far he was from all tenderneſs, or ſenſe of the Spirit of Chriſt, that he would rather crucify the Juſt, than ſuffer for or with the Juſt; whereas many officers and magiſtrates have loſt their places, before they would turn againſt the Lord and his Juſt One. Linlithgow.

When I had ſtaid a while at Edinburgh, I went to Leith, where many officers of the army came in with their wives; and many were convinced. Edward Billing's wife was one. She brought a great deal of coral in her hand, and threw it on the table before me, to ſee whether I would ſpeak againſt it, or no. I took no notice of it, but declared the truth to her, and ſhe was reached. Many Baptiſts were very rude; but the Lord's power came over them, ſo that they went away confounded. Then there came in another ſort; one of whom ſaid, 'He 'would diſpute with me: and, for argument's ſake, would deny there 'was a God.' I told him, 'He might be one of thoſe fools that ſaid in 'his heart, There is no God; but he ſhould know him in the day of 'his judgment.' So he went his way, and a fine precious time we had afterwards with ſeveral people of account; and the Lord's power came over all. William Oſburn was with me. Colonel Lidcot's wife, William Welſh's wife, and ſeveral of the officers themſelves were convinced. Edward Billing and his wife at that time lived apart; and ſhe being reached by truth, and become loving to friends, we ſent for her huſband, who came, and the Lord's power reached to them both; they joined together in it, and agreed to live together in love and unity, as man and wife. Edinburgh.

After this we returned to Edinburgh, where many thouſands were gathered together, with abundance of prieſts among them, about burning a witch; and I was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongſt them; which when I had done, I went from thence to our meeting, whither many rude people and Baptiſts came. The Baptiſts began to vaunt with their logick and ſyllogiſms; but 'I was moved, in the 'Lord's

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'Lord's power, to threſh their chaffy light minds; and ſhewed the 'people, that, after that fallacious way of diſcourſing, they might make 'white ſeem black, and black ſeem white: as, that becauſe a cock 'had two legs, and each of them had two legs; therefore they were 'all cocks. Thus they might turn any thing into lightneſs and vanity; 'but it was not the way of Chriſt, or his apoſtles, to teach, ſpeak, or 'reaſon after that manner.' Hereupon thoſe Baptiſts went their way; and after they were gone, we had a bleſſed meeting in the Lord's power, which was over all.

I mentioned before, that many of the Scotch prieſts, being greatly diſturbed at the ſpreading of truth, and the loſs of their hearers thereby, were gone to Edinburgh, to petition the council againſt me. When I came from the meeting to the inn where I lodged, an officer belonging to the council brought me the following order:

'Thurſday, the 8th of October, 1657, at his Highneſs's Council 'in Scotland:

'Ordered,

'THAT George Fox do appear before the Council on Tueſday the '13th of October next, in the Forenoon.

'E. Downing, Clerk of the Council.'

When he had delivered me the Order, he aſked me, 'Whether I 'would appear or no?' I did not tell him whether I would or no; but aſked him, 'If he had not forged the order?' He ſaid, 'No; it 'was a real order from the council, and he was ſent as their meſſenger 'with it.' When the time came I appeared, and was had into a great room, where many perſons came and looked at me. After a while the door-keeper had me into the council-chamber: and as I was going, he took off my hat. I aſked him, 'Why he did ſo? and who was 'there, that I might not go in with my hat on? I told him, I had 'been before the Protector with my hat on.' But he hung up my hat, and had me in before them. When I had ſtood a while, and they ſaid nothing to me, I was moved of the Lord to ſay, 'Peace be 'amongſt you. Wait in the fear of God, that ye may receive his wiſ-'dom from above, by which all things were made and created; that 'by it ye may all be ordered, and may order all things under your 'hands to God's glory.' They aſked me, What was the occaſion of 'my coming into that nation?' I told them, 'I came to viſit the 'ſeed of God, which had long lain in bondage under corruption; that 'all in the nation, who profeſſed the ſcriptures, the words of Chriſt, 'of the prophets and apoſtles, might come to the light, Spirit, and 'power, which they were in who gave them forth; that in and by 'the Spirit they might underſtand the ſcriptures, and know Chriſt and 'God aright, have fellowſhip with them, and one with another.' They aſked me, 'Whether I had any outward buſineſs there?' I ſaid, 'Nay.' Then they aſked me, 'How long I intended to ſtay in that 'country?' I told them, 'I ſhould ſay little to that; my time was 'not to be long; yet in my freedom in the Lord I ſtood, in the will 'of him that ſent me.' Then they bid me withdraw; and the door-

Edinburgh council.

keeper took me by the hand, and led me forth. In a little time they sent for me again, and told me, 'I must depart the nation of Scot-'land by that day sevennight.' I asked them, 'Why? What had 'I done? What was my transgression, that they passed such a sen-'tence upon me to depart out of the nation?' They told me, 'They 'would not dispute with me.' 'I desired them to hear what I had 'to say to them.' They said, 'They would not hear me.' I told them, 'Pharaoh heard Moses and Aaron, yet he was an heathen; 'and Herod heard John Baptist; and they should not be worse than 'these.' But they cried, 'Withdraw, withdraw.' Whereupon the door-keeper took me again by the hand, and led me out. I returned to my inn, and continued still in Edinburgh; visiting friends there and thereabouts, and strengthening them in the Lord. After a little time I wrote a letter to the council, to lay before them their unchristian dealings, in banishing me, an innocent man, that sought their salvation and eternal good.

1657. Scotland. Edinburgh council.

'To the council of Edinburgh:

'YOU that sit in council, and bring before your judgment-seat 'the innocent, the just, without shewing what evil I have done, 'or convicting me of any breach of law; and afterwards ye banish 'me out of your nation, without telling me for what; though I 'told you, when ye asked me 'How long I would stay in the na-'tion?' that my time was not long (I spoke it innocently); yet ye 'banish me. Will not all, think ye, that fear God, judge this to 'be wickedness? Consider, did not they sit in council about Ste-'phen, when they stoned him to death? Did they not sit in council 'about Peter and John, when they haled them out of the temple, 'put them out of their council for a little season, and took counsel 'together; and then brought them in again, threatened, and charged 'them to speak no more in that name? Was not this to stop the 'truth from spreading in that time? Had not the priests an hand in 'these things, with the magistrates? and in examining Stephen, when 'he was stoned to death? Was not the council gathered together 'against Jesus Christ, to put him to death? and had not the chief 'priests an hand in it? When they persecute the just, and crucify 'the just, do they not then neglect judgment, mercy, and justice, 'and the weighty matters of the law, which are just? Was not the 'apostle Paul tossed up and down and imprisoned by the priests and 'the rulers? Was not John Baptist cast into prison? Are not ye 'doing the same work, shewing what spirit ye are of? Now, do not 'ye shew the end of your profession, the end of your prayers, the 'end of your religion, and the end of your teaching, who are now 'come to banish the truth, and him that came to declare it unto 'you? Doth not this shew that ye are but in the words, out of the 'life of the prophets, Christ, and his apostles? for they did not use 'such practice, as to banish any. How do ye receive strangers, which 'is a command of God among the prophets, Christ, and the apostles? 'Some by that means have entertained angels at unawares; but 'ye banish one that comes to visit the seed of God, and is not charge-

1657. Scotland. Edinburgh.

'able to any of you. Will not all that fear God look upon this to 'be ſpite and wickedneſs againſt the truth? How are ye like to love 'enemies, that baniſh your friend? How are ye like to do good to 'them that hate you, when ye do evil to them that love you? How 'are ye like to heap coals of fire on their heads that hate you, and to 'overcome evil with good, when ye baniſh thus? Do ye not manifeſt 'to all that are in the truth that ye have not the chriſtian ſpirit? How 'did ye do juſtice to me, when ye could not convict me of any evil, 'yet baniſh me? This ſhews that truth is baniſhed out of your hearts, 'and ye have taken part againſt the truth with evil-doers, with the 'wicked envious prieſts, ſtoners, ſtrikers, and mockers in the ſtreets; 'with theſe, ye that baniſh have taken part; whereas ye ſhould have 'been a terror to theſe, and a praiſe to them that do well, and ſuc-'courers of them that are in the truth; then might ye have been a 'bleſſing to the nation, and not have baniſhed him that was moved of 'the Lord to viſit the ſeed of God, and thereby have brought your 'names upon record, and made them ſtink in ages to come, among 'them that fear God. Were not the magiſtrates ſtirred up in former 'ages to perſecute or baniſh, by the corrupt prieſts? and did not the 'corrupt prieſts ſtir up the rude multitude againſt the juſt in other ages? 'Therefore are your ſtreets like Sodom and Gomorrah. Did not the 'Jews and the prieſts make the Gentiles minds envious againſt the 'apoſtles? Who were they that would not have the prophet Amos to 'propheſy at the king's chapel; but bad him fly his way? When Jere-'miah was put in the priſon, in the dungeon, and in the ſtocks, had 'not the prieſts an hand with the princes in doing it? Now ſee all, 'that were in this work of baniſhing, priſoning, perſecuting, whether 'they were not all out of the life of Chriſt, the prophets, and apoſtles? 'To the witneſs of God in you all I ſpeak. Conſider, Whether or 'no they were not always the blind magiſtrates, which turned their 'ſword always backward, that knew not their friends from their foes, 'and ſo hit their friends? Such magiſtrates were deceived by flattery.'

'G. F.'

When this was delivered, and read amongſt them, ſome of them, I heard, were troubled at what they had done; being made ſenſible that they would not be ſo ſerved themſelves. But it was not long before they that baniſhed me were baniſhed themſelves, or glad to get away; who would not do good in the day when they had power, nor ſuffer others that would.

Heads.

After I had ſpent ſome time among friends at Edinburgh, and thereabouts, I paſſed from thence to Heads again, where friends had been in great ſufferings; for the Preſbyterian prieſts had excommunicated them, and given charge, that none ſhould buy or ſell with them, nor eat nor drink with them. So they could neither ſell their commodities, nor buy what they wanted; which made it go very hard with ſome of them; for if they had bought bread or other victuals of any of their neighbours, the prieſts threatened them ſo with curſes, that they would run and fetch it from them again. But colonel Aſhfield, being a juſ-

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tice of peace in that country, put a ſtop to the prieſts proceedings. This colonel Aſhfield was afterwards convinced himſelf, had a meeting ſettled at his houſe, and declared the truth, and lived and died in it. 1657. Scotland.

After I had viſited friends at and about Heads, and encouraged them in the Lord, I went to Glaſgow, where a meeting was appointed; but not one of the town came to it. As I went into the city, the guard at the gates took me before the governor, who was a moderate man. A great deal of diſcourſe I had with him; but he was too light to receive the truth; yet he ſet me at liberty: ſo I paſſed to the meeting. But ſeeing none of the town's people came to the meeting, we declared truth through the town; then paſſed away, viſited friends meetings thereabouts, and returned towards Badcow. Several friends declared truth in their ſteeple-houſes, and the Lord's power was with them. One time, as I was going with William Oſburn to his houſe, there lay a company of rude fellows by the way-ſide, who had hid themſelves under the hedges and in buſhes. I eſpying them, aſked him, 'What they were?' 'Oh!' ſaid he, 'they are thieves.' Robert Widders, being moved to go to ſpeak to a prieſt, was left behind, intending to come after; ſo I ſaid to William Oſburn, 'I will ſtay here in this valley, and do thou go 'look after Robert Widders.' But he was unwilling to go, being afraid to leave me there alone becauſe of thoſe fellows; till I told him, 'I feared them not.' Then I called to them, aſking them, What they lay lurking there for? I bid them come up to me; but they were loth to come. I charged them to come up to me, or elſe it might be worſe with them. Then they came trembling to me; for the dread of the Lord had ſtruck them. I admoniſhed them to be honeſt, and directed them to the light of Chriſt in their hearts, that by it they might ſee what an evil it was to follow after theft and robbery; and the power of the Lord came over them. I ſtaid there till William Oſburn and Robert Widders came, and then we paſſed on together. But it is likely, if we two had gone before, they would have robbed Widders when he had come after alone, there being three or four of them. Glaſgow. Badcow.

We went to William Oſburn's, where we had a good opportunity to declare the truth to ſeveral people that came in. Then we went among the Highlanders, who were ſo deviliſh they had like to have ſpoiled us and our horſes; for they ran at us with pitchforks; but through the Lord's goodneſs we eſcaped them, being preſerved by his power. Highlands.

From thence we paſſed to Stirling, where the ſoldiers took us up, and had us to the main-guard. After a few words with their officers, the Lord's power coming over them, we were ſet at liberty; but no meeting could we get amongſt them in the town, they were ſo cloſed up in darkneſs. Next morning there came a man with an horſe that was to run a race, and moſt of the town's people and the officers went to ſee it. As they returned from the race, I had a brave opportunity to declare the day of the Lord and his word of life amongſt them. Some confeſſed to it, and ſome oppoſed; but the Lord's truth and power came over them all. Stirling.

1657. Leaving Stirling we came to Burnt-iſland, where I had two meetings
Scotland. at captain Pool's; one in the morning, the other in the afternoon.
Burnt-Iſland. Whilſt they went to dinner I walked to the ſea-ſide, not having freedom to eat with them. Both he and his wife were convinced, and became good friends afterward; and ſeveral officers of the army came in and received the truth.

Johnſtons. We paſſed from thence through ſeveral other places in that country, till we came to Johnſtons; where were ſeveral Baptiſts, that were very bitter, and came in a rage to diſpute with us. Vain janglers and diſputers indeed they were. When they could not prevail by diſputing, they went and informed the governor againſt us, and next morning they raiſed a whole company of foot, and baniſhed me, Alexander Parker, James Lancaſter, and Robert Widders out of the town. As they guarded us through the town, James Lancaſter was moved to ſing with a melodious ſound in the power of God, and I was moved to proclaim the day of the Lord, and preach the everlaſting goſpel to the people. For the people generally came forth, ſo that the ſtreets were filled with them; and the ſoldiers were ſo aſhamed, that they ſaid, 'They had rather have gone to Jamaica than have guarded us ſo.' But we were put into a boat with our horſes, carried over the water, and there left. The Baptiſts, who were the cauſe of our being thus put out of this town, were themſelves, not long after, turned out of the army; and he that was then governor was diſcarded alſo when the king came in.

Being thus thruſt out of Johnſtons we went to another market-town, where Edward Billing and many ſoldiers quartered. We went to an inn, and deſired to have a meeting in the town, that we might preach the everlaſting goſpel amongſt them. The officers and ſoldiers ſaid, 'We ſhould have it in the town-hall;' but the Scotch magiſtrates in ſpight appointed a meeting there that day for the buſineſs of the town. Which when the officers of the ſoldiery underſtood, and perceived that it was done in malice, they would have had us to have gone into the town-hall nevertheleſs. But we told them, 'No, by no 'means;' for then the magiſtrates might inform the governor againſt them, and ſay, 'They took the town-hall from them by force, when 'they were to do their town-buſineſs therein.' We told them, 'We 'would go to the market-place.' They ſaid, 'It was market-day.' We replied, 'It was ſo much the better; for we would have all peo-'ple to hear the truth and know our principles.' Alexander Parker went and ſtood upon the market-croſs, with a bible in his hand, and declared the truth amongſt the ſoldiers and market-people; but the Scots, being a dark, carnal people, gave little heed, nor hardly took notice what was ſaid. After a while I was moved of the Lord to ſtand up at the croſs, and to declare with a loud voice the everlaſting truth, and the day of the Lord that was coming upon all ſin and wickedneſs. Whereupon the people came running out of the town-hall, and gathered ſo together that at laſt we had a large meeting; for they only ſate in the court for a colour to hinder us from having the hall to meet in. When the people were come away, the magiſtrates followed them. Some walked by, but ſome ſtaid and heard; and the Lord's

power

power came over all and kept all quiet. 'The people were turned to 1657.
'the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who died for them, and had enlightened them, Scotland.
'that with his light they might ſee their evil deeds, be ſaved from their Johnſtons.
'ſins by him, and might come to know him to be their teacher. But
'if they would not receive Chriſt, and own him, it was told them,
'that this light which came from him would be their condem-
'nation.'

Several of them were made loving to us, eſpecially the Engliſh, and ſome came afterwards to be convinced. But there was a ſoldier that was very envious againſt us; he hated both us and the truth, ſpoke evil of the truth, and very deſpitefully againſt the light of Chriſt Jeſus, which we bore teſtimony to. Mighty zealous he was for the prieſts and their hearers. As this man was holding his hat before his face, while the prieſt prayed; one of the prieſt's hearers ſtabbed him to death. So he, who had rejected the teachings of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and cried down the ſervants of the Lord, was murdered amongſt them whom he had ſo cried up, and by one of them.

We travelled from this town to Leith, warning and exhorting peo- Leith.
ple, as we went, to turn to the Lord. At Leith the innkeeper told me, the council had granted warrants to apprehend me, 'becauſe I 'was not gone out of the nation after the ſeven days were expired 'that they had ordered me to depart the nation in.' Several friendly people alſo came and told me the ſame. To whom I ſaid: 'What do 'ye tell me of their warrants againſt me? If there were a cart load of 'them I do not regard them; for the Lord's power is over them all.'

I went from Leith to Edinburgh again, where they ſaid the warrants Edinburgh.
from the council were out againſt me. I went to the inn where I had lodged before, and no man offered to meddle with me. After I had viſited friends in the city, I deſired thoſe that travelled with me to get ready their horſes in the morning; and we rode out of town together. There were with me Thomas Rawlinſon, Alexander Parker, and Robert Widders. When we were come out of the town, they aſked me, 'Whither I would go?' I told them, 'It was upon me from the 'Lord to go back again to Johnſtons (the town out of which we had Johnſtons.
'been lately thruſt) and to ſet the power of God and his truth over 'them alſo.' Alexander Parker ſaid, 'He would go along with me;' and I wiſhed the other two to ſtay at a town about three miles from Edinburgh till we returned. Then Alexander Parker and I got over the water, which was about three miles over, and rode through the country; but in the afternoon, his horſe being weak and not able to hold up with mine, I put on and got into Johnſtons juſt as they were drawing up the bridges, the officers and ſoldiers never queſtioning me. I rode up the ſtreet to captain Davenport's, from whence we had been baniſhed. There were many officers with him; and when I came amongſt them they lifted up their hands, admiring that I ſhould come again; but I told them, 'The Lord God had ſent me amongſt them 'again.' They went their way; and the Baptiſts ſent me a letter, by way of challenge, 'That they would diſcourſe with me the next day.' I ſent them word, 'I would meet them at ſuch a houſe, about half a 'mile out of the town, at ſuch an hour.' For I conſidered, if I ſhould

1657. Johnſtons.

ſtay in town to diſcourſe with them, they might, under pretence of diſcourſing with me, have raiſed men to put me out of town again, as they had done before. At the time appointed I went to the place, captain Davenport and his ſon accompanying me; where I ſtaid ſome hours, but not one of them came. While I ſtaid waiting for them, I eſpied Alexander Parker coming; who not being able to reach the town, had lain out the night before; and I was exceeding glad that we were met again.

Captain Davenport was then loving to friends; but afterwards coming more into obedience to truth, he was turned out of his place, for not putting off his hat, and for ſaying Thou and Thee to them.

When we had waited beyond reaſonable ground to expect any of their coming we departed; and Alexander Parker being moved to go again to the town where we had the meeting at the market-croſs, I paſſed alone to lieutenant Foſter's quarters, where I found ſeveral officers that were convinced. From thence I went to the town where Edinburgh. I had left the other two friends, and they and I went back to Edinburgh together.

When we were come to the city, I bid Robert Widders follow me; and in the dread and power of the Lord we came up to the two firſt centries, and the Lord's power came ſo over them, that we paſſed by them without any examination. Then we rode up the ſtreet to the market-place, and by the main-guard out at the gate by the third centry, and ſo clear out at the ſuburbs, and there came to an inn and ſet up our horſes, it being ſeventh-day. Now I ſaw and felt that we had rode, as it were, againſt the cannon's mouth or the ſword's point; but the Lord's power and immediate hand carried us over the heads of them all. Next day I went to the meeting in the city, friends having notice I would attend it. There came many officers and ſoldiers to it, and a glorious meeting it was; the everlaſting power of God was ſet over the nation, and his Son reigned in his glorious power. All was quiet, and no man offered to meddle with me. When the meeting was ended, and I had viſited friends, I came out of the city to my inn again. The next day, being ſecond day, we ſet forward towards the borders of England.

As we travelled along the country I eſpied a ſteeple-houſe, and it ſtruck at my life. I aſked, what ſteeple-houſe it was? and was anſwered, it was Dunbar. Dunbar. When I came thither, and had ſet up at an inn, I walked to the ſteeple houſe, having a friend or two with me. When we came to the ſteeple-houſe yard, one of the chief men of the town was walking there. I ſpoke to one of the friends that was with me, 'To go to him, and tell him, that about the ninth hour next 'morning there would be a meeting there of the people of God called 'Quakers; of which we deſired he would give notice to the people of 'the town.' He ſent me word, 'That they were to have a lecture 'there by the ninth hour; but that we might have our meeting there by 'the eighth hour if we would.' We concluded ſo, and deſired him to give notice of it. Accordingly in the morning both poor and rich came; and there being a captain of horſe quartered in the town, he and his troopers came alſo, ſo that we had a large concourſe; and a glo-

rious

rious meeting it was, the Lord's power being over all. After ſome time the prieſt came, and went into the ſteeple-houſe; but we being in the yard, moſt of the people ſtaid with us. Friends were ſo full, and their voices ſo high in the power of God, that the prieſt could do little in the houſe, but came quickly out again, ſtood a while, and then went his way. I opened to the people, 'Where they might 'find Chriſt Jeſus, turned them to the light, which he had en-'lightened them withal, that in the light they might ſee Chriſt who 'died for them, turn to him, and know him to be their Saviour and 'teacher; let them ſee, that the teachers they had hitherto followed 'were hirelings, who made the goſpel chargeable; ſhewed them the 'wrong ways they had walked in, in the night of apoſtaſy, directed 'them to Chriſt, the new and living way to God; manifeſted unto 'them, how they had loſt the religion and worſhip which Chriſt ſet up 'in ſpirit and truth, and had hitherto been in the religions and wor-'ſhips of mens making and ſetting up; and after I had turned the 'people to the Spirit of God, which led the holy men of God to give 'forth the ſcriptures, and ſhewed them that they muſt alſo come to 'receive and be led by the ſame Spirit in themſelves (a meaſure of 'which was given unto every one of them) if ever they came to know 'God and Chriſt and the ſcriptures aright, perceiving the other 'friends to be full of power and the word of the Lord, I ſtepped down, 'giving way for them to declare what they had from the Lord to the 'people.' Towards the latter end of the meeting ſome profeſſors began to jangle; whereupon I ſtood up again and anſwered their queſtions, ſo that they ſeemed to be ſatisfied, and our meeting ended in the Lord's power, quiet and peaceable. This was the laſt meeting I had in Scotland. The truth and the power of God was ſet over that nation, and many, by the power and Spirit of God, were turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, their Saviour and Teacher, whoſe blood was ſhed for them; and there is ſince a great increaſe, and great there will be in Scotland, tho' the time may be far diſtant at preſent. For when firſt I ſet my horſe's feet upon Scotiſh ground, I felt the ſeed of God to ſparkle about me, like innumerable ſparks of fire. Not but that there is abundance of thick, cloddy earth of hypocriſy and falſeneſs atop, and a briary, brambly nature, which is to be burned up with God's word, and plowed up with his ſpiritual plough, before God's ſeed brings forth heavenly and ſpiritual fruit to his glory. But the huſbandman is to wait in patience.

1657. Scotland. Dunbar.

From Dunbar we came to Berwick, where we were queſtioned a little by the officers; but the governor was loving towards us, and in the evening we had a little meeting, in which the power of the Lord was manifeſted over all.

Northumberland. Berwick.

Leaving Berwick we came to Morpeth, and through the country, viſiting friends, to Newcaſtle, where I had been once before. The Newcaſtle prieſts wrote many books againſt us, and one Ledger, an alderman of the town, was very envious againſt truth and friends. He and the prieſts had ſaid, 'The Quakers would not come into any great 'towns, but lived in the fells like butterflies.' I took Anthony Pearſon with me, and went to this Ledger and ſeveral others of the aldermen; 'deſiring

Morpeth. Newcaſtle.

1657. Newcaſtle.

'deſiring to have a meeting amongſt them, ſeeing they had written ſo 'many books againſt us: for we were now come, I told them, into 'their great town.' But they would not yield we ſhould have a meeting, neither would they be ſpoke with, ſave only this Ledger and one other. I queried, 'Had they not called friends butterflies, and ſaid, 'We would not come into any great towns? And now we were in 'their town, they would not come at us, tho' they had printed books 'againſt us: who are the butterflies now? Then Ledger began to 'plead for the ſabbath-day. I told him, They kept markets and fairs 'on that which was the ſabbath-day, for that was the ſeventh day of 'the week; whereas that day which the profeſſed chriſtians now meet 'on, and call their ſabbath, is the firſt day of the week.' As we could not have a publick meeting among them, we got a little meeting among friends and friendly people at the Gate-ſide; where a meeting is continued to this day in the name of Jeſus. As I was paſſing by the market-place the power of the Lord roſe in me 'to warn them of the 'day of the Lord that was coming upon them.' And not long after, all thoſe prieſts of Newcaſtle and their profeſſion were turned out when the king came in.

Northumberland. Biſhoprick.

From Newcaſtle we travelled, having meetings and viſiting friends, in Northumberland and Biſhoprick. A very good meeting we had at lieutenant Dove's, where many were turned to the Lord and his teaching. After which I went to viſit a juſtice of peace, a very ſober, loving man, who confeſſed to the truth.

Durham.

From thence we came to Durham, where was a man come from London to ſet up a college to make miniſters of Chriſt, as they ſaid. I went with ſome others to reaſon with the man, and to let him ſee, 'That to teach men Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and the ſeven arts, which 'were all but the teachings of the natural man, was not the way to make 'them miniſters of Chriſt. For the languages began at Babel; and to 'the Greeks, that ſpoke Greek as their mother-tongue, the preaching 'of the croſs of Chriſt was fooliſhneſs; and to the Jews, that ſpoke 'Hebrew as their mother-tongue, Chriſt was a ſtumbling-block. 'The Romans, who had the Latin, perſecuted the Chriſtians; and 'Pilate, one of the Roman governors, ſet Hebrew, Greek, and Latin 'atop of Chriſt when he crucified him. So he might ſee the many 'languages began at Babel, and they ſet them atop of Chriſt, the 'Word, when they crucified him. John the divine, who preached 'the Word which was in the beginning, ſaid, "That the beaſt and the "whore have power over tongues and languages, and they are as "waters." Thus, I told him, he might ſee the whore and the beaſt 'have power over the tongues and the many languages, which are in 'myſtery Babylon; for they began at Babel, and the perſecutors of 'Chriſt Jeſus ſet them over him, when he was crucified by them; but 'he is riſen over them all, who was before them all. Now (ſaid I to 'this man) doſt thou think to make miniſters of Chriſt by theſe natural, 'confuſed languages which ſprung from Babel, are admired in Baby-'lon, and ſet atop of Chriſt, the Life, by a perſecutor? Oh, no!' The man confeſſed to many of theſe things. Then we ſhewed him further, 'That Chriſt made his miniſters himſelf, gave gifts unto 'them,

'them; and bid them "Pray to the Lord of the Harveſt to ſend forth "labourers." And Peter and John, though unlearned and ignorant 1657. Durham.
'as to ſchool-learning, preached Chriſt Jeſus the Word, which was in the 'beginning, before Babel was. Paul alſo was made an apoſtle, not of 'man, nor by man, neither received he the goſpel from man, but 'from Jeſus Chriſt; who is the ſame now, and ſo is the goſpel, as it 'was at that day.' When we had thus diſcourſed with him, he became very loving and tender; and after he had conſidered further of it, declined to ſet up his college.

From Durham we went to Anthony Pearſon's, from thence into Cleveland, and paſſed through Yorkſhire to the further end of Holderneſs, and had mighty meetings, the Lord's power accompanying us. Cleveland. Yorkſhire. Holderneſs.

After we paſſed from Anthony Pearſon's, we went by Hull and Pomfret to George Watkinſon's, and viſited moſt of the meetings in theſe parts, till we came to Scalehouſe, and ſo to Swarthmore; the everlaſting power and arm of God carrying us through and preſerving us. After I had viſited friends there-away, I paſſed into Yorkſhire and Cheſhire, and ſo through other counties into Derbyſhire and Nottinghamſhire; and glorious meetings we had, the Lord's preſence being with us. Hull. Pomfret. Scalehouſe. Swarthmore. Yorkſhire. Cheſhire. Derbyſhire. Nottingham-ſhire.

At Nottingham I ſent to Rice Jones, deſiring him 'to acquaint 'his people that I had ſomething to ſay to them from the Lord.' He came and told me, 'Many of them lived in the country, and he 'could not tell how to ſend to them.' I told him, 'He might ac-'quaint them about the town of it, and ſend to as many in the 'country as he could.' The next day we met at the caſtle, there being about fourſcore people, to whom I declared the truth for about the ſpace of two hours; and the Lord's power was over them all, ſo that they had not power to open their mouths in oppoſition. When I had done, one of them aſked me a queſtion, which I was loth to have anſwered; for I ſaw it might lead into jangling, and was unwilling to go into jangling, for ſome of the people were tender; yet I could not well tell how to eſcape it. Wherefore I anſwered the queſtion, and was moved forthwith to ſpeak to Rice Jones, and lay before him, 'That he had been the man who had ſcattered ſuch as had been ten-'der, and ſome that had been convinced and had been led out of the 'vanities of the world, which he had formerly judged; but now he 'judged the power of God in them, and they being ſimple turned to 'him; ſo he and they were turned to be vainer than the world: for 'many of his followers were become the greateſt foot-ball players 'and wreſtlers in the whole country. I told them it was the 'ſerpent in him that had ſcattered and done hurt to ſuch as were 'tender towards the Lord. Nevertheleſs, if he waited in the fear 'of God for the ſeed of the woman, Chriſt Jeſus, to bruiſe the 'ſerpent's head in him, that had ſcattered and done the hurt; 'he might come to gather them again by this heavenly ſeed; though 'it would be an hard work for him, to gather them again out of 'thoſe vanities he had led them into.' At this Rice Jones ſaid, "Thou "lieſt, it is not the ſeed of the woman that bruiſes the ſerpent's head." 'No! ſaid I, what is it then? "I ſay, it is the law," ſaid he. 'But, Nottingham.

1657. Nottingham. ‘ ſaid I, the ſcripture, ſpeaking of the ſeed of the woman, ſaith, “ It ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel :” now, ‘ hath the law an heel, ſaid I, to be bruiſed ?’ Then Rice Jones and all his company were at a ſtand, and I was moved in the power of the Lord ſay, ‘ This ſeed, Chriſt Jeſus, the ſeed ‘ of the woman, which ſhould bruiſe the ſerpent's head, ſhall ‘ bruiſe thy head, and break you all in pieces. Thus I left on the heads of them the ſeed, Chriſt ; and not long after he and his company ſcattered to pieces ; ſeveral of whom came to be friends, and ſtand to this day. Many of them had been convinced about eight years before, but had been led aſide by this Rice Jones ; for they denied the inward croſs, the power of God, and ſo went into vanity. It was about eight years, ſince I had been formerly amongſt them ; in which time I was to paſs over them, and by them, ſeeing they had ſlighted the Lord's truth and power, and the viſitation of his love unto them. But now was the time that I was moved to go to them again, and it was of great ſervice ; for many of them were brought to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and were ſettled upon him, ſitting down under his teaching and feeding, where they were kept freſh and green ; and the others that would not be gathered to him ſoon after withered. This was that Rice Jones, who had ſome years before ſaid, ‘ I was then at the higheſt, and ſhould fall ;’ but, poor man ! he little thought how near his own fall was.

1658. Warwickſhire. Northamptonſhire. Leiceſterſhire. Bedfordſhire yearly meeting. We left Nottingham, and went into Warwickſhire, Northamptonſhire, and Leiceſterſhire, viſiting friends, and having meetings as we travelled. We came into Bedfordſhire, where we had large gatherings in the name of Jeſus. After ſome time we came to John Crook's, where a general yearly meeting for the whole nation was appointed to be held. This meeting laſted three days, and many friends from moſt parts of the nation came to it ; ſo that the inns and towns round thereabouts were filled, for many thouſands of people were at it. And although there was ſome diſturbance by ſome rude people that had run out from truth ; yet the Lord's power came over all, and a glorious meeting it was. The everlaſting goſpel was preached, and many received it, which goſpel brought life and immortality to light in them, and ſhined over all.

I was moved by the Power and Spirit of the Lord to open unto them the ‘ promiſe of God, that it was made to the ſeed, not to ſeeds, ‘ as many, but to one ; which ſeed was Chriſt : and that all people, ‘ both male and female, ſhould feel this ſeed in them, which was ‘ heir of the promiſe ; that ſo they might all witneſs Chriſt in them, ‘ the hope of glory, the myſtery which had been hid from ages and ‘ generations, which was revealed to the apoſtles, and is revealed ‘ again now, after the long night of apoſtaſy. So that all might ‘ come up into this ſeed, Chriſt Jeſus, walk in it, and ſit down together in heavenly places in Chriſt Jeſus, who was the foundation ‘ of the prophets and apoſtles, the rock of ages, and is our foundation now. All ſitting down in him, ſit down in the ſubſtance, the ‘ firſt and the laſt, that changes not, the ſeed that bruiſes the ſerpent's ‘ head, which was before he was, who ends all the types, figures, ‘ and ſhadows, and is the ſubſtance of them all ; in whom there is no ‘ ſhadow.’

'ſhadow.' Now, theſe things were upon me to open unto all, that they might mind and ſee what it is they ſit down in. 1658. Bedfordſhire yearly Meeting.

'Firſt, They that ſit down in Adam in the fall, ſit down in miſery, in death, in darkneſs and corruption.

'Secondly, They that ſit down in the types, figures, and ſhadows, and under the firſt prieſthood, law, and covenant, ſit down in that which muſt have an end, and which made nothing perfect.

'Thirdly, They that ſit down in the apoſtaſy, that hath got up ſince the apoſtles days, ſit down in ſpiritual Sodom and Egypt; and are drinking of the whore's cup, under the beaſt's and dragon's power.

'Fourthly, They that ſit down in the ſtate in which Adam was before he fell, ſit down in that which may be fallen from; for he fell from that ſtate, though it was perfect.

'Fifthly, They that ſit down in the prophets, ſit down in that which muſt be fulfilled: and they that ſit down in the fellowſhip of water, bread, and wine, theſe being temporal things, they ſit down in that which is ſhort of Chriſt, and of his baptiſm.

'Sixthly, To ſit down in a profeſſion of all the ſcriptures, from Geneſis to the Revelations, and not be in the power and Spirit which thoſe were in that gave them forth; that was to be turned away from, by them that came into the power and Spirit which thoſe were in that gave forth the ſcriptures.

'Seventhly, They that ſit down in the heavenly places in Chriſt Jeſus, ſit down in him that never fell, nor ever changed. Here is the ſafe ſitting for all his elect, his church, his ſpiritual members, of which he is the living head, his living ſtones, the houſhold of faith; of which houſe he is the corner-ſtone, that ſtands and abides all weathers. "For," as the apoſtle ſaid, "he hath "quickened us, who were dead in ſins and treſpaſſes, &c. and made "us ſit together in the heavenly places in Chriſt Jeſus; that in the "ages to come he might ſhew the exceeding riches of his grace, in "his kindneſs towards us, through Jeſus Chriſt." Now the ages are come, that his kindneſs and exceeding riches towards us through Jeſus Chriſt is truly manifeſted in us, as it was in the apoſtles days; even in us, who have been dead in ſins and treſpaſſes, as they were; but now are quickened, and made to ſit together in the heavenly places in Chriſt Jeſus, the firſt and the laſt, by whom all things were created; who is aſcended above all, and is over all, and whoſe glorious preſence is now known. All that ſit down here, in Chriſt Jeſus, ſee where all other people ſit, and in what. The promiſe of God being to the ſeed, which is one, Chriſt Jeſus, every man and woman muſt come to witneſs this ſeed, Chriſt in them, that they may be heirs of the promiſe; and inheriting that, they will inherit ſubſtance. Theſe things were largely declared of; the ſtate of the church, and the ſtate of the falſe church ſince the apoſtles days, opened; and how the true church fled into the wilderneſs: and the ſtate of the falſe prophets, which Chriſt ſaid ſhould come, and John ſaw were come, and how all the world wondered after them; and how they had filled the world with falſe doctrines, ways, worſhips, and religions: and how the everlaſting goſpel is

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'now preached again to all nations, kindreds, tongues and people; 'for all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people had drunk the whore's 'cup, and ſhe was over them, and ſat upon them. In this night 'of apoſtaſy the pure religion and worſhip in ſpirit, which was in 'the apoſtles days, the way of life and living faith, and the power 'and Holy Ghoſt were loſt; but now they came to be ſet up again 'by Chriſt Jeſus, his meſſengers and miniſters of the goſpel, as in 'the apoſtles days. For as Chriſt ſent his diſciples to go and preach 'the goſpel into all the world, and after that, the falſe prophets 'and antichriſts went over the world, and preached their falſe doc-'trines and traditions, and heatheniſh and Jewiſh rudiments, ſo 'now again the everlaſting goſpel muſt be preached to all nations, 'and to every creature, that they may come into the pure religion, 'to worſhip God in the Spirit and truth, and may know Chriſt Jeſus, 'their way to God, to be the author of their faith, and may re-'ceive the goſpel from heaven, and not from men; in which goſpel, 'received from heaven, is the heavenly fellowſhip, which is a myſtery 'to all the fellowſhips in the world.' After theſe things had been largely opened, with many others concerning Chriſt Jeſus and his kingdom, and the people were turned to the divine light of Chriſt and his Spirit, by which they might come to know God and Chriſt, and the ſcriptures, and to have fellowſhip with them, and one with another in the ſame Spirit, I was moved to declare and open divers other things to thoſe friends who had received a part of the miniſtry, concerning the exerciſe of their ſpiritual gifts in the church: which, being taken in writing by one preſent, was after this manner;

'Friends,

'TAKE heed of deſtroying that which ye have begotten: for that 'which deſtroys, goes out, and is the caſt-away. And though 'that be true, yea, and may be the pure truth, which ſuch an one 'ſpeaks, yet if he doth not remain in that, and live in that in his 'particular, but goes out, the ſame which he is gone out from cometh 'over him. So that which calms and cools the ſpirits, goes over the 'world, and brings to the Father, to inherit the life eternal; and 'reaches to the ſpirits in priſon in all. Therefore in the living, im-'moveable Word of the Lord God dwell, in the renown thereof; and 'remain on the foundation that is pure, and that is ſure: for whoſo-'ever goes out from the pure, and miniſters not in and from that, he 'comes to an end, and doth not remain; altho' he may have had a time, 'and may have been ſerviceable for a time, while he lived in the thing.

'Take heed of many words; what reacheth to the life, ſettles 'in the life. That which cometh from the life, and is received 'from God, reacheth to the life, and ſettles others in the life: 'the work is not now as it was at firſt; the work now is, to ſettle 'and ſtay in the life. For as friends have been led to miniſter in 'the power, and the power hath gone through, ſo that there hath 'grown an underſtanding among both people of the world and 'friends, ſo friends muſt be kept in the life which is pure, that with 'that they may anſwer the pure life of God in others. If friends 'do not live in the pure life which they ſpeak of, to anſwer the life 'in thoſe they ſpeak to, the other part ſteps in; and ſo there comes

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'up an outward acquaintance, and he lets that come over him. But as every one is kept living in the life of God, over all that which is contrary, they are in their places; then they do not lay hands on any ſuddenly, which is the danger now: for if any one do, he may loſe his diſcerning, may lay hands on the wrong part, ſo let the deceit come too near him; and the deceit will ſteal over, ſo that it will be an hard thing for him to get it down. There is no one ſtrikes his fellow-ſervants, but firſt he is gone from the pure in his own particular; for when he goeth from the light he is enlightened withal, then he ſtrikes; and then he hath his reward: the light, which he is gone from, Chriſt, comes and gives him his reward. This is the ſtate of the evil ſervants. The boiſterous, the haſty and raſh, beget nothing to God; but the life, which doth reach the life, is that which begets to God. When all are ſettled in the life they are in that which remains for ever; and what is received there, is received from the Lord; and what one receiveth from the Lord, he keepeth; ſo he ſitteth ſtill, cool, and quiet in his own ſpirit, and gives it forth as he is moved; but to the harlots, judgment.

'Friends, This is the word of the Lord to you all, be watchful and careful in all meetings ye come into; for where friends are ſitting together in ſilence, they are many times gathered into their own meaſures. When a man is come newly out of the world, from miniſtering to the world's people, he cometh out of the dirt; and then he had need take heed that he be not raſh. For when he comes into a ſilent meeting, that is another ſtate; then he muſt come, and feel his own ſpirit, how it is when he comes to them that ſit ſilent. If he be raſh, they will judge him; that having been in the world, and amongſt the world, the heat is not yet off him. For he may come in the heat of his ſpirit out of the world; whereas the others are ſtill and cool; and his condition in that, not being agreeable to theirs, he may rather do them hurt, by begetting them out of the cool ſtate into the heating ſtate; if he be not in that which commands his own ſpirit, and gives him to know it.

'There is great danger too in travelling abroad in the world. The ſame power, that moves any to go forth, is that which muſt keep them. For it is the greateſt danger to go abroad, except a man be moved of the Lord, and go in the power of the Lord; for then, he keeping in the power, is kept by it in his journey, and in his work; it will enable him to anſwer the tranſgreſſed, and keep above the tranſgreſſor. Every one feeling the danger to his own particular in travelling abroad, there the pure fear of the Lord will be placed and kept in. Though they that travel may have openings when they are abroad, to miniſter to others; yet, for their own particular growth, they muſt dwell in the life which doth open; and that will keep down that which would boaſt. For the miniſter comes into the death, to that which is in the death and in priſon; and ſo returns up again into the life, into the power, and into the wiſdom, to preſerve him clean.

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'This is the word of the Lord God to you all; feel, that ye ſtand 'in the preſence of the Lord; for every man's word ſhall be his bur-'den; but the word of the Lord is pure, and anſwers the pure in 'every one. The Word of the Lord is that which was in the be-'ginning, and brings to the beginning. It is an hammer to beat down 'the tranſgreſſor (not the tranſgreſſed) and as a fire to burn up that 'which is contrary to it. Friends, come into that which is over all 'the ſpirits of the world, fathoms all the ſpirits of the world, and 'ſtands in the patience; with that ye may ſee where others ſtand, 'and reach that which is of God in every one. Here is no ſtrife, 'no contention, out of tranſgreſſion: for he that goeth into ſtrife, 'and into contention, he is from the pure Spirit. For where any 'goeth into contention, if any thing hath been begotten by him be-'fore, that contentious nature doth get a-top, ſpoileth that which 'was begotten, and quencheth his own propheſying. So if that be 'not ſubjected by the power in the particular, which would ariſe 'into ſtrife, that is dangerous.

'If any one have a moving to any place, and have ſpoken what 'they were moved of the Lord, let them return to their habitation 'again, and live in the pure life of God, and in the fear of the 'Lord; ſo will ye be kept in the life, in the ſolid and ſeaſoned ſpirit, 'and preach as well in life as with words (none muſt be light or 'wild). For the ſeed of God is weighty, brings to be ſolid, and 'leads into the wiſdom of God, by which the wiſdom of the crea-'tion is known. But if that part be up which runs into the imagi-'nations, and that part be ſtanding in which the imaginations come 'up, and the pure ſpirit be not thoroughly come up to rule and 'reign, then that will run out that will glory, boaſt, and vapour; 'and ſo will ſuch an one ſpoil that which opened to him: this is for 'condemnation. Let every one mind that which feels through and 'commands his ſpirit, whereby every one may know what ſpirit he 'is of; for he ſhould firſt try his own ſpirit, and then he may try 'others; he ſhould firſt know his own ſpirit, and then he may know 'others. Therefore that which doth command all theſe ſpirits, 'where the heats and burnings come in and get up, in that wait 'which chains them down and cools: that is the elect, the heir of 'the promiſe of God. For no haſty, raſh, brittle ſpirits (though 'they have prophecies) have held out, and gone through, they not 'being ſubjected in the prophecy. The earthly will not abide, for it 'is brittle; in that ſtate the miniſtry was another's, not the Son's; 'for the Son hath life in himſelf, and the Son hath the power, 'which man being obedient to, he may be ſerviceable: but if he go 'from the pure power, he falls and abuſeth it. Therefore let your 'faith ſtand in the pure power of the Lord God, and do not abuſe 'it; but let that ſearch through, and work through; and let every 'one ſtand in the power of the Lord, which reacheth the ſeed of 'God; which is the heir of the promiſe of life without end. Let 'none be haſty to ſpeak; for ye have time enough, and with an eye 'ye may reach the witneſs; neither let any be backward when ye 'are moved; for that brings deſtruction. Truth hath an honour in 'the hearts of thoſe who are not friends; ſo that all friends being

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'kept in the truth, they are kept in the honour, they are honourable, for that will honour them; but if any loſe the power, loſe the life, they loſe their crown, they loſe their honour, they loſe the croſs which ſhould crucify them, and they crucify the juſt; and by loſing the power, the Lamb comes to be ſlain. And as it is here, ſo will it be in other nations; for all friends, here and there, are as one family; the ſeed, the plants, they are as a family. All being kept in that which ſubjects all, and keeps all under, to wit, the ſeed itſelf, the life itſelf, that is the heir of the promiſe; and that is the bond of peace: for there is the unity in the Spirit with God and with one another. He that is kept in the life hears God, and ſees man's condition; and with that he anſwers the life in others that hear God alſo: thus one friend, that is come into that, comprehends the world. But that which friends ſpeak, they muſt live in; ſo may they expect that others may come into that which they ſpeak, to live in the ſame. For the power of the Lord God hath been abuſed by ſome, and the worth of truth hath not been minded. There hath been a trampling on, and marring with the feet, and that abuſeth the power. But now every friend is to keep in the power, and to take heed to it; for that muſt be kept down which would trample and mar with the feet, and the pure life and power of God is to be lived in over that; that none with the feet might foul or mar, but every one may be kept in the pure power and life of the Lord. Then the water of life cometh in; then he that miniſtereth drinketh himſelf, and giveth others to drink.

'When any ſhall be moved to go to ſpeak in a ſteeple-houſe or market, turn in to that which moves, and be obedient to it; that that which would not go may be kept down: for that which would not go will be apt to get up. And take heed on the other hand, that the laviſhing part do not get up, for it is a bad ſavour; therefore that muſt be kept down and kept ſubject. Wait in the light of the Lord, that ye may be all kept in the wiſdom of God. For when the ſeed is up in every particular, there is no danger; but when there is an opening and prophecy, and the power ſtirs before the ſeed comes up, there is ſomething that will be apt to run out raſhly; there's the danger, and there muſt be the patience in the fear. For it is a weighty thing to be in the work of the miniſtry of the Lord God, and to go forth in that. It is not as a cuſtomary preaching; it is to bring people to the end of all outward preaching. For when ye have declared the truth to the people, and they have received it, and are come into that which ye ſpake of; the uttering of many words, and long declarations out of the life, may beget them into a form. And if any ſhould run on raſhly into words again, without the ſavour of life, thoſe that are come into the thing he ſpake of will judge him; whereby he may hurt again that which he had raiſed up before. So friends, ye muſt all come into the thing that is ſpoken in the openings of the heavenly life among you, and walk in the love of God, that ye may anſwer the thing ſpoken to.

'And

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'And take heed all of running into inordinate affections; for 'when people come to own you, there is danger of the wrong part 'getting up. There was a ſtrife among the diſciples of Chriſt, who 'ſhould be the greateſt? Chriſt told them, "The heathen exerciſe "lordſhip, and have dominion over one another; but it ſhall not be ſo "among you." For Chriſt the Seed was to come up in every one 'of them; ſo then where is the greateſt? That part in the diſciples, 'which looked to be the greateſt, was the ſame that was in the 'Gentiles. But who comes here to live in the Word that ſanctified 'him, having the heart ſanctified, the tongue and lips ſanctified, liv-'ing in the Word of wiſdom, that makes clean the heart, and re-'conciles to God, all things being upheld by the Word and power; 'as there is an abiding in the Word of God, that upholds times and 'ſeaſons, and gives all things increaſe, here dwelling in the Word 'of wiſdom, if there be but two or three agreed in this on earth, it 'ſhall be done for them in heaven. So in this muſt all things be 'ordered by the Word of wiſdom and power, that upholds all things, 'the times and the ſeaſons, that are in the Father's hands; to the 'glory of God, whereby his bleſſing may be felt among you; and 'this brings to the beginning. This is the word of the Lord God 'to you all, Keep down, keep low, that nothing may rule nor reign 'in you, but life itſelf.

'The power being lived in, the croſs is lived in; and where-ever 'friends come in this, they draw the power and the life over; they 'leave a witneſs behind them, anſwering the witneſs of God in others. 'Where this is lived in, there is no want of wiſdom, no want of 'power, no want of knowledge; he that miniſtereth in this, ſeeth 'with the eye which the Lord openeth in him, what is for the fire, 'and what is for the ſword, what muſt be fed with judgment, and 'what muſt be nouriſhed. This brings all down, and to be low, 'every one keeping to the power; for let a man get up ever ſo high, 'he muſt come down again to the power where he left; what he went 'from, he muſt come down again to that, Before all theſe wicked 'ſpirits be got down, which are rambling abroad, friends muſt have 'patience, muſt wait in the patience, in the cool life; and who is 'in this, doing the work of the Lord, he hath the taſting and the 'feeling of the Lamb's power and authority. Therefore all friends, 'keep cool and quiet in the power of the Lord God; and all that is 'contrary will be ſubjected; the Lamb hath the victory, in the ſeed, 'through the patience.

'If any have been moved to ſpeak, and have quenched that which 'moved them, let none ſuch go forth afterwards into words, until 'they feel the power to ariſe and move them thereto again; for after 'the firſt motion is quenched, the other part will be apt to get up; 'and if any go forth in that, he goeth forth in his own, and the be-'trayer will come into that—— And all friends, be careful not to 'meddle with the powers of the earth; but keep out of all ſuch 'things; as ye keep in the Lamb's authority, ye will anſwer that of 'God in them, and bring them to do juſtice, which is the end of the 'law. Keep out of all jangling; for all that are in the tranſgreſſion 'are out from the law of love; but all that are in the law of love

'come

'come to the Lamb's power, in the Lamb's authority, who is the 1658.
'end of the law outward. For the law being added becauſe of tranſ- Bedfordſhire
'greſſion, Chriſt, who was glorified with the Father before the yearly meet-
'world began, is the end of the law; bringing them that live in the ing.
'law of life, to live over all tranſgreſſion; which every particular
'muſt feel in himſelf.'

More was then ſpoken to many of theſe particulars; which was not taken at large as delivered.

After this meeting was over, and moſt of the friends gone away, as I was walking in John Crook's garden, there came a party of horſe, with a conſtable, to ſeize me. I heard them aſk, 'Who was 'in the houſe?' Somebody made anſwer, 'I was there.' They ſaid, 'I was the man they looked for;' and went forthwith into the houſe, where they had many words with John Crook, and ſome few friends that were with him. But the Lord's power ſo confounded them, that they came not into the garden to look for me; but went their way in a rage. When I came into the houſe, friends were very glad to ſee them ſo diſappointed, and that I had eſcaped them. Next day I paſſed from thence: and after I had viſited friends in ſeveral places, came to London, the Lord's power accompanying me, and bearing me up in his ſervice.

I had not been long in London, before I heard that a Jeſuit, who London.
came over with an embaſſador from Spain, had challenged all the Quakers to diſpute with them at the earl of Newport's houſe; whereupon ſome friends let him know ſome would meet him. Then he ſent us word, 'He would meet with twelve of the wiſeſt learned men 'we had.' A while after he ſent us word, 'He would meet with 'with but ſix;' after that, he ſent us word again, 'He would have 'but three to come.' We haſtened what we could, leſt, for all his 'great boaſt, he ſhould put it quite off at laſt. When we were come to the houſe, I bid Nicholas Bond and Edward Burroughs go up, and enter the diſcourſe with him; and I would walk awhile in the yard, and then come up after them. I adviſed them to ſtate this queſtion to him, 'Whether or no the church of Rome, as it now 'ſtood, was not degenerated from the true church which was in the 'primitive times, from the life and doctrine, and from the power and 'ſpirit that they were in?' They ſtated the queſtion accordingly; and the jeſuit affirmed, 'That the church of Rome now was in the 'virginity and purity of the primitive church.' By this time I was come to them. Then we aſked him, 'Whether they had the Holy 'Ghoſt poured out upon them, as the apoſtles had?' He ſaid, 'No.' 'Then,' ſaid I, 'If ye have not the ſame Holy Ghoſt poured forth upon 'you, and the ſame power and Spirit that the apoſtles had, ye are 'degenerated from the power and Spirit which the primitive church 'was in.' There needed little more to be ſaid to that. Then I aſked him, 'What ſcripture they had for ſetting up cloyſters for 'nuns, abbeys and monaſteries for men; for all their ſeveral orders; 'for their praying by beads, and to images; for making croſſes; for 'forbidding of meats and marriages; and for putting people to death 'for religion? If, (ſaid I) ye are in the practice of the primitive

1658. London. ‘ church, in its purity and virginity, then let us ſee by ſcriptures ‘ where-ever they practiſed any ſuch things?’ (For it was agreed on both hands, that we ſhould make good by ſcriptures what we ſaid). Then he told us of a written word, and an unwritten word? I aſked him what he called his unwritten word? He ſaid, ‘ The written word is the ſcriptures, and the unwritten word ‘ is that which the apoſtles ſpoke by word of mouth; which (ſaid he) ‘ are all thoſe traditions that we practiſe.’ I bid him prove that by ſcripture. Then he brought that ſcripture where the apoſtle ſays, 2 Theſſ. ii. 5. ‘ When I was with you, I told you theſe things. ‘ That is,’ ſaid he, ‘ I told you of nunneries and monaſteries, and of ‘ putting to death for religion, and of praying by beads, and to images, ‘ and all the reſt of the practices of the church of Rome; which,’ he ſaid, ‘ was the unwritten word of the apoſtles, which they told then, ‘ and have ſince been continued down by tradition unto theſe times.’ ‘ Then I deſired him to read that ſcripture again, that he might ſee ‘ how he had perverted the apoſtle's words; for that which the apoſtle ‘ there tells the Theſſalonians, “ he had told them before,” is not an ‘ unwritten word, but is there written down; namely, That the man ‘ of ſin, the ſon of perdition, ſhall be revealed before the great ‘ and terrible day of Chriſt, which he was writing of, ſhould come: ‘ ſo this was not telling them any of thoſe things that the ‘ church of Rome practiſes. In like manner the apoſtle, in the ‘ third chapter of that epiſtle, tells the church of ſome diſorderly per- ‘ ſons, “ he heard were amongſt them, buſy-bodies, who did not “ work at all; concerning whom he had commanded them by his un- “ written word, when he was among them, that if any would not “ work, neither ſhould he eat: which now he commands them “ again in his written word in this epiſtle,” 2 Theſſ. iii. So this ſcripture afforded no proof for their invented traditions, and he had no other ſcripture-proof to offer. Therefore I told him, ‘ This was an- ‘ other degeneration of their church into ſuch inventions and traditions ‘ as the apoſtles and primitive ſaints never practiſed.’

After this he came to his ſacrament of the altar, beginning at the paſchal-lamb, and the ſhew-bread, and came to the words of Chriſt, ‘ This is my body,’ and to what the apoſtle wrote of it to the Corinthians; concluding, ‘ That after the prieſt had conſecrated the bread ‘ and wine, it was immortal and divine, and he that received it, re- ‘ ceived the whole Chriſt.’ I followed him through the ſcriptures he brought, till I came to Chriſt's words and the apoſtle's. I ſhewed him, ‘ That the ſame apoſtle told the Corinthians, after they had taken bread ‘ and wine in remembrance of Chriſt's death, that they were repro- ‘ bates, “ if Chriſt was not in them;” but if the bread they ate was ‘ Chriſt, he muſt of neceſſity be in them after they had eaten it. Be- ‘ ſides, if this bread and this wine, which the Corinthians ate and ‘ drank, was Chriſt's body, then how hath Chriſt a body in heaven?’ I obſerved to him alſo, ‘ That both the diſciples at the ſupper, and the ‘ Corinthians afterwards, were to eat the bread and drink the wine in “ remembrance of Chriſt,” and to “ ſhew forth his death till he “ come;” which plainly proves the bread and wine, which they ‘ took, was not his body. For if it had been his real body that they

‘ ate,

'ate, then he had been come, and was then there preſent, and it 1658.
'had been improper to have done ſuch a thing in remembrance of London.
'him, if he had been then preſent with them, as he muſt have been,
'if that bread and wine which they ate and drank had been his real
'body.' As to thoſe words of Chriſt, 'This is my body,' I told him, 'Chriſt calls himſelf a vine, and a door, and is called in ſcrip-
'ture a rock. Is Chriſt therefore an outward rock, door, or vine?' O, ſaid the Jeſuit, 'Thoſe words are to be interpreted;' 'ſo, ſaid I,
'are thoſe words of Chriſt, "This is my body." Having ſtopped his mouth as to argument, I made the Jeſuit a propoſal thus: 'That
'ſeeing he ſaid, "The bread and wine was immortal and divine,
"and the very Chriſt; and that whoſoever received it, received the
"whole Chriſt;" let a meeting be appointed between ſome whom
'the pope and his cardinals ſhould appoint, and ſome of us; let a
'bottle of wine and loaf of bread be brought, and divided each into
'two parts, and let them conſecrate which of thoſe parts they would.
'Then ſet the conſecrated and the unconſecrated bread and wine in a
'ſafe place, with a ſure watch upon it; and let trial be thus made,
'Whether the conſecrated bread and wine would not loſe its good-
'neſs, and the bread grow dry and mouldy, and the wine turn dead
'and ſour, as well and as ſoon as that which was unconſecrated? By
'this means, ſaid I, the truth of this matter may be made manifeſt.
'And if the conſecrated bread and wine change not, but retain their
'ſavour and goodneſs, this may be a means to draw many to your
'church: if they change, decay, and loſe their goodneſs, then
'ought you to confeſs and forſake your error, and ſhed no more
'blood about it: for much blood hath been ſhed about theſe things;
'as in queen Mary's days. To this the Jeſuit made this reply:
"Take," ſaid he, "a piece of new cloth, and cut it into two pieces,
"and make two garments of it, and put one of them upon king
"David's back, and the other upon a beggar's, and the one gar-
"ment ſhall wear away as well as the other." Is this thy anſwer,
'ſaid I? Yes, ſaid he. Then, ſaid I, by this the company may all
'be ſatisfied that your conſecrated bread and wine is not Chriſt.
'Have ye told people ſo long, that the conſecrated bread and wine
'was immortal and divine, and that it was the very and real body
'and blood of Chriſt, and doſt thou now ſay it will wear away or
'decay as well as the other! I muſt tell thee, "Chriſt remains the
"ſame to day as yeſterday," and never decays; but is the ſaints hea-
'venly food in all generations, through which they have life.' He replied no more to this, being willing to let it fall; for the people that were preſent ſaw his error, and that he could not defend it. Then I aſked him, 'Why their church did perſecute, and put people to death for religion?' He replied, 'It was not the church that did
'it, but the magiſtrates.' I aſked him, 'Whether thoſe magiſtrates
'were not counted and called believers and chriſtians?' He ſaid, Yes:
'Why then, ſaid I, are they not members of your church? Yes,
'ſaid he.' Then I left it to the people to judge from his own conceſſions, whether the church of Rome doth not perſecute, and put people to death for religion. Thus we parted, and his ſubtilty was confuted by ſimplicity.

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During the time I was at London, I had many ſervices lay upon me; for it was a time of much ſuffering. I was moved to write to O. Cromwell, and lay before him the ſufferings of friends both in this nation and in Ireland. There was alſo a talk about this time of making Cromwell king; whereupon I was moved to go to him, and warned him againſt accepting it, and of divers dangers; which if he did not avoid, I told him, 'He would bring ſhame and ruin upon 'himſelf and his poſterity.' He ſeemed to take well what I ſaid to him, and thanked me; yet afterwards I was moved to write to him more fully concerning that matter.

About this time the lady Claypool (ſo called) was ſick and much troubled in mind, and could receive no comfort from any that came to her; which when I heard of, I was moved to write her the following letter:

'Friend,

'BE ſtill and cool in thy own mind and ſpirit from thy own 'thoughts, and then thou wilt feel the principle of God to turn 'thy mind to the Lord, from whom life comes; whereby thou 'mayeſt receive his ſtrength and power to allay all bluſterings, ſtorms 'and tempeſts. That is it which works up into patience, into in-'nocency, into ſoberneſs, into ſtilneſs, into ſtayedneſs, into quiet-'neſs up to God, with his power. Therefore mind, that is the 'the word of the Lord unto thee, that the authority of God thou 'mayſt feel, and thy faith in it, to work down that which troubles 'thee; for that is it which keeps peace and brings up the witneſs in 'thee, which hath been tranſgreſſed, to feel after God with his 'power and life, who is a God of order and peace. When thou 'art in the tranſgreſſion of the life of God in thy own particular, the 'mind flies up in the air, the creature is led into the night, nature 'goes out of its courſe, an old garment goes on, and an uppermoſt 'clothing; and thy nature being led out of its courſe, it comes to 'be all on fire in the tranſgreſſion, and that defaceth the glory of the 'firſt body. Therefore be ſtill a while from thy own thoughts, 'ſearching, ſeeking, deſires, and imaginations, and be ſtayed in the 'principle of God in thee, that it may raiſe thy mind up to God, and 'ſtay it upon God, and thou wilt find ſtrength from him, and find 'him to be a God at hand, a preſent help in the time of trouble and 'of need. And thou being come to the principle of God, which 'hath been tranſgreſſed, it will keep thee humble; and the humble 'God will teach his way, which is peace, and ſuch he doth exalt. 'Now as the principle of God in thee hath been tranſgreſſed, come 'to it, that it may keep thy mind down low to the Lord God; to 'deny thyſelf, and from thy own will, that is the earthly, thou muſt 'be kept. Then thou wilt feel the power of God, which will bring 'nature into its courſe, and give thee to ſee the glory of the firſt 'body. There the wiſdom of God will be received (which is Chriſt, 'by which all things were made and created) and thou be thereby 'preſerved and ordered to God's glory. There thou wilt come to re-'ceive and feel the phyſician of value, who clothes people in their 'right mind, whereby they may ſerve God and do his will. For all

'diſtractions,

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'distractions, unrulineſs, and confuſion are in the tranſgreſſion; 'which tranſgreſſion muſt be brought down, before the principle of 'God, which hath been tranſgreſſed againſt, be lifted up; whereby 'the mind may be ſeaſoned and ſtilled, and a right underſtanding of 'the Lord may be received; whereby his bleſſings enter, and are 'felt over all that is contrary in the power of the Lord, which raiſes 'up the principle of God within, gives a feeling after God, and in 'time gives dominion. Keep in the fear of the Lord God; that is 'the word of the Lord unto thee. For all theſe things happen to thee 'for thy good, and for the good of thoſe concerned for thee, to make 'you know yourſelves and your own weakneſs, that ye may know 'the Lord's ſtrength and power, and may truſt in him. Let the 'time paſt be ſufficient to every one, who in any thing hath been 'lifted up in tranſgreſſion out of the power of the Lord; for he can 'bring down and abaſe the mighty, and lay them in the duſt of the 'earth. Therefore, all keep low in his fear, that thereby ye may re-'ceive the ſecrets of God and his wiſdom, may know the ſhadow of 'the Almighty, and ſit under it in all tempeſts, ſtorms, and heats. 'For God is a God at hand, and the Moſt High rules in the children 'of men. This is the word of the Lord God unto you all; what the 'light doth make manifeſt and diſcover, as temptations, diſtractions, 'confuſions, do not look at theſe temptations, confuſions, corruptions, 'but at the light which diſcovers them and makes them manifeſt; 'and with the ſame light you may feel over them, to receive power to 'ſtand againſt them. The ſame light which lets you ſee ſin and 'tranſgreſſion, will let you ſee the covenant of God, which blots out 'your ſin and tranſgreſſion, which gives victory and dominion over 'it, and brings into covenant with God. For looking down at ſin, 'corruption, and diſtraction, ye are ſwallowed up in it; but looking 'at the light, which diſcovers them, ye will ſee over them. That 'will give victory, and ye will find grace and ſtrength; there is the 'firſt ſtep to peace. That will bring ſalvation; by it ye may ſee to 'the beginning, and the "Glory that was with the Father before "the world began;" and come to know the ſeed of God, which is 'the heir of the promiſe of God, and of the world which hath no 'end; and which bruiſes the head of the ſerpent, who ſtops people 'from coming to God. That ye may feel the power of an endleſs 'life, the power of God which is immortal, which brings the im-'mortal ſoul up to the immortal God, in whom it doth rejoice. 'So in the name and power of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, God Almighty 'ſtrengthen thee. 'G. F.'

When the foregoing paper was read to her, ſhe ſaid, 'It ſtay'd 'her mind for the preſent.' Afterwards many friends got Copies of it, both in England and Ireland, and read it to people that were troubled in mind; and it was made uſeful for the ſettling of the minds of ſeveral.

About this time came forth a declaration from O. Cromwell, the Protector, for a 'collection towards the relief of divers proteſtant 'churches,' driven out of Poland, and of 'twenty proteſtant fami-'lies, driven out of the confines of Bohemia.' And there having

1658. London. been a like declaration publiſhed ſome time before to invite the nation to a day of ſolemn faſting and humiliation, in order to a contribution to be made for the ſuffering proteſtants of the vallies of Lucern, Angrona, &c. who were perſecuted by the duke of Savoy; I was moved to write to the Protector and chief magiſtrates on this occaſion, both to ſhew them the nature of a true faſt (ſuch as God requires and accepts) and to make them ſenſible of their injuſtice and ſelf-condemnation in blaming the papiſts for perſecuting the proteſtants abroad, while they, calling themſelves proteſtants, were at the ſame time perſecuting their proteſtant neighbours and friends at home. That which I wrote to them was after this manner:

'To the heads and governors of this nation, who have put forth 'a declaration for the keeping a day of ſolemn faſting and hu- 'miliation, for the perſecution (as you ſay) of divers people be- 'yond the ſeas profeſſing the reformed religion, which, ye ſay, 'hath been tranſmitted unto them from their anceſtors.

'A Profession of the reformed religion may be tranſmitted to 'generations, and ſo holden by tradition; and in that wherein 'the profeſſion and tradition is holden, is the day of humiliation 'kept, which ſtands in the will of man. This is not the faſt that 'the Lord requires, "To bow down the head like a bulruſh for a "day," and the day following be in the ſame condition as they were 'the day before. To the light of Chriſt Jeſus in your conſciences 'do I ſpeak, which teſtifieth for God every day, and witneſſeth 'againſt all ſin and perſecution; which meaſure of God, if ye be 'guided by it, doth not limit God to a day, but leads to the faſt the 'Lord requires, which is "to looſe the bonds of wickedneſs, to un- "do the heavy burdens, to break every yoke, and to let the op- "preſſed go free," Iſa. lviii. 6, 7. This is the faſt that the Lord 'requires, and this ſtands not in the tranſmiſſion of times, nor in the 'traditions of men. But this ſtands in that which was before times 'were, and which leads out of time, and ſhall be when time ſhall 'be no more. Theſe that teach for doctrine the commandments of 'men, are they that ever perſecuted the life and power, when it 'came. And whereas ye mention a decree or edict that was made 'againſt the ſaid perſecuted proteſtants, all ſuch decrees or edicts pro- 'ceeded from the ground of the pope's religion and ſupremacy, and 'therein ſtands his tyranny and his cruelty, acted in that will which 'is in that nature which exerciſeth lordſhip over one another, as 'ye may read, Mark x. 42. Luke xxii. 25. as all the heathen do, 'and ever did; and in the heatheniſh nature is all the tyranny and 'perſecution exerciſed by them that are out of the obedience to the 'light of Chriſt Jeſus in the conſcience, which is the guide and 'leader of all, who are tender of that of God in the conſcience. 'But who are not led by this, know not what it is to ſuffer for con- 'ſcience ſake. Now, whereas ye take into your conſideration the 'ſad perſecution, tyranny, and cruelty exerciſed upon them whom ye 'call your proteſtant brethren, and contribute and adminiſter to their 'wants outwardly; this is good in its place, and we own it; and

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'ſee it good to adminiſter to the neceſſities of others, and to do good
'to all; and we, who are ſufferers by a law derived from the pope,
'are willing to join and to contribute with you to their outward ne-
'ceſſities. For "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulneſs thereof;"
'who is good to all, gracious to all, and willing that all ſhould be
'ſaved and come to the knowledge of the truth. But in the mean
'time, while ye are doing this, and taking notice of others cruelty,
'tyranny, and perſecution, turn your eye upon yourſelves, and ſee
'what ye are doing at home. To the light of Chriſt Jeſus in all
'your conſciences I ſpeak, which cannot lye, nor err, nor bear falſe
'witneſs; but doth bear witneſs for God, and cries for equity, juſ-
'tice, and righteouſneſs to be executed. See what ye are doing who
'profeſs the ſcriptures, which were given forth by the ſaints in light,
'who dwelt in the light and in the life of them. For theſe who now
'witneſs the ſame light, the ſame life, and the ſame power which
'gave forth the ſcriptures, which ye in words profeſs, them ye per-
'ſecute, them ye hale out of your ſynagogues and markets; them
'ye beat, ſtock, and impriſon. Let that of God in your conſciences,
'which is juſt, righteous, and equal, examine and try whether ye
'have any example or precedent to exerciſe this perſecution, which
'many now in this nation ſuffer under, who are a people harmleſs
'and innocent, waiting in obedience towards God and man. And
'though ye account the way of truth they walk in hereſy, yet
'therein do they exerciſe themſelves, to have always a "conſcience
"void of offence towards God and man;" as ye may read the ſaints
'of old did, Acts xxiv. 14, 15, 16. not wronging any man, neither
'giving any juſt cauſe of offence, only being obedient to the com-
'mands of the Lord, to declare as they are moved by the Holy Ghoſt;
'and ſtanding for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, ſpeaking the
'truth in Chriſt, their conſciences bearing them witneſs that they
'lie not: for this do they ſuffer under you, who in words profeſs the
'ſame thing for which they ſuffer. Now ſee if any age or genera-
'tion did ever perſecute as ye do? For ye profeſs Chriſt Jeſus who
'reveals the Father, and perſecute thoſe who witneſs the revelation
'of the Father by Chriſt Jeſus unto them. Ye profeſs Chriſt Jeſus,
'who is the light of the world, "that enlightens every one that
"cometh into the world;" yet perſecute them that bear witneſs and
'give teſtimony to this light. Ye profeſs that the word is become
'fleſh, yet perſecute them that witneſs it ſo. Ye profeſs that
'whoſoever confeſſeth not that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh is an
'antichriſt, yet perſecute them that do confeſs him come in the
'fleſh, and call them antichriſts and deceivers. Ye profeſs that the
'kingdom of Chriſt is come, yet perſecute them that witneſs it
'come. Ye profeſs Chriſt Jeſus the reſurrection and the life, yet
'perſecute them that witneſs him to be ſo. If ye ſay, "How ſhall
"we know that theſe people, who ſay they witneſs theſe things, do
"ſo or no?" I anſwer, Turn your minds to the light which
'Chriſt Jeſus hath enlightened you withal, which is one in all; and
'if ye walk in the light, ye ſhall have the light of life; then ye will
'know and ſee what ye have done, who have perſecuted the Lord of
'Glory (in his people) in whom is life, and the life is the light of
'men.

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‘ men. To no other touchſtone ſhall we turn you, but into your own
‘ conſciences; there may ye find the truth of what we have declared
‘ unto you, according to the holy ſcriptures. When the books of con-
‘ ſciences are opened, and all judged out of them, then ſhall ye wit-
‘ neſs us to be of God, and our teſtimony to be true. Though now
‘ ye may ſtop your ears, and harden your hearts, while it is called to-
‘ day, then ye ſhall know what ye have done, and whom ye have
‘ tranſgreſſed againſt; then ye will ſee that no perſecutors, in any age
‘ or generation before you, did ever tranſgreſs againſt that light and
‘ meaſure of God made manifeſt in ſuch manner as ye have done.
‘ For though Chriſt and the apoſtles were perſecuted in their time, the
‘ Jews for the moſt part did not know that he was the Chriſt when he
‘ came, notwithſtanding they had the ſcriptures which propheſied of
‘ him; neither did they believe that he was riſen again when the
‘ apoſtles preached his reſurrection. But ye ſay, “ Ye believe he is
“ come, ye believe his reſurrection;” yet ye perſecute thoſe that wit-
‘ neſs him come in the fleſh, thoſe that are buried with him in bap-
‘ tiſm, thoſe that are conformable to his death, and know the power
‘ of his reſurrection; thoſe ye perſecute, hale before magiſtrates, and
‘ ſuffer to be beaten in your ſynagogues; thoſe ye cauſe to be whipped
‘ and ſtocked, ſhamefully entreated, caſt into priſon, and kept, as many
‘ gaols in this nation at this day teſtify to your faces. Therefore ho-
‘ neſtly conſider what ye are doing while ye are taking notice of others
‘ cruelties, leſt ye over-look your own. There is ſome difference in
‘ many things between the popiſh religion and that which ye call the
‘ proteſtant, but in this perſecution of yours there is no difference; for
‘ ye will confeſs that the foundation of your religion is grounded upon
‘ the ſcriptures, yet ye perſecute them that are in the ſame life which
‘ they were in who gave forth the ſcriptures, yourſelves being the mean
‘ while under a profeſſion of the words they ſpoke: this ye ſhall one
‘ day witneſs. So ye have a profeſſion and form, and perſecute them
‘ that are in the poſſeſſion, life, and power. Know aſſuredly that ye
‘ muſt come to judgment; for he is made manifeſt to whom all
‘ judgment is committed. To the light of Chriſt Jeſus in your con-
‘ ſciences, which ſearcheth and trieth you, turn your minds; ſtand
‘ ſtill, and wait there to receive the righteous law, which is according
‘ to that of God in the conſcience, which is now riſing and bearing
‘ witneſs againſt all ungodlineſs and unrighteouſneſs of men; and they
‘ whom ye perſecute are manifeſt to God, and that of God in all
‘ conſciences ſhall bear witneſs for us that we are of God: this ye
‘ ſhall one day witneſs, whether ye will hear or forbear. Our rejoicing
‘ is in the teſtimony of our conſciences, that in ſimplicity and godly
‘ ſincerity (not with fleſhly wiſdom, but by the grace of God) we have
‘ had our converſation in the world, not handling the word of God de-
‘ ceitfully, but in the manifeſtation of the truth, commending our-
‘ ſelves to every man's conſcience in the ſight of God; and if our goſ-
‘ pel be hid, it is hid to them that are loſt. For witneſſing the hold-
‘ ing the myſtery of faith in a pure conſcience do we ſuffer, and are
‘ ſubject for conſcience ſake. This is thank-worthy, if a man, for
‘ conſcience ſake, endure griefs and ſufferings wrongfully. In this is

‘ our

1658. London.

'our joy and rejoicing, having a good conſcience, that whereas we 'are evil-ſpoken of as evil doers, they may be aſhamed that falſely 'accuſe our good converſation in Chriſt; which is not only the put-'ting away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good con-'ſcience towards God, by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt. This 'we witneſs made manifeſt (eternal praiſes to the living God!) and 'bear teſtimony to that which ſpoke it in the apoſtle in life and power. 'Therefore do we bear witneſs and teſtify againſt thoſe, who, being 'got into a form and profeſſion of it, do perſecute the life and power. 'To the eternal light of Chriſt Jeſus, the ſearcher and trier of all 'hearts, turn your minds, and ſee what ye are doing; leſt ye overturn 'your foundation, whereon ye pretend to ſtand, while ye are profeſſ-'ing the ſcriptures, and perſecuting the life, light, and power, which 'thoſe were in who gave them forth. For the ſtone, cut out of the 'mountain without hands, is now ſtriking at the feet of the image, 'the profeſſion which is ſet up, and ſtands in the will of man. Now 'is that made manifeſt, unto which all muſt anſwer, and appear 'before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt; that every one may receive 'the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whe-'ther it be good or bad. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, 'we perſuade men; but we are made manifeſt unto God, and ſhall 'be made manifeſt in all your conſciences, which ye ſhall witneſs.

'G. F.'

Divers times, both in the time of the long parliament, and of the protector (ſo called) and of the committee of ſafety, when they proclaimed faſts, I was moved to write to them, and tell them, their faſts were like unto Jezebel's: for commonly, when they proclaimed faſts, there was ſome miſchief contrived againſt us. I knew their faſts were for ſtrife and debate, to ſmite with the fiſt of wickedneſs; as the New England profeſſors ſoon after did; who, before they put our friends to death, proclaimed a faſt alſo.

Now it was a time of great ſuffering; and many friends being in priſons, many other friends were moved to go the parliament, to offer themſelves up to lie in the ſame priſons where their friends lay, that thoſe in priſon might go forth, and not periſh in the ſtinking gaols. This we did in love to God and our brethren, that they might not die in priſon; and in love to thoſe that caſt them in, that they might not bring innocent blood upon their own heads; which we knew would cry to the Lord, and bring his wrath, vengeance, and plagues upon them. But little favour could we find from thoſe profeſſing parliaments; inſtead thereof, they would rage, and ſometimes threaten friends that attended them, to whip, and ſend them home. Then commonly ſoon after the Lord would turn them out, and ſend them home; who had not an heart to do good in the day of their power. But they went not off without being forewarned; for I was moved to write to them, in their ſeveral turns, as I did to the long-parliament, unto whom I declared, before they were broken up, 'that thick darkneſs was coming over them all, 'even a day of darkneſs that ſhould be felt.'

1658. London. And becauſe the parliament that now ſat was made up moſtly of high profeſſors, who, pretending to be more religious than others, were indeed greater perſecutors of thoſe that were truly religious, I was moved to ſend them the following lines, as a reproof of their hypocriſy:

'O FRIENDS, do not cloak and cover yourſelves: there is a 'God that knoweth your hearts, and that will uncover you. 'He ſeeth your way. "Woe be to him that covereth, but not with "my Spirit, ſaith the Lord." Do ye act contrary to the law, and 'then put it from you! Mercy and true judgment ye neglect. Look, 'what was ſpoken againſt ſuch. My Saviour ſpoke againſt ſuch; "I "was ſick, and ye viſited me not: I was hungry, and ye fed me "not; I was a ſtranger, and ye took me not in; I was in priſon, and "ye viſited me not." But they ſaid, "When ſaw we thee in pri-"ſon, and did not come to thee?" Inaſmuch as ye did it not unto "one of theſe little ones, ye did it not unto me." Friends, ye im-'priſon them that are in the life and power of truth, and yet pro-'feſs to be the miniſters of Chriſt; but if Chriſt had ſent you, ye 'would bring out of priſon, out of bondage, and receive ſtrangers. 'Ye have lived in pleaſure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have 'nouriſhed your hearts, as in a day of ſlaughter; ye have condemned 'and killed the juſt, and he doth not reſiſt you.

'G. F.'

After this, as I was going out of town, having two friends with me, when we were little more than a mile out of the City, there met us two troopers belonging to colonel Hacker's regiment, who took me, and the friends with me, and brought us back to the Mews, and there kept us priſoners a little while; but the Lord's power was ſo over them, that they did not bring us before any officer; but after a while ſet us at liberty. The ſame day, taking boat, I went to Kingſton, and from thence to Hampton Court, to ſpeak with the Protector about the ſufferings of friends. I met him riding into Hampton Court Park; and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his life-guard, I ſaw and felt a waft (or apparition) of death go forth againſt him; and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the ſufferings of friends before him, and had warned him, as I was moved to ſpeak to him, he bid me come to his houſe. So I returned to Kingſton, and the next day went to Hampton Court, to have ſpoken further with him. But when I came, he was ſick, and — Harvy, who waited on him, told me, The doctors were not willing I ſhould ſpeak with him. So I paſſed away, and never ſaw him more.

Bucks. From Kingſton I went to Iſaac Penington's, in Buckinghamſhire, where I had appointed a meeting; and the Lord's truth and power were preciouſly manifeſted amongſt us. After I had viſited friends in

London. Eſſex. thoſe parts, I returned to London; and ſoon after went into Eſſex; where I had not been long, before I heard the Protector was dead, and his ſon Richard made Protector in his room. Whereupon I came to London again.

Before this time the church faith (ſo called) was given forth, which was ſaid to be made at the Savoy in eleven days. I got a copy of it before it was publiſhed, and wrote an anſwer to it: and when their book of church faith was ſold up and down the ſtreets, my anſwer to it was ſold alſo. This diſpleaſed ſome of the parliament-men; ſo that one of them told me, 'They muſt have me to Smithfield.' I told him, I was over their fires, and feared them not. Reaſoning with him, I wiſhed him to conſider, Had all people been without a faith theſe ſixteen hundred years, that now the prieſts muſt make them one? Did not the apoſtle ſay, that Jeſus was the author and finiſher of their faith? And ſince Chriſt Jeſus was the author of the apoſtles faith, of the church's faith in the primitive times, and of the martyrs faith, ſhould not all people look unto him to be the author and finiſher of their faith, and not to the prieſts? A great deal of work we had about the prieſts made-faith; for they called us houſe-creepers, leading ſilly women captive, becauſe we met in houſes, and would not hold up their prieſts and temples which they had made and ſet up. I told them, it was they that led ſilly women captive, and crept into houſes, who kept people always learning under them, who were covetous, and had got a form of godlineſs, but denied the power and Spirit, which the apoſtles were in. Such began to creep in the apoſtles days; but now they had got the magiſtrates on their ſide, who upheld thoſe houſes for them, which they had crept into, their temples, with their tithes: whereas the apoſtles brought people off from even that temple, and thoſe tithes and offerings, which God had for a time commanded. And the apoſtles met in ſeveral private houſes, being to preach the goſpel in all nations; which they did freely, as Chriſt commanded them. Thus do we, who bring people off from theſe prieſts, temples, and tithes (which God never commanded) to meet in houſes, or on mountains, as the ſaints of old did, who were gathered in the name of Jeſus; and Chriſt was their Prophet, Prieſt, and Shepherd. 1658. London.

Major Wiggan, a very envious man, was preſent, yet he bridled himſelf before the parliament-men, and ſome others that were there in company. He took upon him to aſſert, 'Chriſt had taken away the 'guilt of ſin, but had left the power of ſin remaining in us.' I told him, that was ſtrange doctrine; for Chriſt came to deſtroy the devil's works, and the power of ſin, and ſo to cleanſe men from ſin. So major Wiggan's mouth was ſtopped at that time. But next day deſiring to ſpeak with me again, I took a friend or two with me, and went to him. Then he vented a great deal of paſſion and rage, beyond the bounds of a chriſtian, or moral man; whereupon I was made to reprove him; and, having brought the Lord's power over him, and let him ſee what condition he was in, left him.

After ſome time I paſſed out of London, and had a meeting at ſerjeant Birkhead's at Twickenham, to which many people came; ſome of conſiderable quality. A glorious meeting it was, wherein the ſcriptures were largely and clearly opened, and Chriſt exalted above all, to the great ſatisfaction of the hearers. Twickenham.

But there was great perſecution in many places, both by impriſoning, and breaking up of meetings. At a meeting about ſeven miles from London,

1658. A meeting near London. London, the rude people uſually came out of ſeveral pariſhes round about, to abuſe friends, and often beat and bruiſed them exceedingly. One day they abuſed about eighty friends, that went to that meeting out of London, tearing their coats and cloaks from off their backs, throwing them into ditches and ponds; and, when they had beſmeared them with dirt, they ſaid they looked like witches. The next firſt day I was moved of the Lord to go to that meeting, though I was then very weak. When I came there, I bid friends bring a table, and ſet it in the cloſe, where they uſed to meet, to ſtand upon. According to their wonted courſe, the rude people came; and I, having a bible in my hand, ſhewed them theirs and their teachers fruits; and the people became aſhamed, and were quiet. I opened the ſcriptures to them, and our principles agreeing therewith; and turned them from darkneſs to the light of Chriſt and his Spirit, by which they might underſtand the ſcriptures, ſee themſelves and their ſins, and know Chriſt Jeſus to be their Saviour. So the meeting ended quietly, and the Lord's power came over all, to his glory. But it was a time of great ſufferings; for beſides impriſonments (through which many died) our meetings were greatly diſturbed. They have thrown rotten eggs and wild-fire into our meetings, and brought in drums beating, and kettles, to make noiſes with, that the truth might not be heard; and, among theſe, the prieſts were as rude as any; as may be ſeen in the book of the fighting prieſts, wherein a liſt is given of ſome prieſts that had actually beaten and abuſed friends.

London. Many friends were brought priſoners to London, to be tried before the Committee; where Henry Vane, being chairman, would not ſuffer friends to come in, except they would put off their hats; but at laſt the Lord's power came over him, ſo that, through the mediation of others, they were admitted. Many of us having been impriſoned upon contempts (as they called them) for not putting off our hats, it was not a likely thing that friends, who had ſuffered ſo long for it from others, ſhould put off their hats to him. But the Lord's power came over all, and wrought ſo, that ſeveral were ſet at liberty by them. Inaſmuch as ſufferings grew very ſharp, I was moved of the Lord to write a few lines, and ſend amongſt friends, to encourage them to go on faithfully and boldly through the exerciſes of the day; of which a copy here follows:

'MY dear friends every-where, in priſon or out of priſon; Fear
'not, becauſe of the reports of ſufferings; let not the evil ſpies
'of the good land make you afraid, if they tell you the walls are high,
'and Anakims are in the land; for at the blowing of the rams horns
'did the walls of Jericho fall, and they that brought the evil report
'periſhed in the wilderneſs. Dwell in faith, patience, and hope, hav-
'ing the word of life to keep you, which is beyond the law; and
'having the oath of God, his covenant, Chriſt Jeſus, which divides the
'waters aſunder, and makes them to run all on heaps; in that ſtand,
'and ye will ſee all things work together for good to them that love
'God. In that triumph, when ſufferings come, whatever they be.
'Your faith, your ſhield, your helmet, your armour you have on.

'You

'You are ready to ſkip over a mountain, a wall, or an hill, and to walk through the deep waters, though they be as heaps upon heaps. The evil ſpies of the good land may preach up hardneſs; but Caleb, which ſignifies an heart, and Joſhua a Saviour, triumph over all. 1658. London.

'G. F.'

After a while I went to Reading, where I remained under great ſufferings and exerciſes, and in great travail of ſpirit for about ten weeks. For I ſaw there was great confuſion and diſtraction amongſt the people, and that the powers were plucking each other to pieces. And I ſaw how many were deſtroying the ſimplicity, and betraying the truth. A great deal of hypocriſy, deceit, and ſtrife, was got uppermoſt in the people, ſo that they were ready to ſheath their ſwords in one another's bowels. There had been tenderneſs in many of them formerly, when they were low; but when they were got up, had killed, and taken poſſeſſion, they came to be as bad as others: ſo that we had much to do with them about our hats, and ſaying Thou and Thee to them. They turned their profeſſion of patience and moderation into rage and madneſs; many of them were like diſtracted men for this hat-honour. For they had hardened themſelves by perſecuting the innocent, and were at this time crucifying the Seed, Chriſt, both in themſelves and others; till at laſt they fell a biting and devouring one another, until they were conſumed one of another; who had turned againſt and judged that which God had wrought in them, and ſhewed unto them. So ſhortly after God overthrew them, turned them upſide down, and brought the king over them, who were often ſurmiſing that the Quakers met together to bring in king Charles, whereas friends did not concern themſelves with the outward powers or government. But at laſt the Lord brought him in, and many of them, when they ſaw he would be brought in, voted for the bringing him in. So with heart and voice praiſe the name of the Lord, to whom it doth belong; who over all hath the ſupremacy, and who will rock the nations, for he is over them. I had a ſight and ſenſe of the king's return a good while before, and ſo had ſome others. I wrote to Oliver ſeveral times, and let him know, that while he was perſecuting God's people, they whom he accounted his enemies were preparing to come upon him. When ſome forward ſpirits, that came amongſt us, would have bought Somerſet-houſe, that we might have meetings in it, I forbad them to do ſo: for I then foreſaw the king's coming in again. Beſides, there came a woman to me in the Strand, who had a prophecy concerning king Charles's coming in, three years before he came; and ſhe told me, ſhe muſt go to him to declare it. I adviſed her to wait upon the Lord, and keep it to herſelf; for if it ſhould be known that ſhe went on ſuch a meſſage, they would look upon it to be treaſon; but ſhe ſaid, ſhe muſt go and tell him, that he ſhould be brought into England again. I ſaw her prophecy was true, and that a great ſtroke muſt come upon thoſe in power: for they that had then got poſſeſſion were ſo exceeding high, and ſuch great perſecution was acted by them who called themſelves ſaints, Reading.

1658. Reading. that they would take from friends their copyhold lands, becauſe they could not ſwear in their courts. Sometimes, when we laid theſe ſufferings before Oliver Cromwell, he would not believe it. Wherefore Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearſon were moved to go through all the gaols in England, and to get copies of friends commitments under the gaolers hands, that they might lay the weight of their ſufferings upon Oliver Cromwell. And when he refuſed to give order for the releaſing of them, Thomas Aldam was 'moved to take his cap off 'his head, and rend it in pieces before him, and to ſay unto him, "So "ſhall thy government be rent from thee and thy houſe." Another friend alſo, a woman, was 'moved to go to the parliament (that was 'envious againſt friends) with a pitcher in her hand, which ſhe broke 'into pieces before them, and told them, "So ſhould they be broken 'to pieces:' which came to paſs ſhortly after. And in my great ſuffering, and travail of ſpirit for the nation, being grievouſly burdened with their hypocriſy, treachery, and falſehood, I ſaw God would bring that a-top of them which they had been a-top of; and that all muſt be brought down to that which convinced them, before they could get over that bad ſpirit within and without: for it is the pure, inviſible Spirit, that doth and only can work down all deceit in people.

While I was under that ſore travail at Reading, by reaſon of grief and ſorrow of mind, and the great exerciſe that was upon my ſpirit, my countenance being altered, and my body become poor and thin; there came a company of unclean ſpirits to me, and told me, 'The 'plagues of God were upon me.' I told them, It was the ſame ſpirit ſpoke in them that ſaid ſo of Chriſt, when he was ſtricken and ſmitten; they hid their face from him. But when I had travailed with the witneſs of God, which they had quenched, and had got through with it, over all that hypocriſy which the outſide profeſſors were run into, and ſaw how that would be brought down, and turned under, and that life would riſe over it, I came to have eaſe; and the light, power, and ſpirit, ſhined over all. And then, having recovered, my body and face ſwelled, when I came abroad into the air; then the bad ſpirits ſaid, 'I was grown fat;' and they envied at that alſo. So I ſaw that no condition nor ſtate would pleaſe that ſpirit of theirs: but the Lord preſerved me by his power and Spirit through and over all; and in the Lord's power I came to London again.

London. Now was there a great buſtle about the effigy of Oliver Cromwell lying in ſtate; men ſtanding and ſounding with trumpets over his image, after he was dead. At this my ſpirit was greatly grieved, and the Lord, I found, was highly offended. Then did I write the following lines, and ſent among them, to reprove their wickedneſs, and warn them to repent.

'O FRIENDS, what are ye doing! What mean ye to ſound be-'fore an image! Will not all ſober people think ye are like mad 'people? "Oh, how am I grieved with your abominations! Oh, how "am I wearied! My ſoul is wearied with you, ſaith the Lord; will I "not be avenged of you, think ye, for your abominations?" O how 'have ye plucked down and ſet up! O how are your hearts made 'whole, and not rent! How are ye turned to fooleries, which in times

'paſt

'paſt ye ſtood over. How have ye loſt my dread, ſaith the Lord! O 1658.
'therefore fear and repent, leſt the ſnare and the pit take you all! The London.
'great day of the Lord is come upon your abominations; the ſwift
'hand of the Lord is turned againſt them all. The ſober people in
'theſe nations ſtand amazed at your doings, and are aſhamed, as if ye
'would bring in popery. 'G. F.'

About this time great ſtirs were in the nation, the minds of people 1659.
being unſettled. Much plotting and contriving there was by the ſeveral factions, to carry on their ſeveral intereſts. And a great care being upon me, leſt any young or raw people, that might ſometimes come amongſt us, ſhould be drawn into that ſnare, I was moved to give forth the following epiſtle, as a warning to ſuch:

'ALL friends every-where, keep out of plots and buſtling, and the
'arm of fleſh; for all theſe are amongſt Adam's ſons in the fall,
'where they are deſtroying mens lives like dogs, beaſts, and ſwine,
'goaring, rending, and biting one another, deſtroying one another,
'and wreſtling with fleſh and blood. From whence ariſe wars and
'killing, but from the luſts? Now all this is in Adam in the fall, out
'of Adam that never fell, in whom there is peace and life. Ye are
'called to peace, therefore follow it; that peace is in Chriſt, not in
'Adam in the fall. All that pretend to fight for Chriſt, are de-
'ceived; for his kingdom is not of this world, therefore his ſervants
'do not fight. Fighters are not of Chriſt's kingdom, but are without
'Chriſt's kingdom: for his kingdom ſtands in peace and righteouſneſs,
'but fighters are in the luſt: and all that would deſtroy men's lives
'are not of Chriſt's mind, who came to ſave men's lives. Chriſt's king-
'dom is not of this world; it is peaceable: and all that are in ſtrife,
'are not of his kingdom. All that pretend to fight for the goſpel, are
'deceived: for the goſpel is the power of God, which was before the
'devil, or fall of man was; and the goſpel of peace was before
'fighting was. Therefore they that pretend fighting, and talk of
'fighting ſo, are ignorant of the goſpel. All that talk of fighting for
'Sion, are in darkneſs: Sion needs no ſuch helpers. All ſuch as pro-
'feſs themſelves miniſters of Chriſt, or chriſtians, and go about to beat
'down the whore with outward, carnal weapons, the fleſh and the
'whore are got up in themſelves, and they are in a blind zeal; for
'the whore got up by the inward ravening from the Spirit of God;
'and the beating down of the whore muſt be by the inward ſtroke of
'the ſword of the Spirit within. All ſuch as pretend Chriſt Jeſus, and
'confeſs him, yet run into the uſe of carnal weapons, wreſtling with
'fleſh and blood, throw away the ſpiritual weapons. They that would
'be wreſtlers with fleſh and blood, throw away Chriſt's doctrine; the fleſh
'is got upon them, and they are weary of their ſufferings. Such as
'would revenge themſelves, are out of Chriſt's doctrine. Such as be-
'ing ſtricken on one cheek, would not turn the other, are out of
'Chriſt's doctrine. Such as do not love one another, nor love enemies,
'are out of Chriſt's doctrine. Therefore ye, that are heirs of the bleſſ-
'ings of God, which were before the curſe and the fall was, come
'to inherit your portions: and ye that are heirs of the goſpel of peace,

'which

1659. London.

'which was before the devil was, live in the goſpel of peace, ſeeking 'the peace and good of all men: and live in Chriſt, who came to 'ſave mens lives, out of Adam in the fall, where they deſtroy mens 'lives, and live not in Chriſt. The Jews ſword outwardly, by which 'they cut down the heathen, was a type of the Spirit of God within, 'which cuts down the heatheniſh nature within. So live in the peace-'able kingdom of Chriſt Jeſus. Live in the peace of God, and not 'in the luſts, from whence wars ariſe. Live in Chriſt, the prince of 'peace, the way of God, the ſecond Adam that never fell. Live not in 'Adam in the fall, in the deſtruction, where they deſtroy one another. 'Come out of Adam in the fall, into the ſecond Adam that never fell. Live 'in love and peace with all men; keep out of all the buſtlings in the 'world; meddle not with the powers of the earth; but mind the 'kingdom, the way of peace. Ye that are heirs of grace, heirs of 'the kingdom, heirs of the goſpel, heirs of ſalvation, ſaints of the 'Moſt High, and children of God, whoſe converſation is in heaven, 'that is above the combuſtions of the earth; let your converſation 'preach to all men, and your innocent lives, that thoſe who ſpeak evil 'of you, beholding your godly converſation, may glorify your Father 'which is in heaven. Friends every-where, this I charge you, which 'is the word of the Lord God unto you all, "Live in peace, in Chriſt "the way of peace;" therein ſeek the peace of all men, and no man's 'hurt. In Adam in the fall is no peace; but in Adam out of the 'fall is the peace: So ye being in Adam which never fell, it is love 'that overcomes, not hatred with hatred, nor ſtrife with ſtrife. There-'fore live all in the peaceable life, doing good to all men, and ſeeking 'the good and welfare of all men. 'G. F.'

Not long after this, George Booth roſe in arms in Cheſhire, and Lambert went againſt him. At which time ſome fooliſh raſh ſpirits, that came ſometimes amongſt us, were ready to have taken up arms; but I was moved of the Lord to warn and forbid them, and they were quiet. In the time of the committee of ſafety (ſo called) we were invited by them to take up arms, and great places and commands were offered ſome of us; but we denied them all, and declared againſt it both by word and writing; teſtifying, that our weapons and armour were not carnal, but ſpiritual. And leſt any, that came amongſt us, ſhould be drawn into that ſnare, it came upon me from the Lord to write a few lines on that occaſion, and ſend them forth, as a caution to all amongſt us. Of which this is a copy:

'ALL friends every-where, take heed to keep out of the powers of 'the earth, that run into wars and fightings, which make not for 'peace, but go from that; ſuch will not have the kingdom. And 'friends, take heed of joining with this or the other, or meddling 'with any, or being buſy with other men's matters; but mind the 'Lord, his power, and his ſervice. Let friends keep out of other 'mens matters, and keep in that which anſwers the witneſs in 'them all, out of the man's matters part, where they muſt expect 'wars, and the diſhonour. Friends every-where, dwell in your 'own, in the power of the Lord, to keep your minds up to God, from

'falling down to the ſtrength of Egypt, or going thither for ſtrength, after ye are come out of it, like the children of Iſrael, after they were come out of outward Egypt. But dwell in the power of the Lord God, that ye may keep over all the powers of the earth, amongſt whom the juſt hand of God is come: for they have turned againſt the juſt, and diſobeyed the juſt in their own particulars, and ſo gone on in one againſt the juſt; therefore the juſt ſets them one againſt another. Now he that goes to help among them, is from the juſt in himſelf, in the mad and unſtayed ſtate, and doth not know by the All-ſeeing eye (that beholdeth) him that recompenſeth and rewardeth, and lives not in the hand, in the power that mangles and overturns, which vexeth the tranſgreſſors, that come to be blind and zealous for they do not know what. Therefore keep in peace, and in the love and power of God, and in unity and love one to another, leſt any go out, and fall with the uncircumciſed: that is, they that are from the Spirit in themſelves, and they that go from it, go into the pit together. Therefore ſtand in that (it is the word of the Lord God to you all) in the fear and dread of the Lord God, his power, life, light, ſeed and wiſdom, by which ye may take away the occaſion of wars, and ſo know a kingdom which hath no end, and fight for that with ſpiritual weapons, which takes away the occaſion of the carnal: and there gather men to war, as many as ye can, and ſet up as many as ye can with theſe weapons.

G. F.'

1959. London.

After I had ſtaid ſome time in London, and had viſited friends meetings there and thereabouts, and the Lord's power was ſet over all, I travelled into the counties again, paſſing through Suffolk, Eſſex, and Norfolk, viſiting friends, till I came to Norwich, where we had a meeting about the time called Chriſtmas. The mayor of Norwich, having got notice before-hand of the meeting I intended to have there, granted a warrant to apprehend me. Wherefore when I was come thither, and heard of the warrant, I ſent ſome friends to the mayor to reaſon with him about it. His anſwer was, the ſoldiers ſhould not meet; and did we think to meet? he would have had us met without the city: for he ſaid, the town's-people were ſo rude, that he could hardly order them, and he feared that our meeting would make tumults in the town. But our friends told him, we were a peaceable people, and that he ought to keep the peace; for we could not but meet to worſhip God, as our manner was. So he became pretty moderate, and did not ſend his officers to the meeting. A large meeting it was, and abundance of rude people came, with intent to have done miſchief: but the Lord's power came over them, ſo that they were chained by it, though ſeveral prieſts were there, and profeſſors, and Ranters. Among the prieſts, one, whoſe name was Townſend, ſtood up and cried; Error, blaſphemy, and an ungodly meeting! I bad him not burden himſelf with that which he could not make good; and I aſked him, what was our error and blaſphemy? for I told him, he ſhould make good his words, before I had done with him, or be ſhamed. As for an ungodly meeting, I ſaid, I did believe there were many people there that feared God, and therefore it was both unchriſtian and un-

Suffolk. Eſſex. Norfolk. Norwich.

1659. Norwich. civil in him, to charge civil godly people with an ungodly meeting: He ſaid, My error and blaſphemy was, in that I ſaid, people muſt wait on God by his power and Spirit, and feel his preſence, when they did not ſpeak words: I aſked him then, Whether the apoſtles and holy men of God did not hear God ſpeak to them in their ſilence, before they ſpake forth the Scripture, and before it was written? He replied, Yes: David and the prophets did hear God, before they did pen the Scriptures, and felt his preſence in ſilence, before they ſpake them forth. Then ſaid I, All people take notice, he ſaid this was error and blaſphemy in me to ſay theſe words; and now he hath confeſſed it is no more than the holy men of God in former times witneſſed. So I ſhewed the people, that as the holy men of God, who gave forth the Scriptures, were moved by the Holy Ghoſt, did hear and learn of God, before they ſpake them forth, ſo muſt they all hearken and hear what the Spirit ſaith, which will lead them into all truth, that they may know God and Chriſt, and may underſtand the Scriptures. O, ſaid the prieſt, this is not that George Fox I would ſpeak withal; this is a ſubtil man, ſaid he. So the Lord's power came over all; the rude people were moderate, and were reached by it; and ſome profeſſors called to the prieſts, ſaying, 'Prove the blaſphemy and 'errors, which ye have charged them with: ye have ſpoken much 'againſt them behind their backs, but nothing ye can prove now to 'their faces.' But the prieſt began to get away: whereupon I told him, we had many things to charge him withal, therefore let him ſet a time and place to anſwer them; which he did and went his way. A glorious day this was: for truth came over all, and people were turned to God by his power and Spirit, and to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, their free teacher, who was exalted over all. And as we paſſed away, generally people's hearts were filled with love towards us; yea, the ruder ſort of them deſired another meeting: for the evil intentions they had againſt us were thrown out of their hearts. At night I paſſed out of town to a friend's houſe, and from thence to colonel Dennis's, where we had a great meeting: and afterwards travelled on, viſiting friends up and down in Norfolk, Huntingtonſhire, and Cambridgeſhire. But George Whitehead and Richard Hubberthorn ſtaid about Norwich, to meet the prieſt, who was ſoon confounded and down, the Lord's power came ſo over him.

Col. Dennis.

Hunts. Cambridgeſhire.

After I had travelled through many counties in the Lord's ſervice, and many were convinced, notwithſtanding that in ſome places the people were very rude, I returned to London again, when general Monk was come up thither, and the gates and poſts of the city were pulling down. 'Long before this I had a viſion, wherein I ſaw the 'city lie in heaps, and the gates down; and it was then repreſented 'to me, juſt as I ſaw it ſeveral years after, lying in heaps when it was 'burned.'

London.

Divers times had I, both by word and writing, forewarned the ſeveral powers, both in Oliver's time and after, of the day of recompence that was coming upon them: but they rejecting counſel, and ſlighting thoſe viſitations of love to them, I was moved now, before they were quite overturned, to lay their backſliding, hypocriſy, and treacherous dealing before them, thus:

1658. London.

'FRIENDS, Now are the prophecies fulfilled and fulfilling upon you, which have been ſpoken to you by the people of God in your courts, in your ſteeple-houſes, in your towns, cities, markets, highways, and at your feaſts, when ye were in your pleaſures, and puffed up, that ye would neither hear God nor man; when ye were in your height of authority, though raiſed up from a mean ſtate, none might come nigh you without bowing, or the reſpect of perſons, for ye were in the world's way, compliments and faſhions, which, for conſcience ſake towards God, they could not go into, being redeemed therefrom: therefore they were hated by you for that cauſe. But how are ye brought low, who exalted yourſelves above your brethren, and threw the juſt and harmleſs from among you, until at laſt God hath thrown you out: and when ye caſt the innocent from amongſt you, then ye fell a biting one another, until ye were conſumed one of another. And ſo the day is come upon you, which before was told to you, though ye would not believe it. And are not your hearts ſo hardened, that ye will hardly yet believe, though ready to go into captivity? was it not told you, when ye ſpilt the blood of the innocent in your ſteeple-houſes, in your markets, in your highways and cities, yea, and even in your courts alſo, becauſe they ſaid the word thou to you, and could not put off their hats to you, "That if ſomething did not riſe up amongſt yourſelves, "to avenge the blood of the innocent, there would come ſomething "from beyond the ſeas, which lay reſerved there; which, being "brought by the arm of God, the arm of fleſh and ſtrongeſt moun-"tain cannot withſtand?" Yet ye would not conſider, nor regard, nor hear; but cried, peace, peace, and feaſted yourſelves, and ſat down in the ſpoil of your enemies, being treacherous both to God and man; and who will truſt you now? have ye not taken covenants and oaths? and broken covenants and oaths betwixt God and man, and made the nations breakers both of covenants and oaths; ſo that nothing but hypocriſy, and rottenneſs, and falſhood under fair pretence, was amongſt you? When ye pretended to ſet up the old cauſe, it was but yourſelves; for which ye long ſtunk to ſober people, who ſaw that ye would do no good. But it was a joy for any of you to get up into authority, that ye might have praiſe, and honour, and reſpect; and they that were in the ſelf-denial were a deriſion to you; from amongſt whom that was baniſhed. Thus ye became the nations maſters, and not ſervants; whereas the greateſt of all ſhould be the ſervants of all. But there ye loſt your authority, not conſidering your eſtates, from whence ye were, and to what end God had raiſed you up; but forgot the Lord, and quenched that which was good in yourſelves, and perſecuted them that lived in it: and ſo are grown ſo groſs and perverſe, that at laſt ye are fit for neither God nor man. Have not ye uſed to call the Quakers the fanatic people, and the giddy heads? but whither now are ye giddying? into Cain's city Nod, which ſignifies fugitive, or wandering? Have not ye perſecuted and impriſoned to death, ſuch as God had reſpect to, and is now reproving you for their ſakes, by them whom ye have hated? Were not many amongſt you cut off for your perſecution, and yet the reſt of you would not take warning? Was not there a book of examples ſet out unto you, of what ſudden and ſtrange deaths happened upon

'the

1658. London.

'the perſecutors of the innocent? and yet ye would not take warning, 'until the overflowing ſcourge is now coming upon you. Are not ye 'they that have killed like Cain, who have killed about your ſacrifice, 'and mingled the blood of the innocent with it? Hath not God now 'vagabonded you, that ye ſhould become a curſe upon the earth, who 'have perſecuted friends to death? Did not the blood of the righ-'teous cry out of the ground for vengeance? And will not the blood 'of the righteous be required? Could ye think, that the Lord would 'ſit always with bloody hands, and fiſts of wickedneſs! Ah! What's 'become of all your feaſts and your faſts, the prayers and bleſſings 'of your prieſts!

G. F.'

Surry. Suſſex.

Being now clear of the city, and finding my ſpirit drawn to viſit friends in the weſtern parts of England, I went out of town; and paſſing firſt into Surry and Suſſex, came to a great town, where there was a large meeting, to which ſeveral friends from Reading came; and a bleſſed meeting it was. The prieſt of the town was in a great rage, but did not come out of his houſe; wherefore, hearing him make a great noiſe in his houſe, as we were paſſing from the meeting, we bid him come out into the ſtreet, and we would diſcourſe with him; but he would not. So the Lord's power being over all, friends were refreſhed therein. From thence I went to another market-town, where in the evening we had a precious meeting; and the freſh ſenſe of the preſence of the Lord God was ſweetly felt amongſt us. Then turning into Hampſhire and Dorſetſhire, I went to Ringwood and Pool, viſiting Friends in the Lord's power, and had great meetings amongſt them.

Hampſhire. Dorſetſhire. Ringwood. Poole.

Dorcheſter.

At Dorcheſter we had a great meeting in the evening at our inn, to which many ſoldiers came, and were pretty civil. But the conſtables and officers of the town came, under pretence to look for a Jeſuit, whoſe head (they ſaid) was ſhaved: and they would have all to put off their hats, or elſe they would take them off, to look for the Jeſuit's ſhaven crown. So they took off my hat (for I was the man they aimed at) and they looked very narrowly; but not finding any bald or ſhaven place on my head, they went away with ſhame; and the ſoldiers, and other ſober people were greatly offended with them. But it was of good ſervice for the Lord, and all things wrought together for good; for it affected the people: and after the officers were gone, we had a fine meeting; and people were turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, their teacher, who had bought them, and would reconcile them to God.

From thence we paſſed into Somerſetſhire, where the Preſbyterians and other profeſſors were very wicked, and often diſturbed friends meetings. 'One time eſpecially (as we were then informed) a very 'wicked man put a bear's-ſkin on his back, and undertook with that 'to play pranks in the meeting. Accordingly, ſetting himſelf oppoſite 'to the friend that was ſpeaking, he lolled his tongue out of his mouth, 'and made ſport to his wicked followers, cauſing great diſturbance 'in the meeting. But an eminent judgment overtook him, and his 'puniſhment ſlumbered not; for as he went from the meeting there 'was a bull-baiting in the way, which he ſtayed to ſee; and coming 'within

Example.

'within the bull's reach, he ſtruck his horn under the man's chin into his throat, and thruſt his tongue out of his mouth, ſo that it hung lolling out, as he had uſed it before in deriſion in the meeting. And the bull's horn running up into the man's head, he ſwung him about upon his horn in a moſt remarkable and fearful manner. Thus he that came to do miſchief amongſt God's people was miſchieved himſelf; and well would it be if ſuch apparent examples of divine vengeance would teach others to beware.' 1659. Example.

We travelled through Somerſetſhire and Devonſhire, till we came to Plymouth, and ſo into Cornwall, viſiting the meetings of friends, to the Land's-end. Many precious and bleſſed meetings we had all along as we went, wherein the convinced were eſtabliſhed, and many others were added to them. At the Land's-end an honeſt fiſherman was concinced, who became a faithful miniſter of Chriſt. I took notice of him to friends, telling them, "He was like Peter." Devonſhire. Plymouth. Cornwall. Land's-end.

While I was in Cornwall, there were great ſhipwrecks about the Land's-end. It was the cuſtom of that country at ſuch a time, both rich and poor went out to get as much of the wreck as they could, not caring to ſave the people's lives; and in ſome parts of the country they called ſhipwrecks God's grace. It grieved my ſpirit to hear of ſuch unchriſtian actions, conſidering how far they were below the heathen at Melita, who received Paul, made him a fire, and were courteous towards him, and thoſe that ſuffered ſhipwreck with him. Wherefore I was moved to write a paper, and ſend it to all the pariſhes, prieſts, and magiſtrates, to reprove them for ſuch greedy actions, and to warn and exhort them that, if they could aſſiſt to ſave peoples lives and preſerve their ſhips and goods, they ſhould uſe their diligence therein; and conſider, if it had been their own condition, they would judge it hard, if they ſhould be upon a wreck and the people ſhould ſtrive to get what they could from them, and not regard their lives.

'Friends and people,

'TAKE heed of greedineſs and covetouſneſs, for that is idolatry; and the idolater muſt not enter into the kingdom of God. Take heed of drunkenneſs, oaths, and curſings, for ſuch are deſtroyers of the creation, and make it to groan. Lay aſide all fighting, quarrelling, brawling, and evil-ſpeaking, which are the works of the fleſh and not of the Spirit, for who follow ſuch things are not like to inherit the kingdom of God. Put away all corrupt words, which are unſavoury, and miſ-naming one another, for ye muſt give an account for every idle word. Lay aſide all profeſſion and religion that is vain, and come to the poſſeſſion, the pure religion, which is to viſit the fatherleſs, the widow, and the ſtranger, and receive them, for ſome thereby may entertain angels or the ſervants of the Lord unawares, as Paul was entertained after the ſhipwreck at Melita. Do not take people's goods from them by force out of their ſhips, ſeamen's or others, neither covet after them; but rather endeavour to preſerve their lives and goods for them, for that ſhews a ſpirit of compaſſion, and the ſpirit of a chriſtian. But if ye be greedy and covetous after other men's

1659. Land's-end.

'goods, not mattering what becomes of the men, would ye be ſerved 'ſo yourſelves? If ye ſhould have a ſhip caſt away in other places, 'and the people ſhould come to tear the goods and ſhip in pieces, 'not regarding to ſave your lives, but be ready to fight one with an-'other for your goods, do not ye believe ſuch goods would become 'a curſe to them? May ye not as ſurely believe ſuch kind of 'actions will become a curſe to you? When the ſpoil of one ſhip's 'goods is idly ſpent and conſumed upon the luſts in alehouſes, ta-'verns, and otherwiſe, then ye gape for another. Is this to "do as "ye would be done by;" which is the law and the prophets? 'Prieſt Hull, are theſe thy fruits? What doſt thou take people's 'labour and goods for? Haſt thou taught the people no better 'manners and converſation, who are ſo brutiſh and heatheniſh? 'All ſuch things we judge in whomſoever. But if any friend or 'others preſerve men's lives, and endeavour to ſave their goods and 'eſtates, and reſtore what they can ſave of a wreck to the owners, 'if they conſider them for their labour, doing in that caſe unto 'them what they would have done to themſelves, that we approve. 'And if they buy or ſell, and do not make a prey, that is allowed of 'ſtill in the way of "doing as ye would be done by," keeping to the 'law and to the prophets. If you ſhould be wrecked in another 'country, ye would have other people ſave your lives and goods, and 'have your goods reſtored to you again, and you ought to conſider 'them for ſo doing. All that do otherwiſe, who wait for a wreck 'and take the goods for yourſelves, not regarding the lives of the 'men, but if any eſcape drowning turn them a begging up and down 'the country, and if any eſcape with a little rob them of it, all 'that do ſo are not for preſerving the creation, but deſtroying it: 'and thoſe goods which are ſo got ſhall be a curſe, a plague, and a 'judgment to them, and the judgments of God will follow them for 'acting ſuch things; the witneſs in your conſciences ſhall anſwer it. 'Therefore, all ye who have done ſuch things, "do ſo no more," 'leſt a worſe thing come unto you. But that which is good, do; 'preſerve men's lives and eſtates, and labour to reſtore the loſs and 'breach: that the Lord requires. Be not like a company of greedy 'dogs, and worſe than heathens, as if ye had never heard of God, 'nor Chriſt, nor the ſcriptures, nor pure religion. And prieſt Hull, 'have people ſpent their money upon thee for that which is no 'bread? for a thing of nought, that thou haſt ſuch fruits? All ſuch 'teachers, that make a trade of the ſcriptures (which are given forth 'from the Spirit of God, to be believed, read, and practiſed, and 'Chriſt, whom they teſtify of, enjoyed) we utterly deny; who own 'Chriſt, and are come off from your ſteeple-houſes, which were the 'old maſs-houſes; for there are theſe bad fruits harboured, thoſe are 'the cages of them. But come to the church which is in God '(1 Theſſ. i.) and come all to the light which Chriſt Jeſus hath en-'lightened you with, which ſhews you all your ungodly words, un-'godly thoughts, and ungodly actions. This will be your teacher 'if ye love it, your condemner if ye hate it. For the mighty day 'of the Lord is coming upon all wickedneſs and ungodlineſs; there-'fore lay aſide your whoredoms and fornications. And ye magi-

'ſtrates,

'ſtrates, who are to do juſtice, think ye not that the hand of the 1659.
'Lord is againſt you, and that his judgments will come upon you Land's-end.
'who do not look after theſe things, and ſtop them with the law,
'which is, "To do unto all men as they would have done unto
"them," whereby ye might be a good ſavour in your country? Is
'not the law to preſerve men's lives and eſtates, "Doing unto all
"men as they would men ſhould do unto them?" For all men
'would have their lives and eſtates preſerved; therefore, ſhould not
'ye preſerve others, and not ſuffer them to be devoured and de-
'ſtroyed? The evil of theſe things will lie upon you, both prieſts
'and magiſtrates.

'G. F.'

POSTSCRIPT.

'All dear friends who fear the Lord God, keep out of the raven-
'ous world's ſpirit, which leads to raven and deſtroy, and is out of
'the wiſdom of God. When ſhips are wrecked, do not run to deſtroy
'and make havock of ſhip and goods with the world; but run to
'ſave the men, and the goods for them: and ſo deny yourſelves, and
'do unto them as ye would they ſhould do unto you.

'G. F.'

This paper had good ſervice among people; and friends have en- 1660.
deavoured much to ſave the lives of men in time of wrecks, and to preſerve the ſhips and goods for them. And when ſome, who ſuffered ſhipwreck, have been almoſt dead and ſtarved, friends have taken them to their houſes to ſuccour and recover them, which is an act to be practiſed by all true chriſtians.

I had many precious, bleſſed, living meetings in Cornwall, ſeveral eminent people being convinced in that county, whom neither prieſts nor magiſtrates, by ſpoiling goods or impriſonments, could bring to forſake their ſhepherd, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who bought them; and friends who were turned to Chriſt, their Teacher and Saviour, being ſettled in peace and quietneſs upon him, their Foundation, we left them to the Lord's teaching and ordering, freſh and green. Thomas Lower, who had accompanied me through that county, brought me over Horſe-bridge into Devonſhire again; and after ſe- Devonſhire.
veral meetings in Devonſhire we came to Somerſetſhire, where we Somerſet-
had divers large and peaceable meetings, and viſited friends till we ſhire.
came to Briſtol.

I entered Briſtol on a ſeventh-day. The day before the ſoldiers Briſtol.
came into the meeting, and were exceeding rude, beating and ſtriking friends with their muſkets, and drove them out of the Orchard in a great rage, threatening what they would do if they came there again. For the mayor and the commander of the ſoldiers had, it ſeems, combined together to make a diſturbance amongſt us. When friends told me what a rage there was in the town, how they were threatened by the mayor and ſoldiers, and how unruly they had been the day before, I ſent for George Biſhop, Thomas Gouldney, Thomas Speed, and Edward Pyot, and deſired them to go to the mayor

1660. Briſtoi. and aldermen, and requeſt them, ſeeing they had broke up our meetings, to let us have the town-hall to meet in; and for the uſe of it we would give them twenty pounds a year, to be diſtributed amongſt the poor: and when the mayor and aldermen had buſineſs to do in it, friends would not meet in it, but only on the firſt-days. Thoſe friends were aſtoniſhed at this, and ſaid, The mayor and aldermen would think they were mad. I ſaid, Nay; for they ſhould offer them a conſiderable benefit to the poor. And it was upon me from the Lord to bid them go. At laſt they conſented, and went, though in the croſs to their own wills. When they had laid the thing before the mayor, it came ſo over him, that he ſaid, 'For his 'part he could conſent to it, but he was but one.' He told them of another great hall they might have, but that they did not accept of, it being inconvenient. So they came away, leaving the mayor in a very loving frame towards them; for they felt the Lord's power had come over him. When they came back, I ſpoke to them to go to the colonel, and lay before him the rude carriage of his ſoldiers, how they came armed amongſt naked innocent people, who were waiting upon and worſhipping the Lord; but they were backward to go to him. Next morning, being firſt-day, we went to the meeting in the Orchard, where the ſoldiers had ſo lately been ſo rude. After I had declared the truth a pretty while in the meeting, there came in many rude ſoldiers and people, ſome with drawn ſwords. The innkeepers had made ſome of them drunk; and one of them had bound himſelf with an oath, 'to cut down and kill the man that ſpoke.' He came preſſing in through the crowd to within two yards of me, and ſtopped at thoſe four friends before-mentioned (who ſhould have gone to the colonel as I would have had them) and fell a jangling with them. On a ſudden I ſaw his ſword was put up and gone; for the Lord's power came over all, and chained him with the reſt. We had a bleſſed meeting, for the Lord's everlaſting power and preſence was felt amongſt us. The day following thoſe four friends went and ſpoke with the colonel, and he ſent for the ſoldiers, and cut and ſlaſhed ſome of them before the friends faces. Which when I heard of, I blamed them for letting him do ſo, and alſo for not going on the ſeventh-day as I would have had them, which might have prevented this cutting of the ſoldiers, and the trouble they gave at our meeting. Thus the Lord's power came over all thoſe perſecuting, bloody minds, and the meeting was held in peace for a good while after.

I had then alſo a general meeting at Edward Pyot's near Briſtol, at which it was judged were ſeveral thouſands of people; for beſides friends from many parts thereabouts, ſome of the Baptiſts and Independents, with their teachers, came to it, and many of the ſober people of Briſtol; inſomuch that the people who ſtaid behind ſaid, 'The city looked naked,' ſo many were gone out of it to this meeting. It was very quiet, many glorious truths were opened to the people, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt was ſet up, who is the end of all figures and ſhadows, of the law and the firſt covenant. It was declared to the people, that all figures and ſhadows were given to man after man fell, and that all the rudiments and inventions of men which

which have been ſet up in Chriſtendom, many of which were jewiſh and heatheniſh, were not ſet up by the command of Chriſt; and all images and likeneſſes man has made to himſelf or for himſelf, whether of things in heaven or things in earth, have been ſince he loſt the image and likeneſs of God, which God made him in. But now Chriſt is come to redeem, tranſlate, convert, and regenerate man out of all theſe things that he hath ſet up in the fall, out of the true types, figures, and ſhadows alſo, and out of death and darkneſs, up into the light, life, and image of God again, which man and woman were in before they fell. Therefore all now ſhould come, and all may come to receive Chriſt Jeſus, the ſubſtance, by his light, ſpirit, grace, and faith, and ſhould live and walk in him, the Redeemer and Saviour. 1660. Briſtol.

And as we had a great deal of work with prieſts and profeſſors, who pleaded for imperfection, I was opened to declare and manifeſt to them that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell, and all that God made he ſaw was good, and he bleſſed it; but the imperfection came in by the fall, through man's and woman's hearkening to the devil who was out of truth. And though the law made nothing perfect, yet it made way for the bringing in of the better hope, which hope is Chriſt, who deſtroys the devil and his works, which made man and woman imperfect. Chriſt ſaith to his diſciples, 'Be 'ye perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect;' and he, who himſelf was perfect, comes to make man and woman perfect again, and brings them again to the ſtate which God made them in. So he is the maker up of the breach, and the peace betwixt God and man. That this might the better be underſtood by the loweſt capacities, I uſed a compariſon of two old people who had their houſe broken down by an enemy, ſo that they, with all their children, were liable to all ſtorms and tempeſts. And there came ſome to them that pretended to be workmen, and offered to build up their houſe again, if they would give them ſo much a year; but when they had got their money they left their houſe as they found it. After this manner came a ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth, each with his ſeveral pretence to build up the old houſe, and each got the people's money, and then cried, 'They could not rear up the houſe, the breach could 'not be made up; for there is no perfection here.' They tell them, the houſe can never be perfectly built up again in this life, though they have taken the people's money for doing it. For all the ſect-maſters in chriſtendom (ſo called) have pretended to build up Adam's and Eve's fallen houſe, and when they have got people's money, tell them the work cannot be perfectly done here; ſo their houſe lies as it did. But I told the people, Chriſt was come to do it freely, who by one offering hath perfected for ever all them that are ſanctified, and renews them up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell, and makes man's and woman's houſe as perfect again as God made them at the firſt; and this Chriſt, the heavenly Man, doth freely. Therefore all are to look unto him, and all that have received him are to walk in him, the Life, the Subſtance, the Firſt and the Laſt, 'The Rock of Ages, the Foundation of 'many Generations.' Largely were theſe and many other things

1660. Briſtol. opened to people, the word of life was preached, which lives and abides, and all were exhorted to hear and obey it, that by it all might be born again of the immortal ſeed, and feed of the milk of the word. A glorious meeting there was, wherein the Lord's everlaſting ſeed, Chriſt Jeſus, was ſet over all, and friends parted in the power and Spirit of the Lord, in peace, and in his truth, that is over all.

About this time the ſoldiers under general Monk's command were rude and troubleſome at friends meetings in many places, whereof complaint being made to him, he gave forth the following order, which ſomewhat reſtrained them:

" St. James's, the 9th of March, 1659.

" I DO require all officers and ſoldiers to forbear to diſturb the " peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing preju- " dicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England.

" George Monk."

Oldeſton: Nailſworth. After this meeting, I paſſed to Oldeſton, to Nailſworth, and to Nathaniel Criſp's; where was a large meeting, and ſeveral ſoldiers, but quiet.

Glouceſter. From thence we paſſed to Glouceſter, viſiting meetings. In Glouceſter we had one that was peaceable, though the town was very rude and divided; for one part of the ſoldiers were for the king, and another for the parliament. As I paſſed out of the town over the bridge, Edward Pyott being with me, the ſoldiers there ſaid, 'They 'were for the king.' After we were paſt them, they were in a great rage that I had eſcaped them, and ſaid, 'Had they known it they 'would have ſhot me with hail-ſhot rather than I ſhould have 'eſcaped.' But the Lord prevented their deviliſh deſign, and brought

Col. Grimes. me ſafe to colonel Grimes's, where we had a large general meeting, and the Lord's truth and power was ſet over all; friends were eſtabliſhed upon the Rock, and ſettled under the Lord Jeſus Chriſt's teaching.

Tewkſbury. Worceſter. We paſſed from thence to Tewkſbury, and ſo to Worceſter, viſiting meetings as we went. And in all my time I never ſaw the like drunkenneſs as then in the towns; for they had been chuſing parliament-men. At Worceſter the Lord's truth was ſet over all, people were finely ſettled therein, and friends praiſed the Lord; nay, I ſaw the very earth rejoiced. Yet great fears and troubles were in many, looking for the king's coming in, and that all things ſhould be altered. They would aſk me what I thought of times and things? I told them the Lord's power was over all, his light ſhined over all, and that fear would take hold only on the hypocrites, ſuch as had not been faithful to God, and on our perſecutors. In my travail and ſufferings at Reading, when people were at a ſtand, and could not tell who might rule, I told them the Lord's power was over all (for I travelled through in it) and his day ſhined whoſoever ſhould come in, and whether the king came in or no all would be well to them that loved the Lord, and were faithful to him. Therefore I bid all

friends fear none but the Lord, and keep in his power that was over all. 1660.

From Worceſter I viſited friends meetings, till I came to Badgely; from thence I went to Drayton, in Leiceſterſhire, to viſit my relations. While I was there, one Burton, a juſtice, hearing I had a good horſe, ſent a warrant to ſearch for me and my horſe; but I was gone before they came, ſo he miſſed of his wicked end. I paſſed to Twy-croſs, Swanington, and Derby, where I viſited friends, and found my old gaoler amongſt them, who had formerly kept me in the houſe of correction there, who was now convinced of the truth which I then ſuffered under him for. Paſſing into Derbyſhire and Nottinghamſhire, I came to Synderhill-green, viſiting friends meetings; and ſo to Balby in Yorkſhire, where our yearly meeting at that time was held, in a great orchard of John Killam's, where it was ſuppoſed ſome thouſands of people and friends were gathered together. In the morning I heard a troop of horſe was ſent from York, about thirty miles off, to break up our meeting, and that the militia newly raiſed was to join them. I went into the meeting, and ſtood up on a great ſtool; and after I had ſpoken ſome time, two trumpeters came, ſounding their trumpets pretty near me, and the captain of the troop cried, 'Divide to the right and left, and make way.' Then they rode up to me. I was declaring the everlaſting truth and word of life, in the mighty power of the Lord. The captain bid me, 'Come 'down, for he was come to diſperſe our meeting.' After ſome time I told him, they all knew we were a peaceable people, and that we uſed to have ſuch great meetings; but if he apprehended we met in an hoſtile way, I deſired him to make ſearch among us, and if he found either ſword or piſtol about any there, let ſuch ſuffer. He told me, 'He muſt ſee us diſperſed, for he came all night on pur-'poſe to diſperſe us.' I aſked him, What honour it would be to him to ride with ſwords and piſtols amongſt ſo many unarmed men and women as there were? If he would be ſtill and quiet, our meeting probably might not continue above two or three hours, and when it was done, as we came peaceably together, ſo we ſhould part; for he might perceive the meeting was ſo large all the country thereabouts could not entertain them, but that they intended to depart towards their homes at night. He ſaid, 'He could not ſtay to ſee the 'meeting ended, but muſt diſperſe them before he went.' I deſired him then, if he himſelf could not ſtay, that he would let a dozen of his ſoldiers ſtay, and ſee the order and peaceableneſs of our meeting. He ſaid, 'He would permit us an hour's time,' and left half a dozen ſoldiers with us. Then he went away with his troop, and friends of the houſe gave the ſoldiers that ſtaid, and their horſes, ſome meat. When the captain was gone, the ſoldiers that were left told us, 'We might ſtay till night if we would.' But we ſtaid but about three hours after, and had a glorious, powerful meeting; for the preſence of the living God was manifeſt amongſt us, and the ſeed, Chriſt, was ſet over all. Friends were built upon him the foundation, and ſettled under his glorious, heavenly teaching. After the meeting friends paſſed away in peace, greatly refreſhed with the preſence of the Lord, and filled with joy and gladneſs that the Lord's power had given

Badgely.
Leiceſterſh.
Drayton.
Twy-croſs.
Swaning-ton.
Derby.
Derbyſhire.
Nottingham-ſhire.
Synderhill-green.
Yorkſhire.
Balby yearly meeting.

1660.

Balby yearly meeting.

given them ſuch dominion. Many of the militia-ſoldiers ſtaid alſo, much vexed that the captain and troopers had not broke up our meeting, and curſed the captain and his troopers. It was reported they intended evil againſt us that day; but the troopers, inſtead of aſſiſting them, were rather aſſiſtant to us, in not joining them as they expected, but preventing them from doing the miſchief they deſigned. Yet this captain was a deſperate man; for it was he that ſaid to me in Scotland, 'He would obey his ſuperior's commands, if it 'was to crucify Chriſt he would do it, or execute the great Turk's 'commands againſt the chriſtians if he was under him.' So that it was an eminent power of the Lord, which chained both him and his troopers, and thoſe envious militia-ſoldiers alſo, who went away, not having power to hurt any of us, nor to break up our meeting.

Warmſworth.

Next day we had an heavenly meeting at Warmſworth of friends in the miniſtry, with ſeveral others; and then friends parted. As they paſſed through the country ſeveral were taken up; for the day that our firſt meeting was held on, Lambert was routed, and it made great confuſion in the country; but friends were not kept long in priſon at that time. As I went to this meeting there came ſeveral to me at Skegby in Nottinghamſhire, who were going to be ſoldiers under Lambert, and would have bought my horſe of me; and becauſe I would not ſell him, they were in a great rage againſt me, uſing many threatening words: but I told them, 'God would con-'found and ſcatter them;' and within two or three days after they were ſcattered indeed.

Nottinghamſhire. Skegby.

Barton-abby. T. Taylor's. Skipton general meeting of men friends.

From Warmſworth I paſſed, in the Lord's power, to Barton-abby, where I had a great meeting; from thence to Thomas Taylor's, and ſo to Skipton, where was a general meeting of men-friends out of many counties concerning the affairs of the church. 'A friend went 'naked through the town, declaring truth, and was much beaten. 'Some other friends alſo came to me all bloody.' As I walked in the ſtreet, a deſperate fellow had an intent to have done me miſchief; but he was prevented, and our meeting was quiet. To this meeting came many friends out of moſt parts of the nation; for it was about buſineſs relating to the church both in this nation and beyond the ſeas. Several years before, when I was in the north, I was moved to recommend to friends the ſetting up of this meeting for that ſervice; for many friends ſuffered in divers parts of the nation, their goods were taken from them contrary to law, and they underſtood not how to help themſelves, or where to ſeek redreſs. But after this meeting was ſet up, ſeveral friends who had been magiſtrates, and others who underſtood ſomething of the law, came thither, and were able to inform friends, and to aſſiſt them in gathering up the ſufferings, that they might be laid before the juſtices, judges, or parliament. This meeting had ſtood ſeveral years, and divers juſtices and captains had come to break it up; but when they underſtood the buſineſs friends met about, and ſaw friends books, and accounts of collections for relief of the poor, how we took care one county to help another, and to help our friends beyond ſea, and provide for our poor that none of them ſhould be chargeable to their pariſhes, &c. the juſtices and officers confeſſed that we did their work, and would paſs away peace-

peaceably and lovingly, 'commending friends practice.' Sometimes there would come two hundred of the poor of other people, and wait till the meeting was done (for all the country knew we met about the poor) and after the meeting friends would ſend to the bakers for bread, and give every one of thoſe poor people a loaf, how many ſoever there were of them; for we were taught to 'do good unto all, 'though eſpecially to the houſhold of faith.' 1660. Skipton general meeting of men friends.

After this meeting, I viſited friends meetings till I came to Lancaſter; from whence I went to Robert Withers's, and ſo to Arnſide, where I had a general meeting for all the friends in the counties of Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancaſhire. This meeting was quiet and peaceable, and the living preſence of the Lord was amongſt us. I went back with Robert Withers, and friends paſſed away, freſh in the life and power of Chriſt, in which they had dominion, being ſettled upon him the Heavenly Rock and Foundation. Several rude fellows, ſerving-men belonging to Sir George Middleton, a juſtice, that lived not far off, came to have made ſome diſturbance, as it was thought; but the meeting being ended they did nothing there: but lighting on three women friends going homeward, they ſet upon them with impudent ſcoffs, and one of them carried himſelf very abuſively and immodeſtly towards them. The ſame man abuſed other friends alſo, and was ſo outrageous that he would have cut ſome with an ax, but that he was reſtrained by ſome of his fellows. At another time the ſame man ſet upon ſix friends that were going to a meeting at Yelland, and beat and abuſed them ſo, that he 'bruiſed their faces and ſhed much of their blood,' wounding them very ſore, and one of them in ſeveral parts of his body; yet they lifted not an hand againſt him, but gave him their backs and cheeks to beat. Lancaſter. Arnſide general meeting. R. W.

From Robert Withers's I went next day to Swarthmore, Francis Howgil and Thomas Curtis being with me. I had not been long there before Henry Porter, a juſtice, ſent a warrant by the chief conſtable and three petty conſtables to apprehend me. I had a ſenſe of the thing before-hand; and being in the parlour with Richard Richardſon and Margaret Fell, ſome of her ſervants came and told her, there were ſome come to ſearch the houſe for arms, and they went up into ſome of the chambers under that pretence. It came upon me to go out to them, and as I was going by ſome of them, I ſpoke to them; whereupon they aſked me my name. I readily told them my name, and they laid hold on me, ſaying, I was the man they looked for, and led me away to Ulverſtone. There they kept me all night at the conſtable's, and ſet a guard of fifteen or ſixteen men to watch me; ſome of whom ſate in the chimney, for fear I ſhould go up the chimney: ſuch dark imaginations poſſeſſed them. They were very rude and uncivil to me, and would neither ſuffer me to ſpeak to friends, nor friends to bring me neceſſaries; but with violence thruſt them out, and kept a ſtrong guard upon me. Very wicked and rude they were, and a great noiſe they made about me. One of the conſtables, whoſe name was Aſhburnham, ſaid, 'He 'did not think a thouſand men could have taken me.' Another of the conſtables, whoſe name was Mount, a very wicked man, ſaid, 'He 'would have ſerved judge Fell himſelf ſo, if he had been alive, and 'he had a warrant for him.' Next morning, about the ſixth hour, I Swarthmore. G. F. taken priſoner. Ulverſtone.

1660. Ulverſtone. was putting on my boots and ſpurs to go with them before ſome juſtice; but they pulled off my ſpurs, took my knife out of my pocket, and haſted me away along the town, with a party of horſe and abundance of people, not ſuffering me to ſtay till my own horſe came down. When I was gone about a quarter of a mile with them, ſome friends, with Margaret Fell and her children, came towards me, and then a great party of horſe gathered about me in a mad rage and fury, crying out, 'Will they reſcue him! will they reſcue 'him!' Whereupon I ſaid, 'Here is my hair, here is my back, 'here are my cheeks, ſtrike on!' Upon which their heat was a little aſſwaged. Then they brought a little horſe, and two of them took up one of my legs and put my foot in the ſtirrup, and two or three lifting over my other leg, ſet me upon the little horſe, behind the ſaddle, and ſo led the horſe by the halter, but I had nothing to hold by. When they were come a pretty way out of the town, they beat the little horſe, and made him kick and gallop; whereupon I ſlipped off him, and told them, 'They ſhould not abuſe the crea-'ture.' They were much enraged at my getting off, and took me by the legs and feet, and ſet me upon the ſame horſe behind the ſaddle again, and led the horſe about two miles, till we came to a great water called Carter-ford. By this time my own horſe was come to us, and the water being deep, and their little horſe ſcarce able to cary me through, they let me get upon my own horſe thro' the perſuaſion of ſome of their own company, they leading him through the water. One wicked fellow 'kneeled down, and lifting 'up his hands bleſſed God that I was taken.' When I was come over the ſands, I told them I had heard I had liberty to chooſe what juſtice I would go before; but the conſtables cried, 'No, I ſhould 'not.' They led me to Lancaſter, about fourteen miles, and a great triumph they thought to have had; but as they led me I was moved to 'ſing praiſes to the Lord, in his triumphing power 'over all.' When I was come to Lancaſter, the ſpirits of the people being mightily up, I ſtood and looked earneſtly upon them, and they cried, 'Look at his eyes!' After a while I ſpoke to them, and they were pretty ſober. Then came a young man who took me to his houſe, and after a little time the officers had me to major Porter's, the juſtice who had ſent the warrant againſt me, who had ſeveral others with him. When I came in, I ſaid, 'Peace be amongſt 'you.' Porter aſked me, 'Why I came into the country that 'troubleſome time?' I told him, 'To viſit my brethren.' But ſaid he, 'You have great meetings up and down.' I told him tho' we had, our meetings were known throughout the nation to be peaceable, and we were a peaceable people. He ſaid, 'We ſaw the 'devil in people's faces.' I told him, 'If I ſaw a drunkard, or a 'ſwearer, or a peeviſh heady man, I could not ſay I ſaw the Spirit 'of God in him.' And I aſked him, 'If he could ſee the Spirit 'of God?' He ſaid, 'We cried againſt their miniſters.' I told him, While we were as Saul, ſitting under the prieſts, and running up and down with their packets of letters, we were never called peſtilent fellows nor makers of ſects; but when we were come to exerciſe our conſciences towards God and man, we were called peſti-

Carter-ford.

Lancaſter.

lent fellows, as Paul was. He ſaid, We could expreſs ourſelves well enough, and he would not diſpute with me; but he would reſtrain me. I deſired to know, 'for what, and by whoſe order he ſent his 'warrant for me;' and complained to him of the abuſe of the conſtables and other officers after they had taken me, and in their bringing me thither. He would not take notice of that, but told me, 'He had an order, but would not let me ſee it; for he would not 'reveal the king's ſecrets;' and beſides, 'a priſoner,' he ſaid, 'was not to ſee for what he was committed.' I told him, that was not reaſon; for how ſhould he make his defence then? I ſaid I ought to have a copy of it. But he ſaid, There was a judge once, 'that fined one for letting a priſoner have a copy of his mittimus; 'and,' ſaid he, 'I have an old clerk, though I am a young juſtice.' Then he called to his clerk, ſaying, 'Is it not ready yet? Bring 'it;' meaning the mittimus. But it not being ready, he told me I was a diſturber of the nation. I told him, I had been a bleſſing to the nation, in and through the Lord's power and truth, and the Spirit of God in all conſciences would anſwer it. Then he charged me as an 'enemy to the king, that I endeavoured to raiſe a new war, and 'imbrue the nation in blood again.' I told him I had never learned the poſtures of war, but was clear and innocent as a child concerning thoſe things; and therefore was bold. Then came the clerk with the mittimus, and the gaoler was ſent for and commanded to take me, put me into the Dark-houſe, and let none come at me, but keep me there cloſe priſoner till I ſhould be delivered by the king or parliament. Then the juſtice aſked the conſtables where my horſe was? 'For I hear,' ſaid he, 'he hath a good horſe; have ye 'brought his horſe?' I told him where my horſe was, but he did not meddle with him. As they had me to the gaol the conſtable gave me my knife again, and then aſked me to give it him: I told him, Nay; he had not been ſo civil to me. So they put me into the gaol, and the under-gaoler, one Hardy, a very wicked man, was exceeding rude and cruel, and many times would not let me have meat brought in, but as I could get it under the door. Many came to look at me, ſome in a rage, and very uncivil and rude. One time there came two young prieſts, and very abuſive they were; the meaneſt people could not be worſe. Amongſt thoſe that came in this manner, old Preſton's wife of Howker was one. She uſed many abuſive words to me, telling me, my 'tongue ſhould be cut out,' and that 'I ſhould be hanged;' ſhewing me the gallows. But the Lord God cut her off, and ſhe died in a miſerable condition.

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Being cloſe priſoner in the common gaol at Lancaſter, I deſired Thomas Cummins and Thomas Green to go to the gaoler, and deſire a copy of my mittimus, that I might know what I ſtood committed for. They went; and the gaoler anſwered, 'He could not 'give a copy of it, for another had been fined for ſo doing;' but he gave them liberty to read it over. To the beſt of their remembrance, the matters therein charged againſt me were, 'That I was a perſon 'generally ſuſpected to be a common diſturber of the peace of the 'nation, an enemy to the king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers 'ſect; and that I, together with many of my fanatick opinion, have

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'of late endeavoured to raiſe inſurrections in theſe parts of the coun-
'try, and imbroil the whole country in blood. Wherefore the
'gaoler was commanded to keep me in ſafe cuſtody, till I ſhould
'be releaſed by order from the king or parliament.'

When I had thus got the heads of the charge contained in the mittimus, I wrote a plain, downright anſwer, in vindication of my innocency to each particular; as followeth:

'I AM a priſoner at Lancaſter, committed by juſtice Porter. A
'copy of the mittimus I cannot get; but ſuch expreſſions I am
'told are in it as are very untrue. As that I am "generally ſuſ-
"pected to be a common diſturber of the nation's peace, an enemy
"to the king, and that I, with others, ſhould endeavour to raiſe
"inſurrections, to imbroil the nation in blood." All which is ut-
'terly falſe; and I do, in every part thereof, deny it. For I am
'not a perſon generally ſuſpected to be a diſturber of the nation's
'peace, nor have given any cauſe for ſuch ſuſpicion; for through
'the nation I have been tried for theſe things formerly. In the days
'of Oliver I was taken up on pretence of raiſing arms againſt him,
'which was alſo falſe; for I meddled not with raiſing arms at all.
'Yet I was then carried up priſoner to London, and brought before
'him; when I cleared myſelf, and denied the drawing of a carnal
'weapon againſt him, or any man upon the earth; for my weapons
'are ſpiritual, which take away the occaſion of war, and lead into
'peace. Upon my declaring this to Oliver, I was ſet at liberty by
'him. After this I was taken, and ſent to priſon by major Ceely,
'in Cornwall, who, when I was brought before the judge, informed
'againſt me, "That I took him aſide, and told him, that I could
"raiſe forty thouſand men in an hour's time to involve the nation
"in blood, and bring in king Charles." This alſo was utterly falſe,
'a lie of his own inventing, as was then proved upon him; for I
'never ſpoke any ſuch word to him. I never was in any plot, I
'never took any engagement or oath, nor ever learned war-poſture.
'As thoſe were falſe charges againſt me then, ſo are theſe now
'which come from major Porter, who is lately appointed to be juſ-
'tice, but wanted power formerly to exerciſe his cruelty againſt us;
'which is but the wickedneſs of the old enemy. For the peace of
'the nation I am not a diſturber of, nor ever was; but ſeek the
'peace thereof, and of all men, and ſtand for all nations peace and
'men's peace upon the earth, and wiſh that all nations and men
'knew my innocency in theſe things.

'And whereas major Porter ſaith, I am an "enemy to the king,"
'this is falſe; for my love is to "him and to all men," even though
'they be enemies to God, to themſelves, and me. And I can ſay, It is
'of the Lord that he is come in, to bring down many unrighteouſly
'ſet up; of which I had a ſight three years before he came in. It
'is much he ſhould ſay I am an enemy to the king; for I have
'no reaſon ſo to be, he having done nothing againſt me. But I
'have been often impriſoned and perſecuted theſe eleven or twelve
'years by thoſe that have been both againſt the king and his father,
'even the party that Porter was made a major by and bore arms
'for;

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'for; but not by them that were for the king. I was never an 'enemy to the king, nor to any man's perſon upon the earth. I 'am in the love that fulfils the law, which thinks no evil, but loves 'even enemies; and would have the king ſaved, and come to the 'knowledge of the truth, and be brought into the fear of the Lord; 'to receive his wiſdom from above, by which all things were made 'and created; that with that wiſdom he may order all things to the 'glory of God.

'Whereas he calleth me, "A chief upholder of the Quaker's "ſect," I anſwer: the Quakers are not a ſect, but are in the power 'of God, which was before ſects were, and witneſs the election be-'fore the world began, and are come to live in the life which the 'prophets and apoſtles lived in who gave forth the ſcriptures; there-'fore are we hated by envious, wrathful, wicked, perſecuting men. 'But God is the upholder of us all by his mighty power, and pre-'ſerves us from the wrath of the wicked that would ſwallow us up.

'And whereas he ſaith, "That I, together with others of my "fanatick opinion," as he calls it, "have of late endeavoured to "raiſe inſurrections, and to imbroil the whole kingdom in blood:" 'This is altogether falſe; to theſe things I am as a child, and know 'nothing of them. The poſtures of war I never learned; my wea-'pons are ſpiritual and not carnal, for with carnal weapons I do not 'fight. I am a follower of him who ſaid, "My kingdom is not "of this world." And though theſe lies and ſlanders are raiſed 'upon me, I deny drawing of any carnal weapon againſt the king 'or parliament, or any man upon the earth; for I am come to the 'end of the law, "to love enemies, and wreſtle not with fleſh and "blood;" but am in that which ſaves men's lives. A witneſs I am 'againſt all murderers, plotters, and all ſuch as would "imbrue the "nation in blood;" for it is not in my heart to have any man's life 'deſtroyed. And as for the word fanatick, which ſignifies furious, 'fooliſh, mad, &c. he might have conſidered himſelf before he had 'uſed that word, and have learned the humility which goes before 'honour. We are not furious, fooliſh, or mad; but through pa-'tience and meekneſs have borne lies, ſlanders, and perſecutions many 'years, and have undergone great ſufferings. The ſpiritual man, 'that wreſtles not with fleſh and blood, and the Spirit that reproves 'ſin in the gate, which is the Spirit of truth, wiſdom, and ſound 'judgment, is not mad, fooliſh, furious, which fanatick ſignifies; 'but all are of a mad, furious, fooliſh ſpirit, that wreſtle with 'fleſh and blood, with carnal weapons, in their furiouſneſs, fool-'iſhneſs, and rage. This is not the Spirit of God, but of error, 'that perſecutes in a mad, blind, zeal, like Nebuchadnezzar and 'Saul.

'Inaſmuch as I am ordered to be kept priſoner till I be delivered 'by order from the king or parliament, therefore I have written 'theſe things to be laid before you, the king and parliament, that 'ye may conſider of them before ye act any thing therein; that ye 'may weigh, in the wiſdom of God, the intent and end of men's 'ſpirits, leſt ye act the thing that will bring the hand of the Lord 'upon you and againſt you, as many have done before you who

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'have been in authority, whom God hath overthrown. In him we 'truſt whom we fear and cry unto day and night, who hath heard 'us, doth hear us, and will hear us, and avenge our cauſe. Much 'innocent blood hath been ſhed. Many have been perſecuted to 'death by ſuch as were in authority before you, whom God hath 'vomited out becauſe they turned againſt the juſt. Therefore con-'ſider your ſtanding now that ye have the day, and receive this as a 'warning of love to you,

'From an innocent ſufferer in bonds, and cloſe priſoner in 'Lancaſter caſtle, called

George Fox.

Upon my being taken, and forcibly carried away from Margaret Fell's, and charged with things of ſo high a nature, ſhe was concerned, looking upon it to be an injury offered to her. Whereupon ſhe wrote the following lines, and ſent them abroad, directed thus:

'To all magiſtrates concerning the wrong taking up and impriſon-'ing George Fox at Lancaſter.

'I DO inform the governors of this nation, that Henry Porter, 'mayor of Lancaſter, ſent a warrant with four conſtables to my 'houſe, for which he had no authority nor order. They ſearched 'my houſe, and apprehended George Fox in it, who was not guilty 'of the breach of any law, or of any offence againſt any in the na-'tion. After they had taken him and brought him before the ſaid 'Henry Porter, bail was offered what he would demand for his ap-'pearance, to anſwer what could be laid to his charge; but he (con-'trary to law, if he had taken him lawfully) denied to accept of any 'bail, and clapped him up in cloſe priſon. After he was in priſon 'a copy of his mittimus was demanded, which ought not to be de-'nied to any priſoner, that he may ſee what is laid to his charge; 'but it was denied him; a copy he could not have, only they were 'ſuffered to read it over. Every thing there charged againſt him was 'utterly falſe; he was not guilty of any one charge in it, as will be 'proved and manifeſted to the nation. Let the governors conſider 'of it. I am concerned in this thing, inaſmuch as he was appre-'hended in my houſe; and if he be guilty, I am ſo too. I deſire to 'have this ſearched out. 'Margaret Fell.'

After this Margaret Fell determined to go to London to ſpeak with the king about my being taken, to ſhew him the manner of it, and the unjuſt dealing and evil uſage I had received. Which when juſtice Porter heard of, he vapoured that he would go and meet her in the gap. But when he came before the king, he having been a zealous man for the parliament againſt the king, ſeveral courtiers ſpoke to him concerning his plundering their houſes; ſo he had quickly enough of the court, and returned into the country. Mean while the gaoler ſeemed very fearful, and ſaid, He was afraid major Porter would hang him becauſe he had not put me in the Dark-houſe. But when the gaoler went to wait on him, after he was come from London, he

was very blank and down, and aſked 'how I did?' pretending he would find a way to ſet me at liberty. But having overſhot himſelf in his mittimus, by ordering me 'to be kept priſoner till I ſhould be 'delivered by the king or parliament,' he had put it out of his power to releaſe me if he would. He was the more dejected alſo upon reading a letter which I ſent him; for when he was in the height of his rage and threats againſt me, and thought to ingratiate himſelf into the king's favour by impriſoning me, I was moved to write to him, and put him in mind, 'How fierce he had been 'againſt the king and his party, though now he would be thought 'zealous for the king.' Among other paſſages in my letter, I called to his remembrance, that when he held Lancaſter caſtle for the parliament againſt the king, he was ſo rough and fierce againſt thoſe that favoured the king, that he ſaid, 'He would leave them neither 'dog nor cat if they did not bring him proviſion to his caſtle.' I aſked him alſo, 'Whoſe great bucks horns thoſe were that were in 'his houſe? and where he had them and the wainſcot that he cieled 'his houſe withal? Had he not them from Hornby-caſtle?'

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About this time Ann Curtis, of Reading, came to ſee me; and underſtanding how I ſtood committed, it was upon her alſo to go to the king about it. Her father, who had been ſheriff of Briſtol, was hanged near his own door for endeavouring to bring the king in; upon which conſideration ſhe had ſome hopes the king might hear her on my behalf. Accordingly, when ſhe returned to London, ſhe and Margaret Fell went to the king together; who, when he underſtood whoſe daughter ſhe was, received her kindly. And her requeſt to him being 'to ſend for me up, and hear the cauſe him-'ſelf,' he promiſed her he would, and commanded his ſecretary to ſend an order for bringing me up. But when they came to the ſecretary for the order, he ſaid, 'It was not in his power; he muſt go 'according to law; and I muſt be brought up by an Habeas Corpus 'before the judges.' So he wrote to the judge of the king's bench, ſignifying it was the king's pleaſure I ſhould be ſent up by an Habeas Corpus. Accordingly a writ was ſent, and delivered to the ſheriff; but becauſe it was directed to the chancellor of Lancaſter, the ſheriff put it off to him; on the other hand the chancellor would not make the warrant upon it, but ſaid the ſheriff muſt do that. At length both chancellor and ſheriff were got together; but being both enemies to truth they ſought occaſion for delay, and found an error in the writ, which was, that being directed to the chancellor, it ſaid, 'George Fox in priſon under YOUR cuſtody,' whereas the priſon I was in was not in the chancellor's cuſtody but the ſheriff's; ſo the word YOUR ſhould have been HIS. Upon this they returned the writ to London again, only to have that one word altered. When it was altered and brought down again, the ſheriff refuſed to carry me up, unleſs I would ſeal a writing to him, and become bound to pay for the ſealing and the charge of carrying me up: which I denied, telling them, I would not ſeal any thing to them, nor be bound. So the matter reſted a while, and I continued in priſon. Mean while the aſſize came on; but as there was a writ for removing me up, I was not brought before the judge. At the aſſize many came

to

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to ſee me. I was moved to ſpeak out of the gaol-window to them, and ſhew them, 'How uncertain their religion was, and that every 'ſort, when uppermoſt, had perſecuted the reſt. When popery 'was uppermoſt, people had been perſecuted for not following the 'maſs; and thoſe who held it up cried, "It was the higher power," 'and people muſt be ſubject to the higher power. Afterwards they 'that ſet up the Common Prayer perſecuted others for not follow-'ing that; ſaying, "It was the higher power, and we muſt be "ſubject to that." Since that, the Preſbyterians and Independents 'cried each of them, "We muſt be ſubject to the higher power, "and ſubmit to the directory of the one and the church-faith of the "other." Thus all, like the apoſtate Jews, have cried, "Help, "men of Iſrael, againſt the true Chriſtians." So people might ſee 'how uncertain they are of their religions. But I directed them to 'Chriſt Jeſus, that they might be built upon him, the Rock and 'Foundation, that changeth not.' Much on this wiſe I declared to them, and they were quiet and very attentive. Afterwards I gave forth a little paper concerning True Religion, as followeth:

'TRUE Religion is the true rule and right way of ſerving God. 'And religion is a pure ſtream of righteouſneſs, flowing from 'the image of God, and is the life and power of God planted in 'the heart and mind by the law of life, which bringeth the ſoul, 'mind, ſpirit, and body to be conformable to God, the Father of 'Spirits, and to Chriſt; ſo that they come to have fellowſhip with 'the Father and the Son, and with all his holy angels and ſaints. 'This religion is pure from above, undefiled before God, leads to 'viſit the fatherleſs, widows, and ſtrangers, and keeps from the 'ſpots of the world. This religion is above all the defiled, ſpotted 'religions in the world, that keep not from defilements and ſpots, 'but leave their profeſſors impure, below, and ſpotted; whoſe fa-'therleſs, widows, and ſtrangers, beg up and down the ſtreets.

'G. F.'

Soon after this I gave forth another againſt perſecution, on this wiſe:

'THE Papiſts, Common-prayer-men, Preſbyterians, Indepen-'dents, and Baptiſts perſecute one another about their own in-'ventions, their Maſs, their Common-prayer, their Directory, their 'Church-faith, which they have made and framed, and not for the 'truth; for they know not what ſpirit they are of, who perſecute, 'and would have men's lives deſtroyed about church-worſhip and 'religion, as Chriſt ſaith, who alſo ſaid, "He came not to deſtroy "men's lives, but to ſave them." They that know not what ſpirit 'they are of, but will perſecute and deſtroy men's lives, and not 'ſave them, we cannot truſt our bodies, ſouls, nor ſpirits in their 'hands; they know not what ſpirit they are of themſelves, there-'fore they are not fit to be truſted with others. They would de-'ſtroy by a law, as the diſciples once would have done by prayer,

'who

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‘ who would have commanded “ fire to come down from heaven,” ‘ to deſtroy them that would not receive Chriſt. But Chriſt rebuked ‘ them, and told them, “ They knew not what ſpirit they are “ of.” If they did not know what ſpirit they were of; do theſe ‘ who have perſecuted about religion ſince the apoſtles days, who ‘ would compel men's bodies, goods, lives, ſouls, and eſtates into ‘ their hands by law, or make them ſuffer? Thoſe that deſtroy ‘ men's lives are not the miniſters of Chriſt, the Saviour; and ſee- ‘ ing they know not what ſpirit they are of, the lives, bodies, and ‘ ſouls of men are not to be truſted in their hands. And ye that ‘ perſecute ſhall have no reſurrection to life with God, except ye re- ‘ pent. But they that know what ſpirit they are of themſelves are in ‘ the unrebukeable zeal, and by the Spirit of God they offer up ‘ their ſpirits, ſouls, and bodies to the Lord, which are his, to keep ‘ them.

‘ G. F.’

While I was kept in Lancaſter gaol, I was moved to give forth the following paper, ‘ For ſtaying the minds of any ſuch as might be ‘ hurried or troubled about the change of government.’

‘ All friends,

‘ LET the dread and majeſty of God fill you! Concerning the ‘ changing of times and governments, let not that trouble any of ‘ you; for God hath a mighty work and hand therein. He will ‘ yet change again, until that come up which muſt reign, and in ‘ vain ſhall powers and armies withſtand the Lord; for his de- ‘ termined work ſhall come to paſs. But what is now come up, it ‘ is juſt with the Lord that it ſhould be ſo, and he will be ſerved ‘ by it. Therefore let none murmur, nor diſtruſt God; for he will ‘ provoke many to zeal againſt unrighteouſneſs, and for righteouſ- ‘ neſs, through things which are ſuffered now to work for a ſeaſon: ‘ yea many, whoſe zeal has been even dead, ſhall revive again, and ‘ they ſhall ſee their backſlidings and bewail them bitterly. For “ God ſhall thunder from heaven, and break forth in a mighty “ noiſe; his enemies ſhall be aſtoniſhed, the workers of iniquity “ confounded, and all that have not on the garment of righteouſneſs “ ſhall be amazed at the mighty and ſtrange work of the Lord, which “ ſhall be certainly brought to paſs.” But my children, look ye not ‘ out, but be ſtill in the light of the Lamb, and he ſhall fight for ‘ you. The Almighty Hand, which muſt break and divide your ‘ enemies, and take away peace from them, preſerve and keep you ‘ whole, in unity and peace with himſelf, and one with another. ‘ Amen.

‘ G. F.’

I was moved alſo to write to the king, to ‘ exhort him to exer- ‘ciſe mercy and forgiveneſs towards his enemies, and to warn him ‘ to reſtrain the prophaneneſs and looſeneſs that was got up in the ‘ nation upon his return.’

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To the KING.

'King Charles,

'THOU cameſt not into this nation by ſword, nor by victory of war, but by the power of the Lord. Now if thou doſt not live in it, thou wilt not proſper. If the Lord hath ſhewed thee mercy and forgiven thee, and thou doſt not ſhew mercy and forgive, God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee. If thou doſt not ſtop perſecution and perſecutors, and take away all laws that hold up perſecution about religion; if thou perſiſt in them, and uphold perſecution, that will make thee as blind as thoſe that have gone before thee: for perſecution hath always blinded thoſe that have gone into it. Such God by his power overthrows, doth his valiant acts upon, and bringeth ſalvation to his oppreſſed ones. If thou bear the ſword in vain, and let drunkenneſs, oaths, plays, may-games, with ſuch like abominations and vanities be encouraged or go unpuniſhed, as ſetting up of May-poles, with the image of the crown atop of them, &c. the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord till he overthrew them; and ſo he will you, if theſe things be not ſuppreſſed. Hardly was there ſo much wickedneſs at liberty before as there is at this day, as though there was no terror nor ſword of magiſtracy; which doth not grace a government, nor is a praiſe to them that do well. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life, in which we have peace, and that we may not be brought into ungodlineſs by them. Hear and conſider, and do good in thy time, whilſt thou haſt power; be merciful and forgive; that is the way to overcome and obtain the kingdom of Chriſt.

'G. F.'

It was long before the ſheriff would yield to remove me to London, unleſs I would ſeal a bond to him, and bear their charges; which I ſtill refuſed to do. Then they conſulted how to convey me up, and firſt concluded to ſend up a party of horſe with me. I told them, 'If I were ſuch a man as they had repreſented me to be, they 'had need ſend a troop or two of horſe to guard me.' When they conſidered what a charge it would be to them to ſend up a party of horſe with me, they altered their purpoſe, and concluded to ſend me up guarded only by the gaoler and ſome bailiffs. But upon farther conſideration they found that would be a great charge to them alſo, and therefore ſent for me to the gaoler's houſe, and told me, if I would put in bail that I would be in London ſuch a day of the term, I ſhould have leave to go up with ſome of my own friends. I told them I would neither put in bail, nor give one piece of ſilver to the gaoler; for I was an innocent man, they had impriſoned me wrongfully, and laid a falſe charge upon me. Nevertheleſs I ſaid, If they would let me go up with one or two of my friends to bear me company, I might go up and be in London ſuch a day, if the Lord ſhould permit; and, if they deſired it, I or any of my friends that went

went with me would carry up their charge againſt myſelf. When they ſaw they could do no otherwiſe with me, the ſheriff conſented that 'I ſhould come up with ſome of my friends, without any other 'engagement than my word, to appear before the judges at London 'ſuch a day of the term, if the Lord ſhould permit.' Whereupon I was let out of priſon, and went to Swarthmore, where I ſtaid two or three days; and from thence went to Lancaſter, and ſo to Preſton, having meetings amongſt friends till I came into Cheſhire, to William Gandy's, where was a large meeting without doors, the houſe not being ſufficient to contain it. That day the Lord's everlaſting ſeed was ſet over all, and friends were turned to it, who is the heir of the promiſe. Thence I came into Staffordſhire and Warwickſhire, to Antony Bickliff's, and at Non-eaton, at a prieſt's widow's houſe, we had a bleſſed meeting, wherein the everlaſting word of life was powerfully declared, and many ſettled in it. Then travelling on, viſiting friends meetings, in about three weeks time from my coming out of priſon, I reached London, Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Withers being with me.

1660. Lancaſter caſtle. Swarthmore. Lancaſter. Preſton. Cheſhire. Staffordſhire. Warwickſh. Non eaton. London.

When we came to Charing-croſs, multitudes of people were gathered together to ſee the burning of the bowels of ſome of the old king's judges, who had been hanged, drawn, and quartered.

We went next morning to judge Mallet's chamber, who was putting on his gown to ſit upon more of the king's judges. He was then very peeviſh and froward, and ſaid, I might come another time. We went another time to his chamber, when judge Foſter was with him, who was called Lord Chief Juſtice of England. With me was one called Eſquire Marſh, one of the bed-chamber to the king. When we had delivered to the judges the charge againſt me, and they had read to thoſe words, 'That I and my friends were im-'broiling the nation in blood,' &c. they ſtruck their hands on the table. Whereupon I told them, 'I was the man whom that charge 'was againſt, but I was as innocent of any ſuch thing as a new-'born child, and had brought it up myſelf; and ſome of my friends 'came up with me, without any guard.' As yet they had not minded my hat; but now, ſeeing my hat on, they ſaid, 'What, 'did I ſtand with my hat on!' I told them I did not ſtand ſo in any contempt of them. Then they commanded one to take it off; and when they had called for the marſhal of the king's bench, they ſaid to him, You muſt take this man and ſecure him, but you muſt let him have a chamber, and not put him amongſt the priſoners. My Lord, ſaid the marſhal, I have no chamber to put him into; my houſe is ſo full that I cannot tell where to provide for him but amongſt the priſoners. Nay, ſaid the judges, you muſt not put him amongſt the priſoners. But when he ſtill anſwered, he had no other place to put me in, judge Foſter ſaid to me, 'Will you appear to-'morrow, about ten of the clock, at the king's bench bar in Weſt-'minſter-hall?' I ſaid, 'Yes, if the Lord give me ſtrength.' Then ſaid judge Foſter to the other judge, 'If he ſays yes, and pro-'miſes it, you may take his word.' So I was diſmiſſed. The next day I appeared at the king's bench bar at the hour appointed, Robert Withers, Richard Hubberthorn, and Eſquire Marſh going with me.

King's bench bar.

I was

1660. King's bench bar. I was brought into the middle of the court, and as ſoon as I came in I was moved to look about, and turning to the people, ſaid, 'Peace be among you;' and the power of the Lord ſprang over the court. The charge againſt me was read openly. The people were moderate, and the judges cool and loving; and the Lord's mercy was to them. But when they came to that part of it which ſaid, 'That I and my friends were imbroiling the nation in blood and 'raiſing a new war, and that I was an enemy to the king,' &c. they lifted up their hands. Then, ſtretching out my arms, I ſaid, 'I am the man whom that charge is againſt, but I am as innocent 'as a child concerning the charge, and have never learned any war 'poſtures. And, ſaid I, do ye think, that if I and my friends were 'ſuch men as the charge declares, that I ſhould have brought it up 'myſelf againſt myſelf? Or that I ſhould be ſuffered to come up 'with one or two of my friends with me? Had I been ſuch a man 'as this charge ſets forth, I had need to have been guarded up with 'a troop or two of horſe. But the ſheriff and magiſtrates of Lan-'caſhire thought fit to let me and my friends come up with it our-'ſelves, almoſt two hundred miles, without any guard at all; which, 'you may be ſure, they would not have done if they had looked 'upon me to be ſuch a man.' The judge aſked me, Whether it ſhould be filed? or what I would do with it? I anſwered, Ye are judges, and able, I hope, to judge in this matter; therefore do with it what ye will; for I am the man theſe charges are againſt, and here ye ſee I have brought them up myſelf. Do ye what ye will with them, I leave it to you. Then judge Twiſden beginning to ſpeak ſome angry words, I appealed to judge Foſter and judge Mallet, who had heard me over-night. Whereupon they ſaid, 'They did 'not accuſe me, for they had nothing againſt me.' Then ſtood up 'ſquire Marſh, and told the judges, 'It was the king's pleaſure that 'I ſhould be ſet at liberty, ſeeing no accuſer came up againſt me.' They aſked me, 'Whether I would put it to the king and council?' I ſaid, 'Yes, with a good-will.' Thereupon they ſent the ſheriff's return, which he made to the writ of Habeas Corpus, containing the matter charged againſt me in the mittimus, to the king, that he might ſee for what I was committed. The return of the ſheriff of Lancaſter was thus:

'BY virtue of his majeſty's writ to me directed, and hereunto an-'nexed, I certify, That before the receipt of the ſaid writ, 'George Fox, in the ſaid writ mentioned, was committed to his 'majeſty's gaol at the caſtle of Lancaſter, in my cuſtody, by a war-'rant from Henry Porter, Eſquire, one of his majeſty's juſtices of 'peace within the county palatine aforeſaid, bearing date the fifth of 'June now laſt paſt; for that he, the ſaid George Fox, was gene-'rally ſuſpected to be a common diſturber of the peace of this na-'tion, an enemy to our ſovereign Lord the king, and a chief up-'holder of the Quakers ſect; and that he, together with others of 'his fanatick opinion, have of late endeavoured to make inſurrec-'tions in theſe parts of the country, and to imbroil the whole king-'dom in blood. And this is the cauſe of his taking and detaining.

'Never-

1660. King's bench bar.

'Nevertheleſs, the body of the ſaid George Fox I have ready before 'Thomas Mallet, knight, one of his majeſty's juſtices, aſſigned to 'hold pleas before his majeſty, at his chamber in Serjeants-inn, in 'Fleet-ſtreet, to do and receive thoſe things which his majeſty's ſaid 'juſtice ſhall determine concerning him in this behalf, as by the 'aforeſaid writ is required.

'George Chetham, eſquire, ſheriff.'

Upon peruſal of this, and conſideration of the whole matter, the king, being ſatisfied of my innocency, commanded his ſecretary to ſend an order to judge Mallet for my releaſe; which the ſecretary did, thus:

'IT is his majeſty's pleaſure, That you give your order for the releaſing and ſetting at full liberty the perſon of George Fox, late 'a priſoner in Lancaſter gaol, and commanded hither by an Habeas 'Corpus. And this ſignification of his majeſty's pleaſure ſhall be 'your ſufficient warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the 24th of October 1660.

'Edward Nicholas.'

'For Sir Thomas Mallet, knight, one
'of the juſtices of the king's bench.'

When this order was delivered to judge Mallet, he forthwith ſent his warrant to the marſhal of the king's bench for my releaſe; which warrant was thus worded:

'BY virtue of a warrant which this morning I have received from 'the Right Honourable Sir Edward Nicholas, knight, one of 'his majeſty's principal ſecretaries, for the releaſing and ſetting at 'liberty of George Fox, late a priſoner in Lancaſter gaol, and from 'thence brought hither by Habeas Corpus, and yeſterday com-'mitted unto your cuſtody; I do hereby require you accordingly to 'releaſe and ſet the ſaid priſoner George Fox at liberty: for which 'this ſhall be your warrant and diſcharge. Given under my hand the 25th day of October, in the year of our Lord God 1660.

'To Sir John Lenthal, knight,
'marſhal of the king's bench,
'or his deputy.'

'Thomas Mallet.'

London. Thus, after I had been a priſoner ſomewhat more than twenty weeks, I was freely ſet at liberty by the king's command, the Lord's power having wonderfully wrought for the clearing of my innocency, and Porter, who committed me, not daring to appear to make good the charge he had falſly ſuggeſted againſt me. But after it was known I was diſcharged, a company of envious, wicked ſpirits were troubled, and terror took hold of juſtice Porter; for he was afraid I would take the advantage of the law againſt him for my wrong impriſonment, and thereby undo him, his wife, and children. And indeed I was preſſed by ſome in authority to have made

1660. London. him and the reſt examples; but I ſaid, I ſhould leave them to the Lord; if the Lord forgave them I ſhould not trouble myſelf with them.

Now did I ſee the end of the travail which I had in my ſore exerciſe at Reading; for the everlaſting power of the Lord was over all, and his bleſſed truth, life, and light ſhined over the nation, and great and glorious meetings we had, and very quiet; and many flocked unto the truth. Richard Hubberthorn had been with the king, who ſaid, 'None ſhould moleſt us ſo long as we lived peaceably,' and promiſed this upon the word of a king; telling him, we might make uſe of his promiſe. Some friends were alſo admitted in the houſe of Lords, to declare their reaſons, why they could not pay tithes, ſwear, nor go to the ſteeple-houſe-worſhip, or join with others in worſhip; and they heard them moderately. There being about ſeven hundred friends in priſon, who had been committed under Oliver's and Richard's government, upon contempts (ſo called) when the king came in he ſet them all at liberty. There ſeemed at that time an inclination and intention in the government to have granted friends liberty, becauſe they were ſenſible we had ſuffered as well as they under the former powers. But when any thing was going forward in order thereunto, ſome dirty ſpirits or other, that would ſeem to be for us, threw ſomething in the way to ſtop it. It was ſaid there was an inſtrument drawn up for confirming our liberty, which only wanted ſigning; when on a ſudden that wicked attempt of the Fifth-monarchy-people broke out, and put the city and nation in an uproar. This was on a firſt-day night, and very glorious meetings we had that day, wherein the Lord's truth ſhined over all, and his power was exalted above all; but about midnight the drums beat, and the cry was, 'Arm, arm.' I got out of bed, and in the morning took boat, and landing at Whitehall-

Whitehall. ſtairs, walked through Whitehall. They looked ſtrangely at me

Pall mall. there; but I paſſed through, and went to Pall-mall, whither divers friends came to me, though it was now grown dangerous paſſing the ſtreets; for by this time the city and ſuburbs were up in arms, and exceeding rude the people and ſoldiers were; inſomuch that Henry Fell, going to a friend's houſe, the ſoldiers knocked him down, and he had been killed if the duke of York had not come by. Great miſchief was done in the city this week; and when firſt-day came, that friends went to their meetings, many were taken priſoners. I ſtaid at Pall-mall, intending to be at the meeting there; but on the ſeventh-day night a company of troopers came and knocked at the door. The maid letting them in, they ſtrait laid hold of me; and there being amongſt them one, that had ſerved under the parliament, he clapped his hand to my pocket, and aſked, 'Whether I had any 'piſtols?' I told him, He knew I did not uſe to carry piſtols; why did he aſk ſuch a queſtion of me, who he knew to be a peaceable man? Others of the ſoldiers ran up into the chambers, and there found in bed 'ſquire Marſh, who, though he was one of the king's bed-chamber, out of his love to me had come and lodged where I did. When they came down again, they ſaid, 'Why 'ſhould we take this man away with us? We will let him alone.'

Oh!

Oh! ſaid the parliament-ſoldier, he is one of the heads and a chief ring-leader. Upon this the ſoldiers were taking me away; but 'ſquire Marſh hearing of it, ſent for the commander of the party, and deſired him to let me alone, for he would ſee me forth-coming in the morning. In the morning, before they could fetch me, and before the meeting was gathered, there came a company of foot to the houſe, and one of them, drawing his ſword, held it over my head. I aſked him, 'Why he drew his ſword at a naked man?' At which his fellows being aſhamed bid him put up his ſword. Theſe ſoldiers took me away to Whitehall before the troopers came for me. As I was going out ſeveral friends were coming in to the meeting, whoſe boldneſs and chearfulneſs I commended, and encouraged them to perſevere therein. When I was brought to Whitehall, the ſoldiers and people were exceeding rude, yet I declared truth to them; but ſome great perſons coming by, who were very full of envy, 'What,' ſaid they, 'do ye let him preach? Put him into ſuch a place where 'he may not ſtir.' So into that place they put me, and the ſoldiers watched over me. I told them, Though they could confine my body and ſhut that up, they could not ſtop up the word of life. Some thereupon came, and aſked me, 'What I was?' I told them, I was a preacher of righteouſneſs. After I had been kept there two or three hours, 'ſquire Marſh ſpoke to lord Gerrard, who came and bid them ſet me at liberty. The marſhal, when I was diſcharged, demanded fees. I told him, I could not give him any, neither was it our practice. I aſked him, How he could demand fees of me who was innocent? Then I went through the guards, the Lord's power being over them; and after I had declared truth to the ſoldiers, I went up the ſtreets with two Iriſh colonels that came from Whitehall to an inn, where many friends were priſoners under a guard. I deſired thoſe colonels to ſpeak to the guard to let me go in to viſit my friends that were priſoners there; but they would not. Then I ſtept to the centry, and deſired him to let me go up; which he did. While I was there the ſoldiers went to Pall-mall again to ſearch for me; but not finding me they turned towards the inn, and bid all come out that were not priſoners; ſo they went out. But I aſked the ſoldiers within, Whether I might not ſtay a while with my friends? They ſaid, Yes. I ſtaid, and eſcaped their hands again. Towards night I went to Pall-mall, to ſee how it was with friends there, and after went into the city. Great rifling of houſes there was at that time to ſearch for people. I went to a private friend's houſe and Richard Hubberthorn with me. There we drew up a declaration againſt plots and fightings, to be preſented to the king and council; but when we had finiſhed it, and ſent it to the preſs, it was taken in the preſs.

1660. London.

G. F. taken priſoner. Whitehall.

Upon this inſurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men great havock was made both in city and country, ſo that it was dangerous for ſober people to ſtir abroad ſeveral weeks after; and hardly could either men or women go up and down the ſtreets to buy proviſions for their families without being abuſed. In the country they dragged men and women out of their houſes, and ſome ſick men out of their beds by the legs. Nay, one that was in a fever the ſoldiers dragged

out

1660. London. out of his bed to priſon; and when he was brought thither he died. His name was Thomas Patching.

Margaret Fell went to the king, and told him what ſad work there was in the city and nation, and ſhewed him we were an innocent peaceable people, and that we muſt keep our meetings as we uſed to do whatever we ſuffered; but it concerned him to ſee that peace was kept, that no innocent blood might be ſhed.

Now were the priſons every-where filled with friends and others in the city and country, and the poſts were ſo laid for the ſearching of letters, that none could paſs unſearched. We heard of ſeveral thouſands of our friends that were caſt into priſon in ſeveral parts of the nation, and Margaret Fell carried an account of them to the king and council. The next week we had an account of ſeveral thouſands more that were caſt into priſon, and ſhe went and laid them alſo before the king and council. They wondered how we could have ſuch intelligence, ſeeing they had given ſuch ſtrict charge for the intercepting of all letters; but the Lord did ſo order it that we had an account notwithſtanding all their ſtoppings. In the deep ſenſe I had of the grievous ſufferings friends underwent, and of their innocency towards God and man, I was moved to ſend the following epiſtle to them, as a word of conſolation, and to put them upon ſending up their ſufferings.

'My dear friends,

'IN the immortal ſeed of God, which will plead its own innocency, who are inheritors of an everlaſting kingdom, which is incorruptible, and of a world and riches that fade not away, peace and mercy be multiplied amongſt you in all your ſufferings; whoſe backs were not unready, but your hair and cheeks prepared; who never feared ſufferings, as knowing it is your portion in the world, from the foundation of which the Lamb was ſlain; who reigns in his glory, which he had with his Father before the world began. He is your rock in all floods and waves, upon which you can ſtand ſafe, with a chearful countenance, beholding the Lord God of the whole earth on your ſide. So in the ſeed of God, which was before the unrighteous world in which the ſufferings are, live and feed, wherein the bread of life is felt, and no cauſe of complaint of hunger or cold. Friends, your ſufferings all, that are or have been of late in priſon, I would have you ſend up an account of, and how things are amongſt you, that it may be delivered to the king and his council; for things are pretty well here after the ſtorm.

'G. F.'

'London, the 28th of the
'11th month, 1660.'

Having loſt our former declaration in the preſs, we made haſte and drew up another againſt plots and fighting, got it printed, and ſent ſome copies to the king and council; others were ſold up and down the ſtreets, and at the Exchange. Which Declaration was ſome years after reprinted.

1660. London.

'A Declaration from the harmleſs innocent people of God, called 'Quakers, againſt all ſedition, plotters, and fighters in the 'world; for removing the ground of jealouſy and ſuſpicion 'from both magiſtrates and people in the kingdom concerning 'wars and fightings.

'Preſented to the king the 21ſt day of the 11th month, 1660.

'OUR principle is, and our practices have always been to ſeek 'peace and enſue it; to follow after righteouſneſs and the 'knowledge of God; ſeeking the good and welfare, and doing that 'which tends to the peace of all. We know that wars and fightings 'proceed from the luſts of men, as Jam. iv, 1, 2, 3. out of which 'luſts the Lord hath redeemed us, and ſo out of the occaſion of war. 'The occaſion of war and the war itſelf (wherein envious men, who 'are lovers of themſelves more than lovers of God, luſt, kill, and 'deſire to have men's lives or eſtates) ariſeth from the luſt. All 'bloody principles and practices we, as to our own particulars, do 'utterly deny, with all outward wars, ſtrife, and fighting with out-'ward weapons for any end, or under any pretence whatſoever: 'this is our teſtimony to the whole world.

'And whereas it is objected:

'But altho' you now ſay, "That you cannot fight nor take up "arms at all; yet if the Spirit move you, then you will change your "principle, you will ſell your coat and buy a ſword, and fight for "the kingdom of Chriſt.

'To this we anſwer, Chriſt ſaid to Peter, "Put up thy ſword in "his place;" though he had ſaid before, he that had no ſword 'might ſell his coat and buy one (to the fulfilling of the law and the 'ſcripture) yet after, when he had bid him put it up, he ſaid, "He "that taketh the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword." And Chriſt 'ſaid to Pilate, "Thinkeſt thou, that I cannot now pray to my "Father, and he ſhall preſently give me more than twelve legions "of angels?" And this might ſatisfy Peter, Luke xxii. 36. after 'he had put up his ſword, when he ſaid to him, "He that took it, "ſhould periſh by it;" which ſatisfieth us, Mat. xxvi. 51, 52, 53. 'In the Revelations it is ſaid, "He that kills with the ſword ſhall "periſh with the ſword; and here is the faith and the patience of "the ſaints." So Chriſt's kingdom is not of this world, therefore 'do not his ſervants fight, as he told Pilate, the magiſtrate who 'crucified him. And did they not look upon Chriſt as a raiſer of ſe-'dition? and did not he pray, "Forgive them?" But thus it is that 'we are numbered amongſt tranſgreſſors, and amongſt fighters, that 'the ſcriptures might be fulfilled.

'That the Spirit of Chriſt, by which we are guided, is not 'changeable, ſo as once to command us from a thing, as evil, and 'again to move unto it. We certainly know and teſtify to the 'world, That the Spirit of Chriſt, which leads us into all truth, 'will never move us to fight and war againſt any man with out-'ward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Chriſt nor for the 'kingdoms of this world.

1660. London.

'First, Becauſe the kingdom of Chriſt God will exalt, according 'to his promiſe, and cauſe it to grow and flouriſh in righteouſneſs, "Not by might, nor by power (of outward ſword) but by my "Spirit, ſaith the Lord," Zech. iv. 6. So thoſe that uſe any wea-'pon to fight for Chriſt, or for the eſtabliſhing of his kingdom or 'government, their ſpirit, principle, and practice we deny.

'Secondly, We earneſtly deſire and wait, that (by the word of 'God's power, and its effectual operation in the hearts of men) the 'kingdoms of this world may become the kingdoms of the Lord, 'and of his Chriſt; and that he may rule and reign in men by his 'Spirit and truth; that thereby all people, out of all different 'judgments and profeſſions, may be brought into love and unity 'with God, and one with another; and that all may come to wit-'neſs the prophet's words fulfilled, who ſaid, "Nation ſhall not "lift up ſword againſt nation, neither ſhall they learn war any "more," Iſa. ii. 4. Mich. iv. 3.

'Since we, whom the Lord hath called into the obedience of his 'truth, have denied wars and fightings, and cannot any more learn 'them. This is a certain teſtimony unto all the world of the truth 'of our hearts in this particular, that as God perſuadeth every 'man's heart to believe, ſo they may receive it. For we have not, 'as ſome others, gone about cunningly with deviſed fables, nor have 'we ever denied in practice what we have profeſſed in principle; 'but in ſincerity and truth, and by the word of God, have we la-'boured to be made manifeſt unto all men, that both we and our 'ways might be witneſſed in the hearts of all. And whereas all 'manner of evil hath been falſely ſpoken of us, we hereby ſpeak 'the plain truth of our hearts, to take away the occaſion of that 'offence, that ſo we, being innocent, may not ſuffer for other 'men's offences, nor be made a prey of by the wills of men for that 'of which we were never guilty; but in the uprightneſs of our 'hearts we may, under the power ordained of God for the puniſh-'ment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well, live a 'peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty. For although we have 'always ſuffered, and do now more abundantly ſuffer, yet we know 'it is for righteouſneſs ſake: "For our rejoicing is this, the teſti-"mony of our conſciences, that in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity, "not with fleſhly wiſdom, but by the grace of God, we have had "our converſation in the world," 2 Cor. i. 12. which for us is a 'witneſs for the convincing of our enemies. For this we can ſay to 'all the world, we have wronged no man, we have uſed no force 'nor violence againſt any man, we have been found in no plots, 'nor guilty of ſedition. When we have been wronged we have not 'ſought to revenge ourſelves, we have not made reſiſtance againſt 'authority; but wherein we could not obey for conſcience-ſake, we 'have ſuffered the moſt of any people in the nation. We have been 'counted as ſheep for the ſlaughter, perſecuted, and deſpiſed, 'beaten, ſtoned, wounded, ſtocked, whipped, impriſoned, haled 'our of the ſynagogues, caſt into dungeons and noiſome vaults, 'where many have died in bonds, ſhut up from our friends, denied 'needful ſuſtenance for many days together, with other the like

'cruelties.

'cruelties. And the cauſe of all theſe our ſufferings is not for any 1660.
'evil, but for things relating to the worſhip of our God, and in London.
'obedience to his requirings. "For which cauſe we ſhall freely
"give up our bodies a ſacrifice, rather than diſobey the Lord;"
'knowing, as the Lord hath kept us innocent, he will plead our
'cauſe when there is none in the earth to plead it. So we, in obe-
'dience to his truth, do not love our lives unto death, that we may
'do his will, and wrong no man in our generation, but ſeek the
'good and peace of all men. He who hath commanded us, "That
"we ſhall not ſwear at all," Matth. v. 34. hath alſo commanded
'us, "That we ſhall not kill," Matth. v. So that we can neither
'kill men, nor ſwear for nor againſt them. This is both our prin-
'ciple and our practice, and hath been from the beginning; ſo that
'if we ſuffer, as ſuſpected to take up arms or make war againſt any,
'it is without any ground from us; for it neither is, nor ever was
'in our hearts, ſince we owned the truth of God; neither ſhall we
'ever do it, becauſe it is contrary to the Spirit of Chriſt, his doctrine,
'and the practices of his apoſtles; even contrary to him for whom
'we ſuffer all things and endure all things.

'And whereas men come againſt us with clubs, ſtaves, drawn
'ſwords, piſtols cock'd, and beat, cut, and abuſe us; yet we never
'reſiſted them, but to them our hair, backs, and cheeks have been
'ready. It is not an honour to manhood or nobility to run upon
'harmleſs people, who lift not an hand againſt them, with arms and
'weapons.

'Therefore conſider theſe things, ye men of underſtanding; for
'plotters, raiſers of inſurrections, tumultuous ones, and fighters,
'running with ſwords, clubs, ſtaves, and piſtols, one againſt an-
'other; we ſay, theſe are of the world, and have their foundation
'from this unrighteous world, from the foundation of which the
'Lamb hath been ſlain: which Lamb hath redeemed us from this
'unrighteous world; we are not of it, but are heirs of a world of
'which there is no end, a kingdom where no corruptible thing en-
'ters. Our weapons are ſpiritual, not carnal, yet mighty through
'God to the pulling down of the ſtrong holds of ſin and Satan, who
'is the author of wars, fighting, murder, and plots. Our ſwords
'are broken into plough-ſhares, and ſpears into pruning-hooks, as
'propheſied of in Micah iv. Therefore we cannot learn war any
'more, neither riſe up againſt nation or kingdom with outward
'weapons, though you have numbered us amongſt the tranſgreſſors
'and plotters. The Lord knows our innocency herein, and will
'plead our cauſe with all people upon earth at the day of their
'judgment, when all men ſhall have a reward according to their
'works.

'Therefore in love we warn you for your ſouls good, not to wrong
'the innocent, nor the babes of Chriſt, which he hath in his hand,
'and tenders as the apple of his eye; neither ſeek to deſtroy the he-
'ritage of God, nor turn your ſwords backward upon ſuch as the
'law was not made for, i. e. the righteous; but for the ſinners and
'tranſgreſſors, to keep them down. For thoſe are not peace-
'makers nor lovers of enemies, neither can they overcome evil with

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'good, who wrong them that are friends to you and all men, and 'wiſh your good and the good of all people upon earth. If you op- 'preſs us as they did the children of Iſrael in Egypt, if you oppreſs 'us as they did when Chriſt was born, and as they did the Chriſti- 'ans in the primitive times, we can ſay, "The Lord forgive you;" 'leave the Lord to deal with you, and not revenge ourſelves. If 'you ſay, as the council ſaid to Peter and John, "You muſt ſpeak "no more in that name;" and if you ſerve us as they ſerved the 'three children ſpoken of in Daniel, God is the ſame as he ever was, 'that lives for ever and ever, who hath the innocent in his arms.

'Oh! friends! offend not the Lord and his little ones, neither 'afflict his people; but conſider and be moderate. Run not haſtily 'into things, but mind and conſider mercy, juſtice, and judgment; 'that is the way for you to proſper and get the favour of the Lord. 'Our meetings were ſtopped and broken up in the days of Oliver, 'under pretence of plotting againſt him; in the days of the Com- 'mittee of Safety we were looked upon as plotters to bring in king 'Charles; and now our peaceable meetings are termed ſeditious. Oh! 'that men ſhould loſe their reaſon, and go contrary to their own 'conſciences; knowing that we have ſuffered all things, and have 'been accounted plotters all along, though we have always declared 'againſt them both by word of mouth and printing, and are clear 'from any ſuch thing! Though we have ſuffered all along, be- 'cauſe we would not take up carnal weapons to fight againſt any, 'and are thus made a prey upon becauſe we are the innocent lambs 'of Chriſt, and cannot avenge ourſelves! Theſe things are left upon 'your hearts to conſider; for we are out of all thoſe things in the 'patience of the ſaints, and we know, as Chriſt ſaid, "He that "takes the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword," Matth. xxvi. 52. 'Rev. xiii. 10.

"This is given forth from the people called Quakers, to ſatisfy the "king and his council, and all that have any jealouſy con- "cerning us, that all occaſion of ſuſpicion may be taken "away, and our innocency cleared."

POSTSCRIPT.

'Though we are numbered amongſt tranſgreſſors, and have been 'given up to rude, mercileſs men, by whom our meetings are broken 'up, in which we edified one another in our holy faith, and prayed 'together to the Lord that lives for ever, yet he is our pleader in 'this day. The Lord ſaith, "They that feared his name ſpoke "often together," as in Malachi; which were as his jewels. For 'this cauſe, and no evil doing, are we caſt into holes, dungeons, 'houſes of correction, priſons (ſparing neither old nor young, men 'nor women) and made a prey of in the ſight of all nations, under 'pretence of being ſeditious, &c. ſo that all rude people run upon 'us to take poſſeſſion; for which we ſay, The Lord forgive them 'that have thus done to us; who doth and will enable us to ſuffer; 'and never ſhall we lift up hand againſt any man that doth thus uſe us;

'us; but that the Lord may have mercy upon them, that they may 1660.
'conſider what they have done. For how is it poſſible for them to London.
'requite us for the wrong they have done to us? Who to all na-
'tions have ſounded us abroad as ſeditious or plotters, who were ne-
'ver plotters againſt any power or man upon the earth, ſince we
'knew the life and power of Jeſus Chriſt manifeſted in us, who
'hath redeemed us from the world and all works of darkneſs, and
'plotters therein, by which we know the election before the world
'began. So we ſay, The Lord have mercy upon our enemies, and
'forgive them for what they have done unto us.

'Oh! do as you would be done by; do unto all men as you would
'have them do unto you; for this is the law and the prophets.

'All plots, inſurrections, and riotous meetings, we deny, know-
'ing them to be of the devil, the murderer; which we in Chriſt,
'who was before they were, triumph over. And all wars and
'fightings with carnal weapons we deny, who have the ſword of
'the Spirit; and all that wrong us, we leave to the Lord. This is
'to clear our innocency from that aſperſion caſt upon us, "That
"we are ſeditious or plotters."

Added in the reprinting.

'Courteous reader,

'THIS was our teſtimony above twenty years ago, and ſince then
'we have not been found acting contrary to it, nor ever ſhall;
'for the truth that is our guide is unchangeable. This is now re-
'printed to the men of this age, many of whom were then children,
'and doth ſtand as our certain teſtimony againſt all plotting and
'fighting with carnal weapons. And if any, by departing from the
'truth, ſhould do ſo, this is our teſtimony in the truth againſt them,
'and will ſtand over them, and the truth will be clear of them.'

This Declaration did ſomewhat clear the dark air that was over the city and country; and ſoon after the king gave forth a proclamation, 'That no ſoldiers ſhould ſearch any houſe without a con-'ſtable.' But the gaols were ſtill full, many thouſands of friends being in priſon; which miſchief was occaſioned by the wicked riſing of thoſe Fifth-monarchy-men. But when thoſe of them that were taken came to be executed, they did us the juſtice to clear us openly from having any hand in or knowledge of their plot. After that the king, being continually importuned thereunto, iſſued forth a Declaration, "That friends ſhould be ſet at liberty without paying fees." But great labour, travail, and pains were taken before this was obtained; for Thomas Moor and Margaret Fell went often to the king about it.

Much blood was ſhed this year, many of the old king's judges being hanged, drawn, and quartered. Amongſt thoſe that ſuffered colonel Hacker was one, who ſent me priſoner from Leiceſter to London in Oliver's time. A ſad day it was, and a repaying of blood with blood. For in the time of O. Cromwell, when ſeveral were hanged, drawn, and quartered for pretended treaſons, I felt from the

1660. London. Lord God that their blood would not be put up, but would be required, and I ſaid as much then to ſeveral, and now alſo upon the king's return, when ſeveral that had been againſt the king were put to death, as the others that were for the king had been before by Oliver. This was ſad work, deſtroying people contrary to the nature of Chriſtians, who have the nature of lambs and ſheep. But there was a ſecret hand in bringing this day upon that hypocritical generation of profeſſors, who being got into power grew proud, haughty, and cruel beyond others, and perſecuted the people of God without pity. Therefore when friends were under cruel perſecutions and ſufferings in the common-wealth's time, I was moved of the Lord to write unto them, to draw up their ſufferings, and lay them before the juſtices at their ſeſſions; and if they would not do them juſtice, then to lay them before the judges at the aſſize; and if they refuſed them juſtice, to lay it before the parliament, and before the protector and his council, that they might all ſee what was done under their government; and if they would not do juſtice, then to lay it before the Lord, who would hear the cries of the oppreſſed, the widows, and fatherleſs, whom they had made ſo. For that which we ſuffered for, and which our goods were ſpoiled for, was our obedience to the Lord in his Power and in his Spirit, who is able to help and ſuccour, and we had no helper in the earth but him. And he heard the cries of his people, and brought an overflowing ſcourge over the heads of all our perſecutors, which brought a quaking, a dread, and a fear amongſt and on them all; ſo that thoſe who had nick-named us (who are the children of light) and in ſcorn called us Quakers, the Lord made to quake, and many of them would have been glad to have hid themſelves amongſt us; and ſome of them, through the diſtreſs that came upon them, did at length confeſs to the truth. Oh! the daily reproaches, revilings, and beatings we underwent amongſt them, even in the highways, becauſe we could not put off our hats to them, and for ſaying Thou and Thee to them! Oh! the havock and ſpoil the prieſts made of our goods, becauſe we could not put into their mouths and give them tithes! Beſides caſting into priſons, and beſides the great fines laid upon us becauſe we could not ſwear! But for all theſe things did the Lord God plead with them. Yet ſome of them were ſo hardened in their wickedneſs, that when they were turned out of their places and offices, they ſaid, 'If they had power they would do the ſame 'again.' And when this day of overturning was come upon them, they ſaid, 'It was all along of us.' Wherefore I was moved to write to them, and to aſk, 'Did we ever reſiſt them when they took away 'our ploughs and plough-gears, our carts and horſes, our corn and 'cattle, our kettles and platters from us, and whipped us, and ſet 'us in the ſtocks, and caſt us into priſon, and all this only for 'ſerving and worſhipping God in ſpirit and truth, and becauſe we 'could not conform to their religions, manners, cuſtoms, and 'faſhions? Did we ever reſiſt them? Did we not give them our 'backs to beat, our cheeks to pull off the hair, and our faces to ſpit 'on? Had not their prieſts, that prompted them on to ſuch work, 'plucked them with themſelves into the ditch? Why then would

'they

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'they ſay, "It was all along of us?" when it was owing to themſelves and their prieſts, their blind prophets, that followed their own ſpirits, and could foreſee nothing of theſe times and things that are come upon them, which we had long forewarned them of; as Jeremiah and Chriſt had forewarned Jeruſalem. They thought to have wearied us out and undone us; but they undid themſelves. Whereas we could praiſe God, notwithſtanding all their plundering of us, that we had a kettle, a platter, an horſe, and plough ſtill.'

Many ways were theſe profeſſors warned, by word, by writing, and by ſigns; but they would believe none till it was too late. William Sympſon was moved of the Lord to go at ſeveral times for three years naked and bare-footed before them, as a ſign to them, in markets, courts, towns, cities, to prieſts houſes, and to great men's houſes; telling them, "So ſhould they be ſtripped naked "as he was ſtripped naked!" And ſometimes he was moved to put on hair-ſackcloth, and to beſmear his face, and to tell them, "So "would the Lord God beſmear all their religion as he was be-"ſmeared." Great ſufferings did that poor man undergo, ſore whippings with horſe-whips and coach-whips on his bare body, grievous ſtoning and impriſonments in three years time, before the king came in, that they might have taken warning; but they would not, and rewarded his love with cruel uſage. Only the mayor of Cambridge did nobly to him, for he put his gown about him, and took him into his houſe.

Another friend, Robert Huntingdon, was moved of the Lord to go into Carliſle ſteeple-houſe with a white ſheet about him, amongſt the great Preſbyterians and Independents there, to ſhew them that the ſurplice was coming up again; and he put an halter about his neck to ſhew them that an halter was coming upon them; which was fulfilled upon ſome of our perſecutors not long after.

Another, Richard Sale, living near Weſtcheſter, being conſtable of the place where he lived, had a friend ſent to him with a paſs (whom thoſe wicked profeſſors had taken up for a vagabond, becauſe he travelled up and down in the work of the miniſtry) and this conſtable, being convinced by the friend thus brought to him, gave him his paſs and liberty, and was afterwards himſelf caſt into priſon. After this, on a lecture-day, Richard Sale was moved to go to the ſteeple-houſe in the time of their worſhip, and to carry thoſe perſecuting prieſts and people a lanthorn and candle, as a figure of their darkneſs; but they cruelly abuſed him, and like dark profeſſors as they were put him into their priſon called Little Eaſe, and ſo ſqueezed his body therein that not long after he died. Many warnings of divers ſorts were friends moved in the power of the Lord to give unto that generation; which they not only rejected, but abuſed friends, calling us giddy-headed Quakers; but God brought his judgments upon thoſe perſecuting prieſts and magiſtrates. For when the king came in, moſt of them were turned out of their places and benefices, the ſpoilers were ſpoiled; and then we could aſk them, Who were the giddy-heads now? Then many confeſſed we had been true prophets to the nation, and ſaid, Had we cried againſt ſome

1660. London. prieſts only they ſhould have liked us then; but we crying againſt all, that made them diſlike us. But now they ſaw that thoſe prieſts, then looked upon to be the beſt, were as bad as the reſt. For indeed ſome of thoſe that were counted the moſt eminent prieſts were the bittereſt and greateſt ſtirrers up of the magiſtrates to perſecution, and it was a judgment upon them to be denied the free liberty of their conſciences when the king came in, becauſe when they were uppermoſt they would not have liberty of conſcience granted to others. One Hewes, of Plymouth, a prieſt of great note in Oliver's days, when ſome liberty was granted, prayed, 'That God would put it 'into the hearts of the chief magiſtrates of the nation to remove this 'curſed Toleration.' Others of them prayed againſt it by the name of Intolerable Toleration. But a while after, when the king was come in, and prieſt Hewes turned out of his great benefice for not conforming to the Common Prayer, a friend from Plymouth meeting with him, aſked him, 'Whether he would account Toleration 'accurſed now? And whether he would not now be glad of a 'Toleration?' To which the prieſt returned no anſwer, ſave by the ſhaking of his head. But as ſtiff as this ſort of men were then againſt Toleration, it is well known many of them petitioned the king for Toleration, and for meeting-places, and paid for licences too. But to return to the preſent time, the latter end of the year 1660 and the beginning of 1661.

Although thoſe friends, who had been impriſoned upon the riſing of thoſe Monarchy-men, were ſet at liberty, yet meetings were much diſturbed, and great ſufferings friends underwent; for beſides what was done by officers and ſoldiers, many wild fellows and rude people often came in. There came one time, when I was at Pall-mall, an ambaſſador with a company of Iriſhmen with rude fellows: the meeting was over before they came, and I was gone up into a chamber, where I heard one of them ſay, he would 'kill all the 'Quakers.' I went down to him, and was moved in the power of the Lord to ſpeak to him. I told him, the law ſaid, 'An eye for an 'eye, and a tooth for a tooth;" but thou threateneſt to 'kill all the 'Quakers, though they have done thee no hurt.' But, ſaid I, here is goſpel for thee: 'Here's my hair, here's my cheek, here's 'my ſhoulder,' turning it to him. This came ſo over him, that he and his companions ſtood as men amazed, and ſaid, If that was our principle, and if we were as we ſaid, they never ſaw the like in their lives. I told them, What I was in words, I was the ſame in life. Then the ambaſſador, who had ſtood without, came in; for he ſaid, that Iriſh colonel was ſuch a deſperate man, he durſt not come in with him for fear he ſhould have done us ſome miſchief; but truth came over him, and he carried himſelf lovingly towards us, as alſo did the ambaſſador; for the Lord's power was over them all.

At Mile-end friends were kept out of their meeting-place by ſoldiers; but friends ſtood nobly in the truth, valiant for the Lord's name, and at laſt the truth gave them dominion.

About this time we had an account that John Love, a friend that was moved to go and bear teſtimony againſt the idolatry of the Papiſts, was dead in priſon at Rome: it was ſuſpected he was privately put to death.

death. John Perrot was alſo priſoner there, and being releaſed came over again; but after his arrival here, he, with Charles Baily and ſome others, turned aſide from the unity of friends and truth. Whereupon I was moved to give forth a paper, declaring how the Lord would blaſt him and his followers, if they did not repent and return, and that they ſhould wither like the graſs on the houſe-top; which many of them did: but others repented and returned. 1660. London.

Alſo before this time we received account from New-England, 'That the government there had made a law to baniſh the Quakers 'out of their colonies, upon pain of death in caſe they returned; 'that ſeveral of our friends, having been ſo baniſhed and returning, 'were thereupon taken and actually hanged, and that divers more 'were in priſon, in danger of the like ſentence to be executed upon 'them.' When thoſe were put to death, I was in priſon at Lancaſter, and had a perfect ſenſe of their ſufferings as though it had been myſelf, and as though the halter had been put about my own neck, though we had not at that time heard of it. But as ſoon as we heard of it, Edward Burrough went to the king, and told him, 'There was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which 'if it were not ſtopped would over-run all.' To which the king replied, 'But I will ſtop that vein.' Edward Burrough ſaid, 'Then 'do it ſpeedily, for we know not how many may ſoon be put to 'death.' The king anſwered, 'As ſpeedily as ye will. Call (ſaid 'he to ſome preſent) the ſecretary, and I will do it preſently.' The ſecretary being called, a mandamus was forthwith granted. A day or two after, Edward Burrough going again to the king to deſire the matter might be expedited, the king ſaid, He had no occaſion at preſent to ſend a ſhip thither, but if we would ſend one we might do it as ſoon as we would. Edward then aſked the king, If it would pleaſe him to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker to carry the mandamus to New-England? He ſaid, 'Yes, to whom ye will.' Whereupon E. B. named Samuel Shattock, who being an inhabitant of New-England was baniſhed by their law, to be hanged if he came again, and to him the deputation was granted. Then he ſent for Ralph Goldſmith, an honeſt friend, who was maſter of a good ſhip, and agreed with him for three hundred pounds (goods or no goods) to ſail in ten days. He forthwith prepared to ſet ſail, and with a proſperous gale, in about ſix weeks time, arrived before the town of Boſton in New-England, upon a firſt-day morning. With him went many paſſengers, both of New and Old England, friends, whom the Lord moved to go to bear their teſtimony againſt thoſe bloody perſecutors, who had exceeded all the world in that age in their bloody perſecutions. The townſmen at Boſton, ſeeing a ſhip come into the bay with Engliſh colours, ſoon came on board and aſked for the captain. Ralph Goldſmith told him, He was the commander. They aſked him, If he had any letters? He ſaid, Yes. They aſked, If he would deliver them? He ſaid, 'No, not to-day.' So they went aſhore, and reported, There was a ſhip full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattock was among them, who they knew was by their law to be put to death for coming again after baniſhment; but they knew not his errand nor his authority. So all being kept cloſe

1660. London. that day, and none of the ſhip's company ſuffered to go on ſhore; next morning Samuel Shattock, the king's deputy, and Ralph Goldſmith, went on ſhore, and ſending back to the ſhip the men that landed them, they two went through the town to the governor's, John Endicott's door, and knocked. He ſent out a man to know their buſineſs. They ſent him word their buſineſs was from the king of England, and they would deliver their meſſage to none but the governor himſelf. Thereupon they were admitted in, and the governor came to them; and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he put off his hat and looked upon them. Then going out, he bid the friends follow him. He went to the deputy-governor, and after a ſhort conſultation came out to the friends, and ſaid, 'We ſhall obey 'his majeſty's commands.' After this the maſter gave liberty to the paſſengers to come on ſhore, and preſently the noiſe of the buſineſs flew about the town; and the friends of the town and the paſſengers of the ſhip met together to offer up their praiſes and thankſgivings to God, who had ſo wonderfully delivered them from the teeth of the devourer. While they were thus met, in came a poor friend, who, being ſentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain ſome time in irons expecting execution. This added to their joy, and cauſed them to lift up their hearts in high praiſes to God, who is worthy for ever to have the praiſe, the glory, and the honour; for he only is able to deliver, to ſave, and ſupport all that ſincerely put their truſt in him. Here follows a copy of the mandamus.

'CHARLES R.

'TRUSTY and well-beloved, We greet you well. Having 'been informed, that ſeveral of our ſubjects amongſt you, 'called Quakers, have been and are impriſoned by you, whereof 'ſome have been executed, and others (as hath been repreſented 'unto us) are in danger to undergo the like, we have thought fit to 'ſignify our pleaſure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby 'require, that if there be any of thoſe people called Quakers amongſt 'you, now already condemned to ſuffer death or other corporal 'puniſhment, or that are impriſoned and obnoxious to the like con-'demnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein; but 'that you forthwith ſend the ſaid perſons (whether condemned or 'impriſoned) over into this our kingdom of England, together with 'the reſpective crimes or offences laid to their charge, to the end 'ſuch courſe may be taken with them here as ſhall be agreeable to 'our laws and their demerits. And for ſo doing, theſe our letters 'ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge. Given at our court 'at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, in the 13th year of 'our reign.'

Subſcribed: 'To our truſty and well-beloved John Endicott, 'eſquire, and to all and every other the governor or gover-'nors of our plantations of New-England, and of all the co-'lonies thereunto belonging, that now are or hereafter ſhall 'be, and to all and every the miniſters and officers of our

'plantations and colonies whatſoever within the continent 1661.
'of New-England. London.

'By his majeſty's command,

'William Morris.'

Some time after this ſeveral New-England magiſtrates came over, with one of their prieſts. We had ſeveral diſcourſes with them concerning their murdering our friends, the ſervants of the Lord; but they were aſhamed to ſtand to their bloody actions. At one of thoſe meetings I aſked Simon Broadſtreet, one of the New-England magiſtrates, Whether he had not an hand in putting to death thoſe four ſervants of God, whom they hanged for being Quakers only, as they had nick-named them? He confeſſed, He had. I then aſked him, and the reſt of his aſſociates then preſent, Whether they would acknowledge themſelves to be ſubjects to the laws of England? And if they did, by what law they had put our friends to death? They ſaid, They were ſubjects to the laws of England, and they had put our friends to death by the ſame law as the Jeſuits were put to death here in England. I aſked them then, Whether they did believe thoſe friends of ours, whom they had put to death, were Jeſuits or jeſuitically affected? They ſaid, Nay. Then, ſaid I, ye have murdered them, if ye have put them to death by the law that Jeſuits are put to death here in England, and yet confeſs they were no Jeſuits. By this it plainly appears ye have put them to death in your own wills, without any law. Then Simon Broadſtreet, finding himſelf and his company enſnared by their own words, ſaid, Did we come to catch them? I told them, they had catched themſelves, and they might juſtly be queſtioned for their lives; and if the father of William Robinſon (who was one of thoſe that were put to death) was in town, it was probable he would queſtion them, and bring their lives into jeopardy. Hereupon they began to excuſe themſelves, ſaying, 'There was no perſecution now amongſt them;' but next morning we had letters from New-England, giving us account that our friends were perſecuted there afreſh. Thereupon we went to them again, and ſhewed them our letters, which put them both to ſilence and to ſhame. In great fear they ſeemed to be, leſt ſome ſhould call them to account and proſecute them for their lives, eſpecially Simon Broadſtreet; for he had at firſt before ſo many witneſſes confeſſed, 'He had a hand in putting our friends to death,' that he could not get from it; though he afterwards through fear ſhuffled, and would have unſaid it again. After this he and the reſt ſoon left the city, and got back to New-England again. I went alſo to governor Winthorp, and diſcourſed with him about theſe matters; but he aſſured me, 'He had no hand in putting our friends to death, 'or in any way perſecuting of them, but was one of them that pro-'teſted againſt it.' Theſe ſtingy perſecutors of New-England were a people that fled out of Old-England thither from the perſecution of the biſhops here; but when they had got power into their hands, they ſo far exceeded the biſhops in ſeverity and cruelty, that whereas the biſhops had made them pay twelve pence a Sunday (ſo called) for not

1661. London. not coming to their worſhip here, they impoſed a fine of five ſhillings a day upon ſuch as ſhould not conform to their will-worſhip there, and ſpoiled the goods of friends that could not pay it. Beſides, many they impriſoned, divers they whipped, and that moſt cruelly; they cut the ears off ſome, and ſome they hanged: as the books of friends ſufferings in New-England largely ſhew, particularly one written by George Biſhop of Briſtol, intituled, New-England judged: (in two parts). Some of the old Royaliſts were earneſt with friends to have proſecuted them; but we told them, we left them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belonged, and he would repay it. And the judgments of God have ſince fallen heavy on them; for the Indians have been raiſed up againſt them, and have cut off many of them.

About this time I loſt a very good book, being taken in the printer's hands: it was a uſeful, teaching book, containing the ſignification and explanation of Names, Parables, Types, and Figures in the ſcriptures. Thoſe who took it were ſo affected therewith that they were loth to deſtroy it; but thinking to have made a great advantage of it, they would have let us had it again, if we would have given them a great ſum of money for it; which we were not free to do.

Before this, while I was priſoner in Lancaſter caſtle, the book called the Battledore came forth, which was written to ſhew that in all languages Thou and Thee is the proper and uſual form of ſpeech to a ſingle perſon, and You to more than one. This was ſet forth in examples or inſtances taken out of the ſcriptures, and out of books of inſtruction in about thirty languages. John Stubbs and Benjamin Furly took great pains in compiling it, which I put them upon; and ſome things I added to it. When it was finiſhed, ſome of them were preſented to the king and his council, to the biſhops of Canterbury and London, and to the two univerſities one apiece; and many bought of them. The king ſaid, 'It was the proper lan-'guage of all nations.' The biſhop of Canterbury, being aſked what he thought of it, was ſo at a ſtand that he could not tell what to ſay to it. For it did ſo inform and convince people, that few afterwards were ſo rugged towards us for ſaying Thou and Thee to a ſingle perſon, which before they were exceeding fierce againſt us for. For Thou and Thee was a ſore cut to proud fleſh, and them that ſought ſelf-honour; who, though they would ſay it to God and Chriſt, would not endure to have it ſaid to themſelves. So that we were often beat and abuſed, and ſometimes in danger of our lives for uſing thoſe words to ſome proud men, who would ſay, 'What! you 'ill-bred clown, do you Thou me!' as though there lay chriſtian breeding in ſaying You to one, which is contrary to their grammars and teaching books, by which they inſtructed their youth.

Now the biſhops and prieſts being buſy and eager to ſet up their form of worſhip and compel all to come to it, I was moved to give forth the following paper, to open the nature of the true worſhip which Chriſt ſet up, and which God accepts; thus:

CHRIST's

1661.
London.

'CHRIST's worſhip is free in the Spirit to all men; and ſuch as worſhip in the Spirit and in the truth are thoſe that God ſeeks to worſhip him; for he is the God of truth, and is a Spirit, and the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh. He hath given to all nations of men and women breath and life, to live, move, and have their being in him, and hath put into them an immortal ſoul. So all nations of men and women are to be temples for him to dwell in; and they that defile his temple will he deſtroy. Now as the outward Jews, while they had their outward temple at Jeruſalem, were to go thither to worſhip (which temple God hath long ſince thrown down, and deſtroyed that Jeruſalem, the viſion of peace, and caſt off the Jews and their worſhip, and in the room thereof hath ſet up his goſpel-worſhip in the Spirit and in the truth) ſo now all are to worſhip in the Spirit and in the truth. This is a free worſhip; for where the Spirit of the Lord is and ruleth, there is liberty; the fruits of the Spirit are ſeen, and will manifeſt themſelves; and the Spirit is not to be limited, but to be lived and walked in, that the fruits of it may appear. The tares are ſuch as hang upon the wheat, and thereby draw it down to the earth; yet the tares and the wheat muſt grow together till the harveſt, leſt they that take upon them to pluck up the tares ſhould pluck up the wheat with the tares. The tares are ſuch as worſhip not God in the Spirit and in the truth, but grieve the Spirit, vex, and quench it in themſelves, and walk not in the truth; yet will hang about the wheat, the true worſhippers in the Spirit and in the truth. Chriſt's church was never eſtabliſhed by blood, nor held up by priſons; neither was the foundation of it laid by carnal armed men, nor is it preſerved by ſuch. When men went from the Spirit and truth, they took up carnal weapons to maintain their outward forms, and yet cannot preſerve them with their carnal weapons; for one plucketh down another's form with his outward weapons. And this work hath been among the Chriſtians in name ſince they loſt the Spirit, and ſpiritual weapons, and the true worſhip which Chriſt ſet up, that is in the Spirit and in the truth; which Spirit and truth they that worſhip in are over all the tares. All that would be plucking up the tares are forbidden by Chriſt, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him; for the tares and the wheat muſt grow together till the harveſt, as Chriſt hath commanded. The ſtone that ſmote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth: now if the ſtone do fill the whole earth, all nations muſt be temples for the ſtone. All that ſay they travail for the ſeed, and yet bring forth nothing but a birth of ſtrife, contention, and confuſion, their fruit ſhews their travail to be wrong; for by the fruit the end of every one's work is ſeen of what ſort it is.'

'G. F.'

About this time many Papiſts and Jeſuits began to fawn upon friends, and talked up and down where they came, that of all the ſects the Quakers were the beſt and moſt ſelf-denying people; and

1661. London.

ſaid, ‘ It was great pity that they did not return to the holy mother ‘ church.’ Thus they made a buz among the people, and ſaid, ‘ They would willingly diſcourſe with friends.’ But friends were loth to meddle with them, becauſe they were Jeſuits, looking upon it to be both dangerous and ſcandalous. But when I underſtood it, I ſaid to friends, ‘ Let us diſcourſe with them, be they what they ‘ will.’ So a time being appointed at Gerrard Roberts's, there came two of them like courtiers. They aſked our names, which we told them; but we did not aſk their names, for we underſtood they were called Papiſts, and they knew we were called Quakers. I aſked them the ſame queſtion that I had formerly aſked a Jeſuit, namely, ‘ Whether the church of Rome was not degenerated from the ‘ church in the primitive times, from the Spirit, power, and prac- ‘ tice that they were in in the apoſtles times?’ He to whom I put this queſtion, being ſubtle, ſaid, ‘ He would not anſwer it.’ I aſked him, Why? But he would ſhew no reaſon. His companion ſaid, he would anſwer me; and ſaid, ‘ They were not degenerated from ‘ the church in the primitive times.’ I aſked the other, ‘ Whether ‘ he was of the ſame mind?’ He ſaid, Yes. Then I replied, for the better underſtanding one another, and that there might be no miſtake, I would repeat my queſtion over again after this manner; ‘ Whether the church of Rome now was in the ſame purity, prac- ‘ tice, power, and Spirit, that the church in the apoſtles time was ‘ in?’ When they ſaw we would be exact with them, they flew off, and denied that, ſaying, ‘ It was preſumption in any to ‘ ſay they had the ſame power and Spirit which the apoſtles had.’ I told them, It was preſumption in them to meddle with the words of Chriſt and his apoſtles, and make people believe they ſucceeded the apoſtles, yet be forced to confeſs, ‘ They were not in the ſame ‘ power and Spirit that the apoſtles were in:’ This, ſaid I, is a ſpirit of preſumption, and rebuked by the apoſtles Spirit. I ſhewed them how different their fruits and practices were from the fruits and practices of the apoſtles. Then got up one of them, and ſaid, ‘ Ye are a company of dreamers.’ Nay, ſaid I, ye are the filthy dreamers, who dream ye are the apoſtles ſucceſſors, and yet confeſs, ‘ Ye have not the ſame power and Spirit which the apoſtles were ‘ in.’ And are not they defilers of the fleſh, who ſay, ‘ It is pre- ‘ ſumption for any to ſay, they have the ſame power and Spirit ‘ which the apoſtles had?’ Now, ſaid I, if ye have not the ſame power and Spirit which the apoſtles had, then it is manifeſt that ye are led by another power and ſpirit than the apoſtles and church in the primitive times were led by. Then I began to tell them how that evil ſpirit, which they were led by, had led them to pray by beads and to images, and to ſet up nunneries, frieries, and mo- naſteries, and to put people to death for religion; which practice I ſhewed them was below the law, and far ſhort of the goſpel, in which is liberty. They were ſoon weary of this diſcourſe, and went their way, and gave a charge, as we heard, to the Papiſts, ‘ That ‘ they ſhould not diſpute with us, nor read any of our books.’ So we were rid of them; but we had reaſonings with all the other ſects, Preſbyterians, Independents, Seekers, Baptiſts, Epiſcopal-men, So-

cinians,

cinians, Browniſts, Lutherans, Calviniſts, Arminians, Fifth-monarchy-men, Familiſts, Muggletonians, and Ranters; none of which would affirm they had the ſame power and Spirit that the apoſtles had and were in; ſo in that power and Spirit the Lord gave us dominion over them all. 1661. London.

As for the Fifth-monarchy-men I was moved to give forth a paper, to manifeſt their error to them; for they looked for Chriſt's perſonal coming in an outward form and manner, and fixed the time to the year 1666; at which time ſome of them prepared themſelves when it thundered and rained, thinking Chriſt was then come to ſet up his kingdom, and they imagined they were to kill the whore without them. But I told them the whore was alive in them, and was not burned with God's fire, nor judged in them with the ſame power and Spirit the apoſtles were in. And their looking for Chriſt's coming outwardly to ſet up his kingdom, was like the Phariſees 'Lo here,' and 'Lo there.' But Chriſt was come, and had ſet up his kingdom above ſixteen hundred years ago (according to Nebuchadnezzar's dream and Daniel's prophecy) and he had daſhed to pieces the four monarchies, the great image, with its head of gold, breaſt and arms of ſilver, belly and thighs of braſs, legs of iron, and feet part of iron part of clay; and they were all blown away with God's wind, as the chaff in the ſummer threſhing-floor. And when Chriſt was on earth, he ſaid, His kingdom was not of this world: if it had, his ſervants would have fought; but it was not, therefore his ſervants did not fight. Therefore all the Fifth-monarchy-men, that are fighters with carnal weapons, are none of Chriſt's ſervants, but the beaſt's and the whore's. Chriſt ſaid, 'All 'power in heaven and in earth is given to me;' ſo then his kingdom was ſet up above ſixteen hundred years ago, and he reigns. And we ſee Jeſus Chriſt reign, ſaid the apoſtle, and he ſhall reign till all things be put under his feet; though all things are not yet put under his feet, nor ſubdued.

This year ſeveral friends were moved to go beyond ſea, to publiſh truth in foreign countries. John Stubbs, Henry Fell, and Richard Coſtrop were moved to go towards China and Preſter John's country; but no maſters of ſhips would carry them. With much ado they got a warrant from the king; but the Eaſt-India company found ways to avoid it, and the maſters of their ſhips would not carry them. Then they went into Holland, hoping to have got paſſage there; but no paſſage could they get there neither. Then John Stubbs and Henry Fell took ſhipping for Alexandria in Egypt, intending to go by the caravans from thence. Mean while Daniel Baker being to go to Smyrna, drew Richard Coſtrop, contrary to his own freedom, along with them; and in the paſſage, Richard falling ſick, D. Baker left him ſick in the ſhip; where he died: but that hard-hearted man afterwards loſt his own condition.

John Stubbs and Henry Fell got to Alexandria; but they had not been long there before the Engliſh conſul baniſhed them from thence; yet before they came away, they diſperſed many books and papers for the opening the principles and way of truth to the Turks and Grecians. They gave the book called, 'The Pope's ſtrength broken,'

1661. London. to an old frier, for him to give or ſend to the pope; which book, when the frier had peruſed, he clapped his hand upon his breaſt, and confeſſed, 'What was written therein was truth; but,' ſaid he, 'if I ſhould confeſs it openly, they would burn me.' John Stubbs and Henry Fell, not being ſuffered to go farther, returned to England, and came to London again. John had a viſion that the Engliſh and Dutch, who had joined together not to carry them, 'would fall 'out one with the other.' And ſo it came to paſs.

Having ſtaid in London ſome time, I felt drawings to viſit friends in Eſſex. I went to Colcheſter, where I had very large meetings, and from thence to Coggeſhall; not far from which there was a prieſt convinced, and I had a meeting at his houſe. So travelling a little in thoſe parts, viſiting friends in their meetings, I returned pretty quickly to London, where I found great ſervice for the Lord; for a large door was opened, many flocked in to our meetings, and the Lord's truth ſpread mightily this year. Yet friends had great travail and ſore labour, the rude people having been ſo heightened by the Monarchy-men's riſing a little before. But the Lord's power was over all, and in it friends had dominion; though we had not only thoſe ſufferings without, but ſufferings within alſo, by John Perrot and his company; who giving heed to a ſpirit of deluſion, ſought to introduce among friends that evil and uncomely practice of 'keeping 'on the hat in the time of publick prayers.' Friends had ſpoken to him and divers of his followers about it, and I had written to them concerning it; but he and ſome others rather ſtrengthened themſelves againſt us. Wherefore feeling the judgment of truth riſe againſt it, I gave forth the following lines, as a warning to all concerned therein.

Colcheſter. Coggeſhall. London.

'WHOSOEVER is tainted with this ſpirit of John Perrot, it will 'periſh. Mark theirs and his end, that are turned into thoſe 'outward things and janglings about them, and that which is not 'ſavoury; all which is for perpetual judgment, and is to be ſwept and 'cleanſed out of the camp of God's elect. This is to that ſpirit 'that is gone into jangling about that which is below (the rotten 'principle of the old Ranters) gone from the inviſible power of 'God, in which is the everlaſting fellowſhip; ſo many are become 'like the corn on the houſe-top, and like the untimely figs, who 'now clamour and ſpeak againſt them that are in the power of 'God. Oh! conſider! the light and power of God goes over you 'all, and leaves you in the fretting nature, out of the unity which 'is in the everlaſting light, life, and power of God. Conſider this 'before the day be gone from you, and take heed that your me-'morial be not rooted out from among the righteous.

'G. F.'

Among the exerciſes and troubles that friends had from without, one was concerning friends marriages, which ſometimes were called in queſtion. In this year there happened to be a cauſe tried at the aſſize at Nottingham concerning a friend's marriage. The caſe was thus: Some years before two friends were joined together in marriage amongſt

amongſt friends, and lived together as man and wife about two years. Then the man died, leaving his wife with child, and leaving an eſtate in lands of copyhold. When the woman was delivered, the jury preſented the child heir to its father's lands, and accordingly the child was admitted; afterwards another friend married the widow. And after that, a perſon near of kin to her former huſband, brought his action againſt the friend who had laſt married her, endeavouring to diſpoſſeſs them, and deprive the child of the inheritance, and to poſſeſs himſelf thereof, as next heir to the woman's firſt huſband. To effect this, he endeavoured to prove the child illegitimate, alledging, 'The marriage was not according to law.' In opening the cauſe, the plaintiff's counſel uſed unſeemly words concerning friends, ſaying, 'they went together like brute beaſts,' with other ill expreſſions. After the counſel on both ſides had pleaded, the judge (viz. judge Archer) took the matter in hand, and opened it to them, telling them, 'There was a marriage in paradiſe when Adam took 'Eve, and Eve took Adam, and that it was the conſent of the parties 'that made a marriage. And for the Quakers (he ſaid) he did 'not know their opinions; but he did not believe they went to-'gether as brute beaſts, as had been ſaid of them, but as Chriſtians; 'and therefore he did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child 'lawful heir.' The better to ſatisfy the jury, he brought them a caſe to this purpoſe. 'A man that was weak of body, and kept his bed, 'had a deſire in that condition to marry, and did declare before wit-'neſſes, that he did take ſuch a woman to be his wife, and the wo-'man declared that ſhe took that man to be her huſband. This mar-'riage was afterwards called in queſtion, and (as the judge ſaid) all 'the biſhops did conclude it to be a lawful marriage.' Hereupon the jury gave in their verdict for the friend's child againſt the man that would have deprived it of its inheritance.

1661. London.

About this time the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were tendered to friends as a ſnare, becauſe it was known we could not ſwear, and thereupon many were impriſoned, and divers premunired. Upon that occaſion friends publiſhed in print 'The grounds and rea-'ſons why they refuſed to ſwear;' beſides which, I was moved to give forth theſe few lines following, to be given to the magiſtrates:

'THE world ſaith, "Kiſs the book;" but the book ſaith, '"Kiſs the Son, leſt he be angry;" and the Son ſaith, "Swear "not at all;" but keep to Yea and Nay in all your communication: 'for whatſoever is more than this cometh of evil. Again, the 'world ſaith, "Lay your hand on the book;" but the book ſaith, "Handle the word;" and the word ſaith, "Handle not the tra-"ditions," nor the inventions, nor the rudiments of the world. 'And God ſaith, "This is my beloved Son, hear him;" who is the 'life, the truth, the light, and the way to God.

'G. F.'

Abundance of friends being in priſon, Richard Hubberthorn and I drew up a paper concerning them; and got it delivered to the

1662. London. king, that he might underſtand how we were dealt with by his officers. It was directed thus;

To the KING.

'FRIEND, who art the chief ruler of theſe dominions, here is 'a liſt of ſome of the ſufferings of the people of God, in ſcorn 'called Quakers, that have ſuffered under the changeable powers 'before thee, by whom there have been impriſoned, and under 'whom there have ſuffered for good conſcience-ſake, and for bear-'ing teſtimony to the truth as it is in Jeſus, "three thouſand one "hundred ſeventy-three perſons;" and there lie yet in priſon, in the 'name of the common-wealth, "ſeventy-three perſons," that we 'know of. And there have died in priſon, in the time of the com-'mon-wealth, and of Oliver and Richard, the protectors, through 'cruel and hard impriſonments, upon naſty ſtraw and in dungeons, "thirty-two perſons." There have been alſo impriſoned in thy 'name, ſince thy arrival, by ſuch as thought to ingratiate them-'ſelves thereby with thee, "three thouſand ſixty and eight perſons." 'Beſides this, our meetings are daily broken up by men with clubs 'and arms (though we meet peaceably, according to the practice of 'God's people in the primitive times) our friends are thrown into 'waters, and trod upon till the very blood guſheth out of them; 'the number of which abuſes can hardly be uttered. Now this we 'would have of thee, to ſet them at liberty that lie in priſon in the 'names of the common-wealth and of the two protectors, and them 'that lie in thy own name, for ſpeaking the truth, and for a good 'conſcience-ſake, who have not lifted up an hand againſt thee nor 'any man; and that the meetings of our friends, who meet peace-'ably together in the fear of God to worſhip him, may not be broken 'up by rude people, with their clubs, ſwords, and ſtaves. One of 'the greateſt things that we have ſuffered for formerly, was becauſe 'we could not ſwear to the protectors and all the changeable govern-'ments; and now we are impriſoned becauſe we cannot take the 'oath of allegiance. Now, if Yea be Yea, and Nay Nay, to 'thee, and to all men upon the earth, let us ſuffer as much for 'breaking of that as others do for breaking an oath. We have ſuf-'fered theſe many years both in lives and eſtates under theſe change-'able governments, becauſe we cannot ſwear, but obey Chriſt's 'doctrine, who commands "we ſhould not ſwear at all," Matth. 'v. James v. and this we ſeal with our lives and eſtates, with our 'Yea and Nay, according to the doctrine of Chriſt. Hearken to 'theſe things, and ſo conſider them in the wiſdom of thy God, that 'by it ſuch actions may be ſtopped; thou that haſt the government, 'and may'ſt do it. We deſire all that are in priſon may be ſet at 'liberty, and that for the time to come they may not be impriſoned 'for conſcience and for the truth's ſake. If thou queſtion the inno-'cency of their ſufferings, let them and their accuſers be brought 'before thee, and we ſhall produce a more particular and full ac-'count of their ſufferings, if required.

'G. F. & R. H.'

1662. London.

I mentioned before, that in the year 1650 I was kept priſoner ſix months in the houſe of correction at Derby, and that the keeper of the priſon, being a cruel man, and had dealt very wickedly by me, was ſmitten himſelf, the plagues and terrors of the Lord falling upon him becauſe thereof: this man, being afterwards convinced of truth, wrote me the following letter.

'Dear friend,

'HAVING ſuch a convenient meſſenger, I could do no leſs than 'give thee an account of my preſent condition; remembring, 'that to the firſt awakening of me to a ſenſe of life, and of the in-'ward principle, God was pleaſed to make uſe of thee as an in-'ſtrument. So that ſometimes I am taken with admiration that it 'ſhould come by ſuch a means as it did; that is to ſay, that Provi-'dence ſhould order thee to be my priſoner, to give me my firſt 'real ſight of the truth. It makes me many times to think of the 'gaoler's converſion by the apoſtles. Oh! happy George Fox! that 'firſt breathed that breath of life within the walls of my habitation! 'Notwithſtanding my outward loſſes are ſince that time ſuch that I 'am become nothing in the world, yet I hope I ſhall find that all 'theſe light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for 'me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have 'taken all from me; and now, inſtead of keeping a priſon, I am 'rather waiting when I ſhall become a priſoner myſelf. Pray for 'me, that my faith fail not, and that I may hold out to the death, 'that I may receive a crown of life. I earneſtly deſire to hear from 'thee, and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. 'Not having elſe at preſent, but my kind love unto thee and all 'Chriſtian friends with thee, in haſte, I reſt thine in Chriſt Jeſus,

'Thomas Sharman.'

'Derby, the 22d of the
'4th month, 1662.'

There were two of our friends in priſon in the inquiſition at Malta, both women; Catherine Evans and Sarah Chevers. I was told that one called the Lord D'Aubeny could procure their liberty; wherefore I went to him: and having informed him concerning their impriſonment, deſired him to write to the magiſtrates there for their releaſe. He readily promiſed me he would; and ſaid, 'If I 'would come again within a month he would acquaint me of their 'diſcharge.' I went again about that time, and he ſaid, 'He thought 'his letters had miſcarried, becauſe he had received no anſwer.' But he promiſed he would write again, and did ſo; whereupon they were ſet at liberty.

With this great man I had a great deal of reaſoning about religion, and he confeſſed that 'Chriſt hath enlightened every man that 'cometh into the world with his ſpiritual light; that he had 'taſted death for every man; that the grace of God, which brings 'ſalvation, hath appeared to all men; and that it would teach them, 'and bring their ſalvation, if they did obey it.' I aſked him, What would they (the Papiſts) do with all their relicks and images,

if

1662. London. if they ſhould own and believe in this light, and receive the grace to teach them and bring their ſalvation? He ſaid, 'Thoſe things were 'but policies to keep people in ſubjection.' Very free he was in diſcourſe. I never heard a Papiſt confeſs ſo much as he did. Tho' ſeveral about the court began to grow kind to friends, yet the perſecution was very hot, and ſeveral friends died in priſon. Whereupon I gave forth a little paper concerning the grounds and riſe of perſecution; which was thus:

'ALL the ſufferings of the people of God in all ages were be-
'cauſe they could not join to the national religions and wor-
'ſhips which men have made and ſet up, and becauſe they would
'not forſake God's religion and his worſhip which he had ſet up.
'You may ſee through all chronicles and hiſtories, that the prieſts
'joined with the powers of the nations; the magiſtrates, ſooth-
'ſayers, and fortune-tellers, all joined againſt the people of God,
'and did imagine vain things againſt them in their councils. When
'the Jews did wickedly, they turned againſt Moſes; when the
'Jewiſh kings tranſgreſſed the law of God, they perſecuted the pro-
'phets; as may be ſeen in the prophets writings. When Chriſt,
'the ſubſtance, came, the Jews perſecuted Chriſt, his apoſtles, and
'diſciples. And when the Jews had not power enough of them-
'ſelves to perſecute anſwerable to their wills, then they got the
'heathen Gentiles to help them againſt Chriſt, and againſt his apoſtles
'and diſciples, who were in the Spirit and power of Chriſt.

'G. F.'

After I had made ſome ſtay in London, and had cleared myſelf of what lay upon me there, I went into the country, having with me Alexander Parker and John Stubbs. We travelled through the Briſtol. country, viſiting friends meetings, till we came to Briſtol. There we underſtood, that the officers were likely to come and break up the meeting; yet on firſt-day we went to the meeting at Broad-mead, Broad-mead meeting. and Alexander Parker ſtanding up firſt, while he was ſpeaking, the officers came and took him away. After he was gone, I ſtood up and declared the everlaſting truth of the Lord God in his eternal power, which came over all, and the meeting was quiet the reſt of the time, and broke up peaceably. I tarried till firſt-day following, viſiting friends, and being viſited by friends. On firſt-day morning ſeveral friends came to Edward Pyot's (where I lay the night before) and uſed endeavours to perſuade me not to go to the meeting that day; for the magiſtrates had threatened to take me, and had raiſed the trained-bands. I wiſhed them to go to the meeting, not telling them what I intended to do; but I told Edward Pyot I intended to go, and he ſent his ſon to ſhew me the way from his houſe by the fields. As I went I met divers friends, who did what they could to ſtop me: 'What,' ſaid one, 'wilt thou 'go into the mouth of the beaſt?' 'Wilt thou go into the mouth of 'the dragon,' ſaid another? I put them by and went on. When I came to the meeting, Margaret Thomas was ſpeaking. When ſhe had done, I ſtood up. I ſaw a concern and fear upon friends for me; but

but the power of the Lord, in which I declared, ſoon ſtruck the fear out of them. Life ſprang, and an heavenly glorious meeting we had. After I had cleared myſelf of what was upon me from the Lord to the meeting, I was moved to pray, and after prayer to ſtand up again, and tell friends, 'Now they might ſee there was a God 'in Iſrael that could deliver.' A very large meeting this was, and very hot; but truth was over all, and the life was exalted which carried through all, and the meeting broke up in peace. The officers and ſoldiers had been breaking up another meeting, which had taken up their time; ſo that our meeting was ended before they came. But I underſtood afterwards they were in a great rage, becauſe they had miſſed me; for they were heard to ſay one to another before, 'I'll warrant we ſhall have him;' but the Lord prevented them. I went to Joan Hily's, where many friends came to ſee me; rejoicing and bleſſing God for our deliverance. In the evening I had a fine freſh meeting at a friend's houſe over the water, where we were much refreſhed in the Lord. After this I ſtaid moſt part of that week in Briſtol, and at Edward Pyot's. Edward was brought ſo low and weak with an ague, that when I firſt came he was looked upon as a dying man; but it pleaſed the Lord to raiſe him up again, ſo that, before I went away, his ague left him, and he was finely well.

1662. Broad-mead meeting. Briſtol.

Having been two firſt days at the meeting at Broad-mead, and feeling my ſpirit clear of Briſtol, I went next firſt day to a meeting in the country not far diſtant. And after the meeting, ſome friends from Briſtol told me, the ſoldiers that day had beſet the meeting-houſe round at Briſtol, and then went up, ſaying, 'They would be 'ſure to have me now;' but when they found me not there, they were in a great rage, and kept friends in the meeting-houſe moſt part of the day before they would let them go home; and queried of them, 'Which way I was gone, and how they might ſend after 'me? For the mayor,' they ſaid, 'would fain have ſpoken with 'me.' I had a viſion of a great maſtiff dog, that would have bit me; but I put one hand above his jaws, and the other hand below, and tore his jaws in pieces. So the Lord by his power tore their power to pieces, and made way for me to eſcape them. Then I paſſed through the country, viſiting friends in Wiltſhire and Berkſhire, till I came to London, having great meetings amongſt friends as I went. The Lord's power was over all, and a bleſſed time it was for the ſpreading of his glorious truth. It was indeed the immediate power of the Lord that preſerved me out of their hands at Briſtol, and over the heads of all our perſecutors; and the Lord alone is worthy of all the glory, who did uphold and preſerve for his name and truth's ſake.

Wiltſhire. Berkſhire. London.

At London I ſtaid not long, being drawn in ſpirit to viſit friends northward as far as Leiceſterſhire. John Stubbs was with me. We travelled down, having meetings amongſt friends as we went; and at Skegby we had a great meeting. Thence we came to Barnet-hills, where lived captain Brown, a Baptiſt, whoſe wife was convinced of truth. This captain Brown, after the act for 'breaking 'up meetings' came forth, being afraid his wife ſhould go to meet-

Leiceſterſh. Skegby. Barnet-hills.

1662. Barnet-hills.

ings, and be caſt into priſon, left his houſe at Barrow, and took a place on theſe hills, ſaying, 'His wife ſhould not go to priſon.' And this being a free place, many prieſts and others fled thither as well as he. But he, who would neither ſtand to truth himſelf nor ſuffer his wife, was in this place, where he thought himſelf ſafe, found out by the Lord, whoſe hand fell heavy upon him for his unfaithfulneſs; ſo that he was ſorely plagued, and grievouſly judged in himſelf for flying and drawing his wife into that private place. We went to ſee his wife, and being in the houſe, I aſked him, how he did? 'How do I!' ſaid he, 'The plagues and vengeance of God 'are upon me, a runnagate, a Cain as I am. God may look for a 'witneſs for me, and ſuch as me; for if all were not faithfuller 'than I, God would have no witneſs left in the earth.' In this condition he lived on bread and water, and thought it was too good for for him. At length he got home again with his wife to his own houſe at Barrow, where afterwards he was convinced of God's eternal truth, and died in it. A little before his death he ſaid, 'Though he had not borne a teſtimony for truth in his life, he 'would bear a teſtimony in his death, and would be buried in his 'orchard;' and was ſo. He was an example to all the flying Baptiſts in the time of perſecution, who could not bear perſecution themſelves, yet perſecuted us when they had power.

Leiceſterſhire. Swanington.

From Barnet-hills we came to Swanington, in Leiceſterſhire, where William Smith and ſome other friends viſited me; but went away towards night, leaving me at a friend's houſe in Swanington. At night, as I was ſitting in the hall, ſpeaking to a widow-woman and her daughter, lord Beaumont came with a company of ſoldiers, who, ſlapping their ſwords on the door, ruſhed into the houſe with ſwords and piſtols in their hands, crying, 'Put out the candles, and 'make faſt the doors.' Then they ſeized upon the friends in the houſe, and aſked, 'If there were no more about the houſe?' The friends told them, there was one man more in the hall. There being ſome friends out of Derbyſhire, one of them was named Thomas Fauks; lord Beaumont, after he had aſked all their names, bid his man ſet down that man's name Thomas Fox. The friend ſaid, Nay, his name was not Fox, but Fauks. In the mean time ſome of the ſoldiers came, and fetched me out of the hall to him. He aſked my name. I told him, my name was George Fox, and that I was well known by that name. 'Aye,' ſaid he, 'you are known all the world over.' I ſaid, I was known for no hurt, but for good. Then he put his hands into my pockets to ſearch them, and plucked out my comb-caſe, and afterward commanded one of his officers to ſearch further for letters. I told him, I was no letter-carrier, and aſked him, Why he came amongſt a peaceable people with ſwords and piſtols, without a conſtable, contrary to the king's proclamation and to the late act? For he could not ſay, there was a meeting, I being only talking with a poor widow-woman and her daughter. By reaſoning thus with him, he came ſomewhat down; yet ſending for the conſtables, he gave them charge of us that night, and to bring us before him next morning. Accordingly the conſtables ſet a watch of the town's people upon us

that night, and had us next morning to his houſe about a mile from Swanington. When we came before him, he told us, 'We met contrary 'to the Act.' I deſired him to ſhew us the act. 'Why,' ſays he, 'you have it in your pocket.' I told him, he did not find us in a meeting. Then he aſked, 'Whether we would take the oaths of 'allegiance and ſupremacy? I told him, I never took any oath in my life, nor engagement, nor the covenant. Yet ſtill he would force the oath upon us. I deſired him to ſhew us the oath, that we might ſee whether we were the perſons it was to be tendered to, and whether it was not for the diſcovery of popiſh recuſants. At length he brought a little book, but we called for the ſtatute-book. He would not ſhew us that, but cauſed a mittimus to be made, which mentioned, 'That we were to have had a meeting.' With this mittimus he delivered us to the conſtables to convey us to Leiceſter gaol. But when the conſtables had brought us back to Swanington, being harveſt-time, it was hard to get any body to go with us. The people were loth to take their neighbours to priſon, eſpecially in ſuch a buſy time. They would have given us our mittimus to have carried ourſelves to the gaol; for it had been uſual for conſtables to give friends their own mittimuſes, and they have gone themſelves with them to the gaoler. But we told them, though our friends had ſometimes done ſo, we would not take this mittimus; but ſome of them ſhould go with us to the gaol. At laſt they hired a poor labouring man, who was loth to go, though hired. So we rode to Leiceſter, being five in number; ſome carried their bibles open in their hands, declaring truth to the people as we rode in the fields and through the towns, and telling them, 'We were priſoners 'of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, going to ſuffer bonds for his name and 'truth ſake.' One woman friend carried her wheel on her lap to ſpin on in priſon, and the people were mightily affected. At Leiceſter we went to an inn. The maſter of the houſe ſeemed to be troubled that we ſhould go to priſon; and being himſelf in commiſſion, he ſent for lawyers in the town to adviſe with, and would have taken up the mittimus, and kept us in his own houſe, and not have let us gone into the gaol. But I told friends, it would be great charge to lie at an inn, many friends and people would come to viſit us, and it might be hard for him to bear meetings in his houſe: beſides, we had many friends in the priſon already, and we had rather be with them. So we let the man know we were ſenſible of his kindneſs, and to priſon we went; the poor man that brought us thither delivering both the mittimus and us to the gaoler. This gaoler had been a very wicked, cruel man. Six or ſeven friends being in priſon before we came, he had taken ſome occaſion to quarrel with them, and had thruſt them into the dungeon amongſt felons, where was hardly room for them to lie down. We ſtaid all that day in the priſon-yard, and deſired the gaoler to let us have ſome ſtraw. He ſurlily anſwered, 'You do not look like men that would lie on ſtraw.' After a while William Smith came to me, and being acquainted in the houſe, I aſked him, What rooms were in the houſe, and what rooms friends had been uſually put in before they were put into the dungeon? I aſked him alſo, Whether the gaoler or his wife

1662. Swanington.

Leiceſter.

Leiceſter priſon.

was

1662. Leiceſter priſon.

was maſter? He ſaid, The wife was maſter; and though ſhe was lame, and ſate moſtly in her chair, not being able to go but on crutches, yet ſhe would beat her huſband when he came within her reach, if he did not as ſhe would have him. I conſidered that many friends might probably come to viſit us, and if we had a room to ourſelves, it would be better for them to ſpeak to me, and for me to ſpeak to them in, as there ſhould be occaſion. Wherefore I deſired William Smith to ſpeak with the woman, and acquaint her, if ſhe would let us have a room, ſuffer our friends to come out of the dungeon, and leave it to us to give her what we would, it might be better for her. He went, and after ſome reaſoning with her ſhe conſented; and we were had into a room. Then we were told, The gaoler would not ſuffer us to have any drink out of the town into the priſon, but what beer we drank we muſt take of him. I told them, I would remedy that if they would; for we would get a pail of water and a little wormwood once a day, and that might ſerve us; ſo we ſhould have none of his beer, and the water he could not deny us.

Before we came, when thoſe few friends that were priſoners met together on firſt-days, if any of them was moved to pray to the Lord, the gaoler would come up with his quarter-ſtaff in his hand and his maſtiff-dog at his heels, and pluck them down by the hair of the head, and ſtrike them with his ſtaff; but when he ſtruck friends, the maſtiff-dog, inſtead of falling upon them, would take the ſtaff out of his hand. When firſt-day came, I ſpoke to one of my fellow-priſoners to carry a ſtool and ſet it in the yard, and give notice to the debtors and felons that there would be a meeting in the yard, and they that would hear the word of the Lord declared might come thither. So the priſoners gathered in the yard, and we went down and had a very precious meeting, the gaoler not meddling. Thus every firſt-day we had a meeting as long as we ſtaid in priſon, and ſeveral came out of the town and country. Many were convinced, and ſome received the Lord's truth there, who ſtood faithful witneſſes for it ever ſince.

Leiceſter ſeſſions.

When the ſeſſions came, we were brought before the juſtices, with more friends, to the number of about twenty. Being brought into the court, the gaoler put us in the place where the thieves were, and ſome of the juſtices began to tender the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy to us. I told them, I never took any oath in my life; and they knew we could not ſwear, becauſe Chriſt and his apoſtle forbad it: therefore they put it but as a ſnare to us. We told them, if they could prove, that after Chriſt and the apoſtle had forbid ſwearing, they did ever command Chriſtians to ſwear, we would take theſe oaths; otherwiſe we were reſolved to obey Chriſt's command and the apoſtle's exhortation. They ſaid, 'We muſt take the oath, 'that we might manifeſt our allegiance to the king.' I told them, I had been formerly ſent priſoner by col. Hacker from that town to London, under pretence that I held meetings to plot to bring in king Charles. I alſo deſired them to read our mittimus, which ſet forth the cauſe of our commitment to be, that 'we were to have a 'meeting;' and I ſaid, lord Beaumont could not by that act ſend us to gaol, unleſs we had been taken at a meeting, and found to be ſuch perſons

perſons as the act ſpeaks of; therefore we deſired they would read the mittimus, and ſee how wrongfully we were impriſoned. They would not take notice of the mittimus; but called a jury, and indicted us 'for refuſing to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy.' When the jury was ſworn and inſtructed, as they were going out, one who had been an alderman of the city bid them, 'Have a good 'conſcience;' and one of the jury, being a peeviſh man, told the juſtices, there was one affronted the jury; whereupon they called him up, and tendered him the oath alſo, which he took. 1662. Leiceſter ſeſſions.

While we were ſtanding where the thieves uſed to ſtand, a cut-purſe had his hand in ſeveral friends pockets. Friends declared it to the juſtices, and ſhewed them the man. They called him up before them, and upon examination he could not deny it; yet they ſet him at liberty.

It was not long before the jury returned, and brought us in guilty; and after ſome words, the juſtices whiſpered together, and bid the gaoler take us to priſon again; but the Lord's power was over them, and his everlaſting truth, which we declared boldly amongſt them. There being a great concourſe of people, moſt of them followed us; ſo that the cryer and bailiffs were fain to call the people back again to the court. We declared the truth as we went along the ſtreets, till we came to the gaol, the ſtreets being full of people. When we were in our chamber again, after ſome time the gaoler came to us, and deſired all to go forth that were not priſoners. When they were gone, he ſaid, 'Gentlemen, it is the 'court's pleaſure that ye ſhould be ſet at liberty, except thoſe that 'are in for tithes: and you know there are fees due to me; but I 'ſhall leave it to you to give me what you will.' Leiceſter gaol.

Thus we were all ſet at liberty on a ſudden, and paſſed every one into our ſervices. Leonard Fell went with me again to Swanington. I had a letter from lord Haſtings, who hearing of my impriſonment had wrote from London to the juſtices of the ſeſſions to ſet me at liberty. I had not delivered this letter to the juſtices; but whether they had any knowledge of his mind from any other hand, which made them diſcharge us ſo ſuddenly, I know not. But this letter I carried to lord Beaumont, who ſent us to priſon; and when he had broke it open and read it, he ſeemed much troubled; but at laſt came a little lower; yet threatened us, if we had any more meetings at Swanington, he would break them up and ſend us to priſon again. But notwithſtanding his threats we went to Swanington, and had a meeting with friends there, and he neither came nor ſent to break it up. Swanington.

From Swanington we came to Twy-croſs, where that great man formerly mentioned, whom the Lord raiſed up from his ſickneſs in the year 1649 (whoſe ſerving-man came at me with a drawn ſword to have done me a miſchief) and his wife came to ſee me. From thence we travelled through Warwickſhire, where we had brave meetings; and into Northamptonſhire and Bedfordſhire, viſiting friends till we came to London. Twy-croſs. Warwickſh. Northamptonſhire. Bedfordſhire. London.

I ſtaid not long in London, but went into Eſſex, and ſo to Norfolk, having great meetings. At Norwich, when I came to captain Eſſex. Norfolk. Norwich.

1662.

tain Lawrence's, there was a great threatening of disturbance; but the meeting was quiet. Passing from thence to Sutton, and into Cambridgeshire, I heard of Edward Burrough's decease. And being sensible how great a grief and exercise it would be to friends to part with him, I wrote the following lines for the staying and settling of their minds.

Sutton.
Cambridgeshire.

'Friends,

'BE still and quiet in your own conditions, and settled in the seed 'of God, that doth not change; that in that ye may feel dear 'E. B. among you in the seed, in which and by which he begat 'you to God, with whom he is; and that in the seed ye may all 'see and feel him, in which is the unity with him in the life; and 'so enjoy him in the life that doth not change, which is in-'visible.'

'G. F.'

Isle of Ely.
Little-port.

From thence I passed to Little-port and the Isle of Ely; where one that had been the mayor, with his wife, and the wife of the then present mayor of Cambridge, came to the meeting. Travelling into Lincolnshire and Huntingdonshire, I came to Thomas Parnel's, where the mayor of Huntingdon came to see me, and was very loving. From thence I came into the Fen-country, where we had large and quiet meetings. While I was in that country, there came so great a flood, that it was dangerous to go out; yet we did get out, and went to Lynn, where we had a blessed meeting. Next morning I went to visit some prisoners there; then back to the inn, and took horse. As I was riding out of the yard, the officers came to search the inn for me. I knew nothing of it then, only I felt a great burden come upon me as I rode out of the town, till I was got without the gates. When some friends that came after overtook me, they told me their officers had been searching for me in the inn, as soon as I was gone out of the yard. So by the good hand of the Lord I escaped their cruel hands. After this we passed through the countries, visiting friends in their meetings. The Lord's power carried us over the persecuting spirits, and through many dangers; and his truth spread and grew, and friends were established therein: praises and glory to his name for ever!

Lincolnshire.
Huntingdonshire.
Fen-country.
Lynn.

Having passed through Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Hertfordshire, we came to London again; where I staid a while, visiting friends in their meetings, which were very large, and the Lord's power was over all. After some time I left the city, and travelled into Kent, having Thomas Briggs with me. We went to Ashford, where we had a quiet and a very blessed meeting. On first-day we had a very good and peaceable meeting at Cranbrook. Then we went to Tenterden, and had a meeting there, to which friends came from several parts; and many other people came in, and were reached by the truth. When the meeting was done, I walked with Thomas Briggs into a close, while our horses were getting ready; and turning my head, I espied a captain coming, and a great company of soldiers with lighted matches and muskets. Some of the

Norfolk.
Suffolk.
Essex.
Hertfordsh.
London.
Kent.
Ashford.
Cranbrook.
Tenterden.

soldiers

ſoldiers came to Thomas and me, and ſaid, 'We muſt go to their 'captain.' When they had brought us before him, he aſked, 'Where was George Fox? Which was he? I ſaid, 'I am the 'man.' Then he came to me, and was ſomewhat ſtruck, and ſaid, 'I will ſecure you among the ſoldiers.' So he called for the ſoldiers to take me. Then he took Thomas Briggs and the man of the houſe, with many more; but the power of the Lord was mightily over them all. Then he came to me again, and ſaid, 'I muſt go along 'with him to the town;' and he carried himſelf pretty civilly, bidding the ſoldiers bring the reſt after. As we walked, I aſked him, 'Why they did thus? for I had not ſeen ſo much ado a great 'while;' and I bid him be civil to his peaceable neighbours. When we were come to the town, they had us to an inn that was the gaoler's houſe. After a while the mayor of the town, this captain, and the lieutenant, who were juſtices, came together and examined me, 'Why I came thither to make a diſturbance?' I told them, I did not come to make a diſturbance, neither had I made any diſturbance ſince I came. They ſaid, 'There was a law againſt the 'Quakers meetings, made only againſt them.' I told them, I knew no ſuch law. Then they brought the act made againſt Quakers and others. I told them, that was againſt ſuch as were a 'terror to the 'king's ſubjects, who were enemies, and held principles dangerous 'to the government;' and therefore it was not againſt us, for we held the truth; our principles were not dangerous, and our meetings were peaceable, as they knew, who knew their neighbours were a peaceable people. They told me, 'I was an enemy to the king.' I anſwered, We loved all people, were enemies to none, and that I had been caſt into Derby dungeon about the time of Worceſter fight, becauſe I would not take up arms againſt him; and that I was afterwards brought by colonel Hacker to London, as a plotter to bring in king Charles, and was kept priſoner at London till I was ſet at liberty by Oliver. They aſked me, 'Whether I was impriſoned in 'the time of the inſurrection?' I ſaid, Yes; I had been impriſoned then and ſince, and had been ſet at liberty by the king's own command. I opened the act to them, ſhewed them the king's late declaration, gave them the examples of other juſtices, and told them alſo what the houſe of lords had ſaid of it. I ſpoke alſo to them concerning their own conditions, exhorting them to live in the fear of God, to be tender towards their neighbours that feared God, and to mind God's wiſdom by which all things were made and created, that they might come to receive it, be ordered by it, and by it order all things to God's glory. They demanded bond of us for our appearance at the ſeſſions; but we, pleading our innocency, refuſed to give bond. Then they would have us promiſe to come no more there; but we kept clear of that alſo. When they ſaw they could not bring us to their terms, they told us, 'We ſhould ſee they were civil to us, for 'it was the mayor's pleaſure we ſhould all be ſet at liberty.' I told them, their civility was noble; and ſo we parted.

1662. Tenterden.

Leaving Tenterden, we went to Newick in Suſſex, where we viſited ſome friends. From thence we paſſed through the country, viſiting friends, and having great meetings; all quiet and free from

Suffolk. Newick.

1662.

Hampſhire. Southampton. Ringwood pariſh. Pulner monthly meeting.

diſturbance (except by ſome jangling Baptiſts) till we came into Hampſhire. Where, after a good meeting at Southampton, we went to Pulmer, in the pariſh of Ringwood, where was to be a monthly meeting next day, to which many friends reſorted from Southampton, Pool, and other places; and the weather being very hot, ſome came pretty early in the morning. I took a friend, and walked out with him into the orchard, enquiring of him how the affairs of truth ſtood amongſt them? (For many of them had been convinced by me before I was priſoner in Cornwall). While we were diſcourſing, a young man came and told us the trained bands were raiſing, and he heard they would break up the meeting. It was not yet meeting-time by about three hours, and there being other friends walking in the orchard, the friend I was diſcourſing with before deſired me to walk into a corn-field adjoining to it, which we did. After a while, the young man that ſpoke of the trained bands left us, and when he was gone a pretty way he ſtood and waved his hat. Whereupon I ſpoke to the other young man that was with me to go ſee what he meant. He went, but came not to me again, for the ſoldiers were come into the orchard. As I kept walking I could ſee the ſoldiers, and ſome of them, as I heard afterwards, did ſee me, but had no mind to meddle. So the ſoldiers coming ſo long before meeting-time, did not tarry; but took what friends they found at the houſe, and ſome they met in the lane, and had them away. After they were gone, it drew towards the eleventh hour, friends began to come in apace, and a large and glorious meeting we had; for the everlaſting ſeed of God was ſet over all, and the people were ſettled in the new covenant of life, upon the foundation Chriſt Jeſus, Toward the latter end of the meeting there came a man in gay apparel, and looked in while I was declaring, and went away again preſently. This man came with an evil intent; for he went forthwith to Ringwood, and told the magiſtrates, 'That they had taken two or three men at Pulner, and 'had left George Fox there preaching to two or three hundred.' Upon this the magiſtrates ſent the officers and ſoldiers again; but the meeting being near ended when the man looked in, and he having about a mile and half to go with his information to fetch the ſoldiers, and they as far to come after they had received their orders, before they came our meeting was over; ending about the third hour peaceably and orderly. After the meeting, I ſpoke to the friends of the houſe where this was held (the woman of the houſe then lying dead in the houſe) and then ſome friends led me to another friend's at a little diſtance; where after we had refreſhed ourſelves, I took horſe, having about twenty miles to ride that afternoon to one —— Frye's, in Wiltſhire; where a meeting was appointed to be held the next day.

Wiltſhire at Frye's.

After we were gone, the officers and ſoldiers came in a great heat, who finding they had miſſed their prey were much enraged; and the officers were offended with the ſoldiers, becauſe they had not ſeized my horſe in the ſtable the firſt time they came. But the Lord, by his good providence, delivered me, and prevented their miſchievous deſign. For the officers were envious men, and had an evil mind againſt

againſt friends; but the Lord brought his judgments upon them, ſo that it was taken notice of by their neighbours. For 'as before 'they were wealthy men, after this their eſtates waſted away; and 'John Line, the conſtable, who was not only very forward in 'putting on the ſoldiers to take friends, but alſo carried thoſe that 'were taken to priſon, and took a falſe oath againſt them at the 'aſſize, upon which they were fined and continued priſoners, was 'a ſad ſpectacle to behold. For his fleſh rotting away while he 'lived, he died in a very miſerable condition, wiſhing he had never 'meddled with the Quakers, and confeſſing he never proſpered 'ſince he had an hand in perſecuting them; and that he thought 'the hand of the Lord was againſt him for it.' 1663. Example.

At —— Frye's in Wiltſhire we had a very bleſſed meeting, and quiet, though the officers purpoſed to have broken it up, and were on their way in order thereunto. But before they were got to the meeting, word was brought them, 'There was a houſe newly 'broken up by thieves, and they were required to go back again 'with ſpeed to ſearch after and purſue them;' by which means our meeting eſcaped diſturbance, and we were preſerved out of their hands.

We paſſed through Wiltſhire into Dorſetſhire, having large and good meetings. The Lord's everlaſting power was with us, and carried us over all; in which we ſounded forth his ſaving truth and word of life, which many gladly received. Thus we viſited friends till we came to Topſham, in Devonſhire, travelling ſome weeks eight or nine ſcore miles a week, and had meetings every day. At Topſham we met with Margaret Fell and two of her daughters, Sarah and Mary, and with Leonard Fell and Thomas Salthouſe. From thence we paſſed to Totneſs, where we viſited ſome friends, and then to Kingſbridge, and to Henry Pollexfen's, who had been an ancient juſtice of peace. There we had a large meeting. This old juſtice accompanied us to Plymouth, and into Cornwall, to juſtice Porter's, and from thence to Thomas Mount's, where we had a large meeting. After which we went to Humphrey Lower's, where alſo we had a large meeting; and from thence to Loveday Hambley's, where we had a general meeting for the whole country: and all was quiet. Dorſetſhire. Devonſhire. Topſham. Totneſs. Kingſbridge. To Henry Pollexfen's. Plymouth. Cornwall.

A little before this, Joſeph Hellen and G. Bewly had been at Loo to viſit Blanch Pope, a Ranting woman, under pretence to convince and convert her; but before they left her, ſhe had ſo darkened them with her principles, that they ſeemed to be like her diſciples, eſpecially Joſeph Hellen. She aſked them, 'Who made the devil? 'Did not God?' This idle queſtion ſo puzzled them, they could not anſwer her. They afterwards aſked me the queſtion. I told them, No; for all that God made was good and was bleſt, ſo was not the devil. He was called a ſerpent before he was called a devil and an adverſary, and then he had the title of devil given him. Afterward he was called a dragon, becauſe he was a deſtroyer. The devil abode not in the truth: by departing from the truth he became a devil. So the Jews, when they went out of the truth, were ſaid to be of the devil, and were called ſerpents. There is no promiſe of

1663. Cornwall.

God to the devil, that ever he ſhall return into truth again; but to man and woman, who have been deceived by him, the promiſe of God is, that 'The ſeed of the woman ſhall bruiſe the ſerpent's 'head;' ſhall break his power and ſtrength to pieces. When theſe things were opened more at large to the ſatisfaction of friends, thoſe two, who had let up the ſpirit of that ranting woman, were judged by the truth; and one of them, viz. Joſeph Hellen, ran quite out, and was denied by friends; but George Bewly was recovered, and afterwards became ſerviceable.

Falmouth. Penryn. Helſtone.

We paſſed from Loveday Hambley's to Francis Hodges's, near Falmouth and Penryn, where we had a large meeting. From thence we went to Helſtone that night, where friends came to viſit us, and next day paſſed to Thomas Teage's, where we had a large meeting, at which many were convinced. I was led to open 'the ſtate of the 'church in the primitive times, the ſtate of the church in the wil-'derneſs, the ſtate of the falſe church that was got up ſince; and to 'ſhew, that now the everlaſting goſpel was preached over the head 'of the whore, beaſt, falſe prophets, and antichriſts, which had 'roſe up ſince the apoſtles days; and now the everlaſting goſpel was 'received and receiving, which brought life and immortality to 'light, that they might ſee over the devil who had darkened them.' The people received the goſpel and the word of life gladly, and a glorious bleſſed meeting we had for the exalting the Lord's everlaſting truth and his name. After it was done I walked out, and coming in again, I heard a noiſe in the court. Approaching nearer, I found the man of the houſe ſpeaking to the tinners and others, telling them, It was the 'everlaſting truth that had been declared 'there that day;' and the people generally confeſſed to it.

Land's end.

From thence we paſſed to the Land's-end to John Ellis's, where we had a precious meeting. Here was a fiſherman, Nicholas Joſe, that was convinced. He ſpoke in meetings, and declared the truth amongſt the people; and the Lord's power was over all. I was glad the Lord raiſed up his ſtandard in thoſe dark parts of the nation, where ſince there is a fine meeting of honeſt-hearted friends; many are come to ſit under Chriſt's teaching, and a great people the Lord will have in that country.

Redruth. Truro.

From thence we returned to Redruth, and the next day to Truro, where we had a meeting. Next morning, ſome of the chief of the town deſired to ſpeak with me, amongſt whom was colonel Rouſe. I went, and had a great deal of diſcourſe with them concerning the things of God. In their reaſoning they ſaid, 'The goſpel was the 'four books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John;' and they called it natural. I told them, the goſpel was the power of God, which was preached before Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John were written; and it was preached to every creature (of which a great part might never ſee nor hear of thoſe four books) ſo that every creature was to obey the power of God; for Chriſt, the Spiritual Man, would judge the world according to the goſpel, that is, according to his inviſible power. When they heard this, they could not gainſay; for the truth came over them. I directed them to their teacher, the grace of God, and ſhewed them the ſufficiency of it, which would

teach

teach them how to live, and what to deny; and being obeyed would bring them ſalvation. So to that grace I recommended them, and left them. 1663. Truro.

Then we returned through the country, viſiting friends, and had meetings at Humphrey Lower's and Thomas Mount's. Afterwards at George Hawkins's at Stoke we had a large meeting, to which friends came from Lanceſton and ſeveral other places. A living, precious meeting it was, in which the Lord's preſence and power was richly manifeſted amongſt us, and I left friends there under the Lord Jeſus Chriſt's teaching. Stoke.

'In Cornwall I was informed there was one colonel Robinſon, a very wicked man, who after the king came in was made a juſtice of peace, and became a cruel perſecutor of friends; of whom he ſent many to priſon. Hearing they had ſome little liberty, thro' the favour of the gaoler, to go home ſometimes to viſit their wives and children, he made great complaint thereof to the judge at the aſſize againſt the gaoler; whereupon the gaoler was fined an hundred marks, and friends were kept very ſtrictly up for a while. After he was come home from the aſſize, he ſent to a neighbouring juſtice to deſire him to go a fanatick-hunting with him. He ſent his man about with his horſes, and walked himſelf on foot from his dwelling-houſe to a tenement where his cows and dairy were kept, and where his ſervants were then milking. When he came there, he aſked for his bull. The ſervant-maids ſaid, They had ſhut him into the field becauſe he was unruly, and hindered their milking. Then went he into the field to the bull; and having formerly accuſtomed himſelf to play with him, he began to fence at him with his ſtaff. But the bull ſnuffed at him, and paſſed a little back; then turning upon him again, ran fiercely at him, and ſtruck his horn into his thigh, and heaving him upon his horn, threw him over his back, and tore up his thigh to his belly. When he came to the ground again he gored him with his horns, run them into the ground in his rage and violence, and roared, and licked up his maſter's blood. The maid-ſervant, hearing her maſter cry out, ran into the field, and took the bull by the horns to pull him off from her maſter. The bull, without hurting her, put her gently by with his horns, but ſtill fell to goring of him, and licking up his blood. Then ſhe ran, and got ſome men that were at work not far off, to come and reſcue her maſter; but they could not at all beat off the bull, till they brought maſtiff-dogs to ſet on him; and then he fled in great rage and fury. Upon notice of it his ſiſter came, and ſaid to him, "Alack! brother, what a heavy judgment is this that is befallen you!" He anſwered, "Ah! ſiſter, it is an heavy judgment indeed." Pray let the bull be killed, and the fleſh given to the poor, ſaid he. They carried him home; but he died ſoon after. The bull was grown ſo fierce, they were forced to ſhoot him with guns; for no man durſt come near to kill him. Thus does the Lord ſometimes make examples of his juſt judgment upon the perſecutors of his people, that others may fear, and learn to beware.' Example.

After

1663.

Horſe-bridge. Devonſhire. Tiverton.

After I had cleared myſelf of Cornwall, and Thomas Lower had brought us over Horſe-bridge into Devonſhire again, we took our leave of him. Thomas Briggs, Robert Widders, and I came to Tiverton. It being their fair-time, and many friends there, we had a meeting amongſt them; and the magiſtrates gathered in the ſtreet, but the Lord's power ſtopped them. I ſaw them over againſt the door; but they had not power to come in to meddle with us, tho' they had will enough to have done it.

Collumpton. Wellington.

After the meeting we paſſed to Collumpton and Wellington; for we had appointed a meeting five miles off, where we had a large one at a butcher's houſe, and a bleſſed meeting it was. The people were directed to their Teacher, the Grace of God, which would bring them ſalvation, and many were ſettled under its teaching. The Lord's preſence was amongſt us, and we were refreſhed in him, in whom we laboured and travailed; and the meeting was quiet. There had been very great perſecution in that country, and in that town a little before, inſomuch that ſome friends queſtioned the peaceableneſs of our meeting; but the Lord's power chained all, and his glory ſhined over all. Friends told us, how they had broken up their meetings by warrants from the juſtices, and how by their warrants they were required to carry friends before the juſtices. The friends bid them, Carry them then. The officers told them, they muſt Go; but they ſaid, Nay, that was not according to their warrants, which required them to carry them. Then they were forced to hire carts, waggons, and horſes, and to lift them into their waggons and carts to carry them before a juſtice. When they came to a juſtice's houſe, ſometimes he happened to be from home, or if he was a moderate man he would get out of the way, and then they were obliged to carry them before another; ſo that they were many days carting and carrying friends up and down from place to place. And when afterwards the officers came to lay their charges for this upon the town, the town's people would not pay it, but made them bear it themſelves, which broke the neck of their perſecution there for that time. The like was done in ſeveral other places, till the officers had ſhamed and tired themſelves, and then were glad to give over.

At one place they warned friends to come to the ſteeple-houſe. Friends met to conſider of it, and finding freedom to go, they met together there. They ſate down to wait upon the Lord in his power and Spirit, and minded the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, their Teacher and Saviour; but did not mind the prieſt. When the officers ſaw that, they came to them to put them out of the ſteeple-houſe again; but the friends told them, it was not time for them to break up their meeting yet. A while after, when the prieſt had done, they came to the friends again, and would have had them go home to dinner; but the friends told them, they did not chooſe to go to dinner, they were feeding upon the bread of life. So there they ſate, waiting upon the Lord, and enjoying his power and preſence, till they found freedom in themſelves to depart. Thus the prieſt's people were offended, firſt becauſe they could not get them to the ſteeple-houſe,

and when there, they were offended, becauſe they could not get them out again. 1663.

From the meeting near Collumpton we went to Taunton, where we had a large meeting. The next day we came to a general meeting in Somerſetſhire, which was very large; and the Lord's everlaſting word of life and truth was largely declared. The people were refreſhed thereby, and ſettled upon Chriſt, their Rock and Foundation, and brought to ſit under his teaching; and the meeting was peaceable. About the ſecond hour of the night came a company of men, knocked at the door, and bid open it, or they would break it open; for they wanted a man that they came to ſearch the houſe for. I heard the noiſe, and got up, and ſaw a man at the door with his ſword by his ſide. When they had let him in, he came into the chamber where I was, and looked on me, and ſaid, 'You are not the man I looked for;' and went his way.

Wellington. Taunton. Somerſetſh.

We came from thence to Street, and to William Beaton's at Puddimore, where we had a very large general meeting; wherein the Lord's everlaſting truth was declared, the people refreſhed, and all quiet. From thence we went to John Dandy's, where we had another large and very precious meeting; and then paſſed to Briſtol, where we had good ſervice for the Lord, and all quiet. Here we met with Margaret Fell and her daughters again. After ſome time we went to Slattenford in Wiltſhire, where was a very large meeting in a great barn. Good ſervice we had there; for the truth, as it is in Jeſus, was publiſhed amongſt them, and many were gathered by it into the name of the Lord.

Street. Puddimore. Briſtol. Slattenford. Wiltſhire.

After this I paſſed into Glouceſterſhire and Herefordſhire, having large meetings in each. In Hereford I had a meeting in the inn; after which, and I was gone, the magiſtrates hearing of it, came to ſearch the inn for me, and were vexed they had miſſed me. But the Lord ſo ordered it, that I eſcaped their hands, and friends were eſtabliſhed upon Chriſt, their Foundation, the Rock of Ages.

Glouceſterſh. Herefordſh. Hereford.

Then I went into Radnorſhire, in Wales, where I had ſeveral precious meetings. The Lord's name and ſtandard was ſet up, many were gathered to it, and ſettled under the teaching of Chriſt Jeſus, their Saviour, who bought them.

Wales. Radnorſh.

After I was clear of Wales, I came to a market-town betwixt England and Wales, where was a great fair that day; and ſeveral friends being at the fair, we went to an inn, where they came to us. After a fine opportunity with friends we parted and went our way. The officers of the town took notice, it ſeems, of our being there, and of friends gathering to us. They began alſo to get together to conſult how to enſnare us, though it was the fair-time; but before they could do any thing we were gone, and ſo eſcaped them.

At a market-town towards England.

From thence we came into Shropſhire, where we had a large and precious meeting. After many meetings in thoſe parts, we came into Warwickſhire, viſited friends there, and ſo into Derbyſhire and Staffordſhire, viſiting meetings as we went. At White-haugh we had a large bleſſed meeting, and quiet; after which we took horſe, and rode about twenty miles that night to captain Lingard's. We

Shropſhire. Warwickſh. Derbyſhire. Staffordſhire. White-haugh. At captain Lingard's.

1683. heard afterwards, that when we were gone, the officers came to have ſeized us, and were much diſturbed they miſſed us; but the Lord diſappointed them, and friends were joyful in the Lord that we eſcaped them.

Capt. Lingard's. At captain Lingard's we had a bleſſed meeting, the Lord's preſence being wonderfully amongſt us. After which we paſſed thro' the Peak-country in Derbyſhire, and went to Synderhill-green, where we had a large meeting. Here John Whitehead and ſeveral friends came to me. Then I paſſed through the country, viſiting friends, till I came to the farther end of Holderneſs, and by Scarborough, Whitby, and Malton, to York, having many meetings in the way, and the Lord's everlaſting power was over all.

Derbyſh. Peak-country. Synderhill-green. Holderneſs. Scarborough. Whitby. Malton. York.

We went from York to Boroughbridge, where I had a glorious meeting. Thence we paſſed into the Biſhoprick to one Richmond's, where was a general meeting; and the Lord's power was over all, though people were exceeding rude about this time. After the meeting we went to Henry Draper's, where we ſtaid all night. Next morning a friend came as I was paſſing away, and told me, 'If the 'prieſts and juſtices could light on me, they would deſtroy me.'

Borough-bridge. Biſhoprick of Durham.

Being clear of the Biſhoprick, I went over Stainmore into Yorkſhire, and to Sedberg; where having viſited friends, I went into Weſtmoreland, viſiting friends there alſo. From thence I paſſed into Lancaſhire, and came to Swarthmore, where I ſtaid but a little while before I went over the Sands to Arnſide; where I had a general meeting. After it was ended ſome men came to have broken it up; but underſtanding before they got thither the meeting was over, they turned back. I went to Robert Widders's, and from thence to Underbarrow, where I had a glorious meeting; and the Lord's power was ſet over all. From thence I paſſed to Grayrigge, viſited friends, and then to Ann Audland's, where they would have had me to have ſtay'd their meeting the next day; but I felt a ſtop in my Spirit. It was upon me to go to John Blaykling's, in Sedberg, to be at the meeting there; which is large, and a precious people there is. We had a very good meeting the next day; but the conſtables went to Ann Audland's meeting to look for me. Thus by the good hand and diſpoſing providence of the Lord I eſcaped their ſnare.

Stainmore. Yorkſhire. Sedberg. Weſtmoreland. Lancaſhire. Swarthmore. Arnſide. Under-barrow. Grayrigge. Sedberg.

I went from John Blaykling's with Leonard Fell to Strickland-head, where on firſt-day we had a very precious meeting on the common. That night we ſtaid amongſt our friends there, and the next day paſſed into Northumberland. After the juſtices heard of this meeting, they made ſearch for me; but by the good hand of the Lord I eſcaped them, though there were ſome very wicked juſtices. We went to Hugh Hutchinſon's, in Northumberland, a friend in the miniſtry, from whence we viſited friends thereabouts; and then to Derwent-water, where we had a very glorious meeting. There came an ancient woman, and told me, her huſband remembered his love to me; ſhe ſaid, I might call him to mind by this token, that I uſed to call him, 'The tall white old man.' She ſaid, he was ſix ſcore and two years old, and that he would have come to the meeting, but that his horſes were all employed upon ſome urgent occaſion. I heard he lived ſome years after.

Strickland-head. Northumber-land. Derwent-water.

When I had viſited friends in thoſe parts, and they were ſettled upon Chriſt, their Foundation, I paſſed through Northumberland, and came to old Thomas Bewley's, in Cumberland. Friends came about me, and aſked, 'Would I come there to go into priſon?' For there was great perſecution in that country at that time; yet I had a general meeting at Thomas Bewley's, which was large and precious; and the Lord's power was over all. 1663. Cumberland.

One Muſgrave was at that time deputy-governor of Carliſle, and I paſſing along that country, came to a man's houſe that had been convinced, whoſe name was Fletcher; and he told me, 'If Muſ-'grave knew I was there, he would be ſure to ſend me to priſon, he 'was ſuch a ſevere man.' But I ſtaid not, only called on the way to ſee this man, then went to William Pearſon's, near Wigton, where this meeting was, which was very large and precious. Some friends were then priſoners at Carliſle, whom I viſited by a letter, which Leonard Fell carried. From William Pearſon's I viſited friends till I came to Pardſey-crag, where we had a general meeting, which was large, quiet, and peaceable, and the glorious, powerful preſence of the everlaſting God was with us. Wigton. Pardſey crag.

So eager were the magiſtrates about this time to ſtir up perſecution in thoſe parts, that ſome offered five ſhillings, ſome a noble a day, to any that could apprehend the ſpeakers amongſt Quakers; but it being now the time of the quarter-ſeſſions in that county, the men who were ſo hired were gone to the ſeſſions to get their wages, ſo all our meetings were at that time quiet.

From Pardſey-crag we went into Weſtmoreland, calling in the way upon Hugh Tickell, near Keſwick, and upon Thomas Laythes, where friends came to viſit us; and we had a fine opportunity to be refreſhed together. We went that night to Francis Benſon's, in Weſtmoreland, near juſtice Fleming's. This juſtice was at that time in a great rage againſt friends, and me in particular; inſomuch that in the open ſeſſions at Kendal juſt before, he had bid 'Five pounds 'to any man that ſhould take me,' as Francis Benſon told me. And it ſeems, as I went to this friend's houſe, I met one man coming from the ſeſſions that had this five pounds offered him to take me, and he knew me; for as I paſſed by him, he ſaid to his companion, 'That is George Fox:' yet he had not power to touch me; for the Lord preſerved me over them all. The juſtices being ſo eager to have me, and I being ſo often nigh them, and yet they miſſing me, it tormented them the more. Weſtmoreland. Keſwick. Francis Benſon's.

I went from thence to James Taylor's at Cartmel, in Lancaſhire, where I ſtaid firſt-day, and had a precious meeting. After which I came over the Sands to Swarthmore. Lancaſhire. Cartmel. Swarthmore.

There they told me colonel Kirby had ſent his lieutenant, who had ſearched trunks and cheſts for me. That night as I was in bed, I was moved of the Lord to go next day to Kirby-hall, which was colonel Kirby's houſe, about five miles off, to ſpeak with him. When I came thither, I found the Flemings, and ſeveral others of the gentry (ſo called) of the country, who were come to take their leave of colonel Kirby, he being then to go up to London to the parliament. I was had into the parlour amongſt them; but colonel Kirby-hall.

Kirby

1663. Kirby was not then within, being gone out a little way. They ſaid little to me, nor I much to them. But after a little while colonel Kirby came in, and I told him, 'I came to viſit him, underſtanding 'he was deſirous to ſee me, to know what he had to ſay to me, 'and whether he had any thing againſt me?' He ſaid before all the company, 'As he was a gentleman, he had nothing againſt me. 'But,' ſaid he, 'miſtreſs Fell muſt not keep great meetings at her 'houſe, for they met contrary to the act.' I told him, 'That act 'did not take hold on us, but on ſuch as "met to plot and con-"trive, and to raiſe inſurrections againſt the king;" whereas we 'were no ſuch people: for he knew they that met at Margaret 'Fell's were his neighbours, and a peaceable people.' After many words had paſſed, he ſhook me by the hand, and ſaid again, 'He 'had nothing againſt me; and others of them ſaid, 'I was a de-'ſerving man.' So we parted, and I returned to Swarthmore.

Kirby-hall.

Swarthmore.

Shortly after, when colonel Kirby was gone to London, there was a private meeting of the juſtices and deputy-lieutenants at Houlker-hall, where juſtice Preſton lived; where they granted a warrant to apprehend me. I heard over night both of their meeting and of the warrant, and could have gone out of their reach if I would; for I had not appointed any meeting at that time, and I had cleared myſelf of the north, and the Lord's power was over all. But I conſidered, there being a noiſe of a plot in the north, if I ſhould go away they might fall upon friends; but if I gave myſelf up to be taken, it might prevent them, and friends ſhould eſcape the better; ſo I gave myſelf up to be taken, and prepared againſt they came. Next day an officer came with his ſword and piſtols to take me. I told him, 'I knew his errand before, and had given myſelf to be 'taken; for if I would have eſcaped their impriſonment, I could 'have been forty miles off before he came; but I was an innocent 'man, and ſo mattered not what they could do to me.' He aſked me, 'How I heard of it, ſeeing the order was made privately in a 'parlour?' I ſaid, it was no matter for that, it was ſufficient that I heard it. I aſked him to let me ſee his order; whereupon he laid his hand on his ſword, and ſaid, 'I muſt go with him before the 'lieutenants, to anſwer ſuch queſtions as they ſhould propound to 'me.' I told him, it was but civil and reaſonable for him to let me ſee his order; but he would not. Then ſaid I, I am ready. So I went along with him, and Margaret Fell accompanied us to Houlker-hall. When we came thither, there was one Rawlinſon, a juſtice, and one called Sir George Middleton, and many more that I did not know, beſides old juſtice Preſton who lived there. They brought Thomas Atkinſon, a friend, of Cartmel, as a witneſs againſt me, for ſome words which he had told to one Knipe, who had informed them; which words were, 'That I had written againſt the plotters, 'and had knocked them down.' Theſe words they could not make much of; for I told them I had heard of a plot, and had written againſt it. Old Preſton aſked me, 'Whether I had an hand in that 'ſcript?' I aſked him what he meant? He ſaid, in the Battle-dore? I anſwered, Yes. Then he aſked me, 'Whether I did un-'derſtand languages?' I ſaid, Sufficient for myſelf; and that I 'knew

Houlker-hall.

'knew no law that was tranſgreſſed by it. I told them alſo, That 1663.
'to underſtand thoſe outward languages, was no matter of ſalvation; Houlker-
'for the many tongues began but at the confuſion of Babel: and if hall.
'I did underſtand any thing of them, I judged and knocked them
'down again for any matter of ſalvation that was in them.' Thereupon he turned away, and ſaid, 'George Fox knocks down all the
'languages. Come,' ſaid he, 'we will examine you of higher
'matters.'

Then ſaid George Middleton, 'You deny God, and the church,
'and the faith.' I replied, 'Nay: I own God, and the true
'church, and the true faith. But what church doſt thou own, ſaid
'I? (for I underſtood he was a Papiſt). Then he turned again, and
'ſaid, "You are a rebel and a traitor.' I aſked him, Whom he ſpoke to? or whom did he call a rebel? He was ſo full of envy, that for a while he could not ſpeak; but at laſt he ſaid, 'He ſpoke
'it to me.' With that I ſtruck my hand on the table, and told him, I had ſuffered more than twenty ſuch as he, or than any that were there; 'for I had been caſt into Derby priſon for ſix months
'together, and had ſuffered much becauſe I would not take up
'arms againſt the king before Worceſter fight. I had been ſent up
'priſoner out of my own country by colonel Hacker to O. Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in K. Charles, in the year 1654; and I
'had nothing but love and good-will to the king, and deſired the
'eternal good and welfare of him and all his ſubjects. "Did you
"ever hear the like," ſaid Middleton? Nay, ſaid I, ye may hear
'it again, if ye will. For ye talk of the king, a company of you;
'but where were ye in Oliver's days? and what did ye do then for
'him? I have more love to the king for his eternal good and welfare than any of you have.'

Then they aſked me, 'Whether I had heard of the plot?' I ſaid, 'Yes, I had heard of it.' They aſked me, 'How I had
'heard of it? and whom I knew in it?' I told them, 'I had
'heard of it through the high-ſheriff of Yorkſhire, who told Dr.
'Hodgſon "there was a plot in the north;" that was the way I
'heard of it; but I never heard of any ſuch thing in the ſouth, nor
'till I came into the north. And as for knowing any in the plot, I
'was as a child in that, for I knew none of them.' Then they ſaid,
"Why would you write againſt it, if you had not known ſome that
"were in it?" I ſaid, "My reaſon was, becauſe you are ſo forward to maſh the innocent and guilty together; therefore I wrote
"againſt it to clear the truth from ſuch things, and to ſtop all forward fooliſh ſpirits from running into ſuch things." I ſent copies
'of it into Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, Biſhoprick, Yorkſhire,
'and to you here. I ſent another copy of it to the king and his
'council, and it is like it may be in print by this time.' One of them ſaid, 'O! this man hath great power!' I ſaid, Yes, I had power to write againſt plotters. Then ſaid one of them, 'You are
'againſt the laws of the land.' I anſwered, 'Nay; for I and my
'friends direct all people to the Spirit of God in them, to mortify
'the deeds of the fleſh. This brings them into well-doing, and
'from that which the magiſtrates ſword is againſt, which eaſes the

1663. Houlker-hall.

'magiſtrates, who are for the puniſhment of evil-doers. People 'being turned to the Spirit of God, which brings them to mortify 'the deeds of the fleſh, from under the occaſion of the ma-'giſtrates ſword. This muſt needs be one with magiſtracy, 'and one with the law, which was added becauſe of tranſgreſſion, 'and is for the praiſe of them that do well. In this we eſtabliſh 'the law, are an eaſe to the magiſtrates, and are not againſt but ſtand 'for all good government.'

Then George Middleton cried, 'Bring the book, and put the 'oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy to him.' He being a Papiſt, I aſked him, 'Whether he had taken the oath of ſupremacy, who 'was a ſwearer? As for us, we could not ſwear at all, becauſe 'Chriſt and his apoſtle had forbidden it.' Some of them would not have had the oath put to me, but have ſet me at liberty. The reſt would not agree to it; for this was their laſt ſnare, and they had no other way to get me into priſon, as all other things had been cleared to them. This was like the Papiſts ſacrament of the altar, by which they enſnared the martyrs. So they tendered me the oath, which I could not take; whereupon they were about to make my mittimus to ſend me to Lancaſter gaol; but conſidering of it, they only engaged me to appear at the ſeſſions, and for that time diſmiſſed me. I went back with Margaret Fell to Swarthmore, and ſoon after colonel Weſt came to ſee me, who was at that time a juſtice of peace. He told us, 'He acquainted ſome of the reſt of the juſtices, that he 'would come and ſee Margaret Fell and me; but it may be,' ſaid he, 'ſome of you will take offence at it.' I aſked him, What he thought they would do with me at the ſeſſions? He ſaid, 'They 'would tender the oath to me again.'

Whilſt I was at Swarthmore, William Kirby came into Swarthmore meeting, and brought the conſtables with him. I was ſitting with friends in the meeting, and he ſaid to me, 'How now, Mr. 'Fox! you have a fine company here.' 'Yes,' ſaid I, 'we meet 'to wait upon the Lord.' So he began to take the names of friends, and thoſe that did not readily tell him their names, he committed to the conſtables hands, and ſent ſome to priſon. The conſtables were unwilling to take them without a warrant, whereupon he threatened to ſet them by the heels; but the conſtable told him, 'He could 'keep them in his preſence, but after he was gone he could not keep 'them without a warrant.'

Lancaſter.

The ſeſſions coming on, I went to Lancaſter, and appeared according to my engagement. There was upon the bench juſtice Fleming, who had bid five pounds in Weſtmoreland to any man that would apprehend me; for he was a juſtice both in Weſtmoreland and Lancaſhire. There were alſo juſtice Spencer, colonel Weſt, and old juſtice Rawlinſon, the lawyer, who gave the charge, and was very ſharp againſt truth and friends; but the Lord's power ſtopped them. The ſeſſion was large, the concourſe of people great, and way being made for me, I came up to the bar, and ſtood with my hat on, they looking earneſtly upon me and I upon them for a pretty ſpace. Proclamation being made 'for all to keep ſilence upon pain 'of impriſonment;' and all being quiet, I ſaid twice, 'Peace be 'among

Lancaſter ſeſſions.

'among you.' The chairman asked, If I knew where I was? I said, 'Yes, I do; but it may be, said I, my hat offends you. That's 'a low thing, that's not the honour that I give to magistrates, for 'the true honour is from above; which, said I, I have received, and 'I hope it is not the hat which ye look upon to be the honour.' The chairman said, 'They looked for the hat too,' and asked, 'Wherein I shewed my respect to magistrates, if I did not put off 'my hat?' I replied, 'In coming when they called me.' Then they bid one, 'Take off my hat.' After which it was some time before they spoke to me, and I felt the power of the Lord to arise. After some pause, old justice Rawlinson (the chair-man) asked me, 'If I knew of the plot?' I told him, 'I heard of it in Yorkshire 'by a friend, who had it from the high-sheriff.' They asked me, 'Whether I had declared it to the magistrates?' I said, 'I had 'sent papers abroad against plots and plotters, and also to you, as 'soon as I came into the country, to take all jealousies out of your 'minds concerning me and my friends; for it is our principle to de-'clare against such things.' They asked me, 'If I knew not of an 'act against meetings?' I said, 'I knew there was an act that took 'hold of such as met to the terrifying of the king's subjects, were 'enemies to the king, and held dangerous principles; but I hoped 'they did not look upon us to be such men, for our meetings were 'not to terrify the king's subjects, neither are we enemies to him or 'any man.' Then they tendered me the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. I told them, 'I could not take any oath at all, because 'Christ and his apostle had forbid it; and they had sufficient expe-'rience of swearers, first one way, then another; but I had never 'taken any oath in my life.' Rawlinson asked me, 'Whether I 'held it was unlawful to swear?' This question he put on purpose to ensnare me; for by an act that was made, such were liable to banishment or a great fine, that should say, it was 'unlawful to 'swear.' But I, seeing the snare, avoided it, and told him, 'That 'in the time of the law amongst the Jews, before Christ came, the 'law commanded them to swear; but Christ, who doth fulfil the 'law in his gospel-time, commands, "not to swear at all;" and 'the apostle James forbids swearing, even to them that were Jews, 'and who had the law of God.' After much discourse they called for the gaoler, and committed me to prison. I had the paper about me which I wrote as a testimony against plots, which I desired they would read, or suffer to be read in open court; but they would not. So being committed for refusing to swear, 'I bid them and all the 'people take notice, that I suffered for the doctrine of Christ, and 'for my obedience to his command.' Afterwards I understood the justices did say, that they had private instructions from colonel Kirby to prosecute me, notwithstanding his fair carriage and seeming kind-ness to me before, when he declared before many of them, 'That 'he had nothing against me.' Several other friends were committed to prison, some for meeting to worship God, and some for not swear-ing; so that the prison was very full. Many of them being poor men, without any thing to maintain their families by but their la-bour, which now they were taken from, several of their wives went

1663. Lancaster sessions.

G. F. committed to prison.

1663. Lancaſter priſon.

to the juſtices who committed their huſbands, and told them, 'If 'they kept their huſbands in gaol for nothing but the truth of Chriſt 'and for good conſcience-ſake, they would bring their children to 'them to be maintained.' A mighty power of the Lord roſe in friends, and gave them great boldneſs, ſo that they ſpoke much to the juſtices. Friends alſo that were priſoners wrote to the juſtices, 'laying the weight of their ſufferings upon them, and ſhewing them 'both their injuſtice and want of compaſſion towards their poor 'neighbours, whom they knew to be honeſt, conſcientious, peace-'able people, that in tenderneſs of conſcience could not take any 'oath; yet they ſent them to priſon for refuſing to take the oath of 'allegiance. Though ſeveral of thoſe impriſoned on that account 'were known to be men who had ſerved the king in his wars, had 'hazarded their lives in the field in his cauſe, had ſuffered great 'hardſhips, with the loſs of much blood for him, and always ſtood 'faithful to him from firſt to laſt, yet never received pay for their 'ſervice; and to be thus requited for all their faithful ſervices and 'ſufferings by thoſe that pretended to be the kings friends, was hard, 'unkind, and ungrateful dealing.' At length the juſtices, being continually attended with complaints of grievances, releaſed ſome of the friends, but kept divers ſtill in priſon.

There were four friends priſoners for tithes, ſent to priſon at the ſuit of the counteſs of Derby, who had lain near two years and an half. One of theſe was Oliver Atherton, who being of a weakly conſtitution was through long and hard impriſonment in a cold, raw, unwholſome place, brought ſo low and weak in his body, that there appeared no hopes of his life unleſs he might be removed. Wherefore a letter was wrote on his behalf to the counteſs, and ſent by his ſon Godfrey Atherton, wherein was laid before her 'the reaſons why 'he and the reſt could not pay tithes; becauſe if they did, they 'ſhould deny Chriſt come in the fleſh, who by his coming had put an 'end to the tithes, and to the prieſthood to which they had been given, 'and to the commandment by which they had been paid under the 'law. His weak condition of body was alſo laid before her, and 'the apparent likelihood of his death, if ſhe continued to hold him 'there, that ſhe might be moved to pity and compaſſion, and alſo 'warned not to draw the guilt of innocent blood upon her.' When his ſon went to her with his father's letter, a ſervant of hers abuſed him, plucked off his cap and threw it away, and put him out of the gate. Nevertheleſs the letter was delivered into her own hand, but ſhe ſhut out all pity and tenderneſs, and continued him in priſon till death. When his ſon returned to his father in priſon, and told him as he lay on his dying-bed, that the counteſs denied his liberty, he only ſaid, 'She hath been the cauſe of ſhedding much blood, but 'this will be the heavieſt blood that ever ſhe ſpilt,' and ſoon after he died. Friends having his body delivered to them to bury, as they carried it from the priſon to Ormſkirk, the pariſh wherein he had lived, they ſtuck up papers upon the croſſes at Garſtang, Preſton, and other towns through which they paſſed, with this inſcription:

"This

" This is Oliver Atherton, of Ormſkirk pariſh, perſecuted to death by the counteſs of Derby for good conſcience-ſake towards God and Chriſt, becauſe he could not give her tithes, &c." 1663. Lancaſter priſon.

Setting forth the reaſons of his refuſing to pay tithes, the length of his impriſonment, the hardſhips he underwent, her hard-heartedneſs towards him, and the manner of his death. After his death, Richard Cubban, another of her priſoners for tithes, wrote a large letter to her, on behalf of himſelf and his fellow-priſoners at her ſuit, laying their innocency before her; 'and that it was not out of wilfulneſs, ſtubbornneſs, 'or covetouſneſs, that they refuſed to pay their tithes, but purely in good 'conſcience towards God and Chriſt; letting her know, if ſhe ſhould be 'ſuffered to keep them there till they every one died, as ſhe had done 'their fellow-ſufferer, Oliver Atherton, they could not yield to pay 'her. And therefore deſired her to conſider their caſe in a Chriſtian 'ſpirit, and not bring their blood upon herſelf alſo.' Yet ſhe would not ſhew any pity or compaſſion to them, who had now ſuffered hard impriſonment about two years and an half under her. Inſtead thereof ſhe ſent to Garſtang, and threatened to complain to the king and council, and bring them into trouble, for ſuffering the paper concerning Oliver Atherton's death to be ſtuck upon their croſs. The rage ſhe expreſſed made the people take the more notice of it, and ſome of them ſaid, 'The Quakers had given her a bone to pick.' But ſhe, that regarded not the life of an innocent ſufferer for Chriſt, lived not long after herſelf; for that day three weeks that Oliver Atherton's body was carried through Ormſkirk to be buried, ſhe died; and her body was carried that day ſeven weeks through the ſame town to her burying-place. Thus the Lord purſued the hard-hearted perſecutor. I was kept till the aſſize, and judge Turner and judge Twiſden coming that circuit, I was brought before judge Twiſden, the 14th of the month called March, the latter end of the year 1663. When I was ſet to the bar, I ſaid, 'Peace be 'amongſt you all.' The judge looked upon me, and ſaid, 'What! 'do you come into the court with your hat on!' Upon which words, the gaoler taking it off, I ſaid, 'The hat is not the honour 'that comes from God.' Then ſaid the judge to me, 'Will you 'take the oath of allegiance, George Fox?' I ſaid, 'I never took 'any oath in my life, nor any covenant or engagement.' 'Well,' ſaid he, 'Will you ſwear or no?' I anſwered, 'I am a Chriſtian, 'and Chriſt commands me "not to ſwear;" ſo does the apoſtle 'James; and whether I ſhould obey God or man, do thou judge.' I aſk you again, ſaid he, 'Whether you will ſwear or no?' I anſwered again, 'I am neither Turk, Jew, nor Heathen, but a Chriſ-'tian, and ſhould ſhew forth chriſtianity. I aſked him, If he did 'not know that Chriſtians in the primitive times, under the ten per-'ſecutions, and ſome alſo of the martyrs in queen Mary's days, re-'fuſed ſwearing, becauſe Chriſt and the apoſtle had forbidden it? 'I told him alſo, they had experience enough, how many had firſt 'ſworn for the king and then againſt him. But as for me I had 'never taken an oath in my life. My allegiance did not lie in ſwear-'ing, but in truth and faithfulneſs; for I honour all men, much

Lancaſter aſſize.

1663. Lancaſter aſſize.

'more the king. But Chriſt, who is the Great Prophet, the King 'of Kings, the Saviour and Judge of the whole world, ſaith, I muſt "not ſwear." Now, whether muſt I obey Chriſt or thee? For it 'is tenderneſs of conſcience, and in obedience to the command of 'Chriſt, that I do not ſwear: and we have the word of a king for 'tender conſciences. Then I aſked the judge, If he did own the 'king? "Yes," ſaid he, "I do own the king." Why then, 'ſaid I, doſt thou not obſerve his declaration from Breda, and his 'promiſes made ſince he came into England, "That no man ſhould "be called in queſtion for matters of religion, ſo long as they lived "peaceably?" If thou owneſt the king, ſaid I, why doſt thou 'call me in queſtion, and put me upon taking an oath, which is 'a matter of religion; ſeeing thou nor none elſe can charge me with 'unpeaceable living?' Upon this he was moved, and looking angrily at me, ſaid, 'Sirrah, will you ſwear?' I told him, 'I was 'none of his Sirrahs, I was a Chriſtian; and for him, an old man, and 'a judge, to ſit there and give nick-names to priſoners, it did not be-'come either his grey hairs or his office.' 'Well,' ſaid he, 'I am 'a Chriſtian too.' 'Then do Chriſtian works,' ſaid I. 'Sirrah!' ſaid he, 'Thou thinkeſt to frighten me with thy words.' Then catching himſelf, and looking aſide, he ſaid, 'Hark! I am uſing 'the word (Sirrah) again;' ſo checked himſelf. I ſaid, 'I ſpoke to 'thee in love; for that language did not become thee, a judge. 'Thou oughteſt to inſtruct a priſoner in the law, if he were igno-'rant and out of the way.' And I ſpeak in love to thee too,' ſaid he. 'But,' ſaid I, 'Love gives no nick-names.' Then he rouſed him-ſelf up, and ſaid, 'I will not be afraid of thee, George Fox. Thou 'ſpeakeſt ſo loud, thy voice drowns mine and the court's; I muſt 'call for three or four criers to drown thy voice: thou haſt good 'lungs.' 'I am a priſoner here,' ſaid I, 'for the Lord Jeſus 'Chriſt's ſake; for his ſake do I ſuffer, for him do I ſtand this day, 'and if my voice were five times louder I ſhould lift it up, and ſound 'it out for Chriſt's ſake, for whoſe cauſe I ſtand this day before your 'judgment-ſeat, in obedience to him who commands "not to ſwear;" 'before whoſe judgment-ſeat you muſt all be brought, and muſt 'give an account.' 'Well,' ſaid the judge, 'George Fox, ſay, 'Whether thou wilt take the oath, Yea or Nay?' I replied, 'I ſay 'as I ſaid before, Whether ought I to obey God or man, judge thou? 'If I could take any oath at all, I ſhould take this; for I do not deny 'ſome oaths only or on ſome occaſions, but all oaths, according to 'Chriſt's doctrine, who hath commanded his, "Not to ſwear at "all." Now if thou or any of you, or any of your miniſters or 'prieſts here, will prove that ever Chriſt or his apoſtle, after they 'had forbid all ſwearing, commanded Chriſtians to ſwear, then I 'will ſwear.' I ſaw ſeveral prieſts there; but not one of them of-fered to ſpeak. Then ſaid the judge, 'I am a ſervant to the king, 'and the king ſent me not to diſpute with you, but to put the laws 'in execution; therefore tender him the oath of allegiance.' 'If 'thou love the king,' ſaid I, 'why doſt thou break his word, and 'not keep his declarations and ſpeeches, wherein he promiſed liberty 'to tender conſciences? I am a man of a tender conſcience, and in

'obedience

'obedience to Chriſt's command I cannot ſwear.' 'Then you will 1663.
'not ſwear,' ſaid the judge; 'Take him away, gaoler.' I ſaid, Lancaſter aſſize.
'It is for Chriſt's ſake that I cannot ſwear, and for obedience to his 'command I ſuffer; and ſo the Lord forgive you all.' So the gaoler took me away; but I felt the mighty power of the Lord was over them all.

The ſixteenth of the ſame month I was brought before judge Twiſden again, who was ſomewhat offended at my hat; but it being the laſt morning of the aſſize, before he was to go out of town, and not many people there, he made the leſs of it. He aſked me, 'Whether I would traverſe, ſtand mute, or ſubmit.' But he ſpoke ſo faſt, it was hard to know what he ſaid. However I told him, 'I deſired I might have liberty to traverſe the indict-'ment, and try it.' Then ſaid he, 'Take him away, I will have 'nothing to do with him, take him away.' I ſaid, 'Well, live in 'the fear of God, and do juſtice.' 'Why,' ſaid he, 'have not I 'done you juſtice?' I replied, 'That which thou haſt done hath 'been againſt the command of Chriſt.' So I was taken to the gaol Lancaſter priſon.
again, and kept priſoner till the next aſſizes.

Some time before this aſſize, Margaret Fell was ſent priſoner to Lancaſter gaol by Fleming, Kirby, and Preſton, juſtices; and at the aſſize the oath was tendered to her alſo, and ſhe was again committed to priſon to lie till the next aſſize.

Juſtice Fleming being one of the fierceſt and moſt violent juſtices in perſecuting friends, and ſending his honeſt neighbours to priſon for religion's ſake; and many friends being at this time in Lancaſter gaol committed by him, and ſome having died in priſon, we that were then priſoners had it upon us to write to him, as followeth.

'O juſtice Fleming!

'MERCY, compaſſion, love, and kindneſs adorn and grace men 'and magiſtrates. Oh! doſt thou not hear the cry of the 'widows, and the cry of the fatherleſs, who were made ſo through 'perſecution! Were they not driven, like ſheep, from conſtable to 'conſtable, as though they had been the greateſt tranſgreſſors or 'malefactors in the land? Which grieved and tendered the 'hearts of many ſober people, to ſee how their innocent neighbours 'and countrymen, who were of a peaceable carriage, and honeſt in 'their lives and converſations amongſt men, were uſed and ſerved! 'One more is dead, whom thou ſenteſt to priſon, having left five 'children fatherleſs and motherleſs. How canſt thou do otherwiſe 'than take care of thoſe fatherleſs infants, and alſo of the other's 'wife and family? Is it not thy place? Conſider Job (c. xxix.) 'He was a father to the poor, he delivered the poor that cried, and 'the fatherleſs that had none to help. He broke the jaws of the 'wicked, and plucked the ſpoil out of his teeth. But oh! meaſure 'thy life and his, and take heed of the day of God's eternal judg-'ment, which will come, and the ſentence and decree from Chriſt, 'when every man muſt give an account and receive a reward accord-'ing to his deeds. Then it will be ſaid, "Oh! where are the

1663. Lancaſter priſon.

" months that are paſt!" Again, juſtice Fleming, conſider, when
' John Stubbs was brought before thee, having a wife and four ſmall
' children, and little to live on but what they honeſtly got by their
' own diligence; as ſoon as he appeared, thou cried out, " Put the
" oath to that man." And when he confeſſed he was but a poor
' man, thou hadſt no regard, but caſt away pity, not hearing what
' he would ſay. And now he is kept in priſon, becauſe he could
' not ſwear, and break the command of Chriſt and the apoſtle, it is
' to be hoped thou wilt take care of his family, that his children do
' not ſtarve; and ſee that they do not want bread. Can this be al-
' legiance to the king, to do that which Chr ſt and his apoſtle ſay is
' evil, and brings into condemnation? Would not you have caſt
' Chriſt and the apoſtle into priſon, who commanded " not to ſwear,"
' if they had been in your days? Conſider alſo thy poor neigh-
' bour, William Wilſon, who was known to all the pariſh and
' neighbours to be an induſtrious man, careful to maintain his wife
' and children; yet had little but what he got with his hands in di-
' ligence and travels to ſupply himſelf. How ſhould his wife main-
' tain her children, when thou haſt caſt her huſband into priſon, and
' thereby made him incapable of working for them? Therefore it
' may be expected thou wilt have a care of his wife and children,
' and ſee they do not want; for how ſhould they live, having
' no other way to be ſuſtained but by the little that he got? Surely
' the noiſe of this is in the very markets, the death of thy two
' neighbours, the cry of the widows and fatherleſs is heard. All
' thoſe fatherleſs and widows are made ſo for righteouſneſs ſake. For
' might not John Stubbs and William Wilſon have had their liberty
' ſtill, if they would have ſworn, though they had been ſuch as go
' after mountebanks and ſtage-plays, or run a hunting? Oh! con-
' ſider! for the Lord's mind is otherwiſe. He is tender, and the
' king hath declared his mind to be, that there ſhould be no cruelty
' inflicted upon his peaceable ſubjects. Beſides, ſeveral poor honeſt
' people were fined, who had need to have ſomething given them;
' and it had been more honourable to have given them ſomething,
' than to fine them and ſend them to priſon, ſome of whom live up-
' on the charity of others. What honour or grace can it be to thee
' to caſt thy poor neighbours into priſon, who are peaceable; ſeeing
' thou knoweſt theſe people cannot do that which thou requireſt of
' them, if it were to ſave their lives or all that they have? Becauſe
' in tenderneſs they cannot take any oath, thou makeſt that a ſnare
' to them. What thinkeſt thou do the people ſay concerning this?
" We know," ſay they, " the Quakers principle that keep to Yea
" and Nay; but we ſee others ſwear and forſwear." Many of you
' have ſworn firſt one way and then another. So we leave it to the
' Spirit of God in thy conſcience, juſtice Fleming, who waſt ſo
' eager for the taking of George Fox, and ſo offended with them
' that had not taken him, and now haſt fallen upon thy poor neigh-
' bours. But, oh! where's thy pity for their poor, fatherleſs child-
' ren, and motherleſs infants? Oh! take heed of Herod's hard-
' heartedneſs, and caſting away all pity! Eſau did ſo, not Jacob.
' Here is alſo Thomas Walters, of Bolton, caſt into priſon, and the

'oath impoſed on him through thee, and for denying to ſwear at all, 1663.
'in obedience to Chriſt's command, he is continued in priſon, who Lancaſter
'hath five ſmall children and his wife near down-lying. Surely, thou priſon.
'ſhouldeſt take care for them alſo, and ſee that his wife and ſmall
'children do not want, who are as fatherleſs and ſhe as a widow
'through thee. Doſt thou not hear in thy ears the cry of the fa-
'therleſs, the cry of the widows, and the blood of the innocent
'ſpeak, who through thee have been perſecuted to priſon, and are
'now dead? Oh! heavy ſentence at the day of judgment! How
'wilt thou anſwer, when thou and thy works come to be judged,
'when thou ſhalt be brought before the judgment-ſeat of the Al-
'mighty, who in thy proſperity haſt made widows and fatherleſs
'for righteouſneſs-ſake, and for tenderneſs of conſcience towards
'God? The Lord knows and ſees it! O man! conſider in thy
'life-time how thou haſt ſtained thyſelf with the blood of the inno-
'cent! When thou had'ſt power and might'ſt have done good
'amongſt thy peaceable neighbours, thou would'ſt not; but uſed'ſt
'thy power not to a good intent, but contrary to the Lord's mind
'and to the king's. The king's favour, mercy, and clemency to
'ſober people and tender conſciences hath been manifeſted by de-
'clarations and proclamations, which thou haſt abuſed and ſlighted
'by perſecuting his peaceable ſubjects. At London and in other
'parts the Quakers meetings are peaceable; and if thou look but as
'far as Yorkſhire, where the plot hath been, friends innocency hath
'cleared itſelf in the hearts of ſober juſtices; and for you here to
'fall upon your peaceable neighbours and people, and to be rigorous
'and violent againſt them that are tender, godly, and righteous, it
'is no honour to you. How many drunkards, ſwearers, and
'fighters, and ſuch as are ſubject to vice, have you cauſed to be
'brought before you to your courts? It were more honourable for
'you to look after ſuch; for the law was not made for the righteous,
'but for ſinners and tranſgreſſors. Therefore conſider, and be
'humbled for theſe things; for the Lord may do to thee as thou
'haſt done to others; and thou doſt not know how ſoon there may
'be a cry in thy own family, as the cry is amongſt thy neighbours,
'of the fatherleſs and widows that are made ſo through thee. But
'the Quakers can and do ſay, "The Lord forgive thee, and lay not
"theſe things to thy charge, if it be his will."

Beſides this, which went in the name of many, I ſent him alſo a line or two, ſubſcribed by myſelf only, and directed——

'To Daniel Fleming.

'Friend,

'THOU haſt impriſoned the ſervants of the Lord, without 1664.
'the breach of any law; therefore take heed what thou doſt
'(for in the light of the Lord God thou art ſeen) leſt the hand of
'the Lord be turned againſt thee!'

'G. F.'

1664. It was not long after this, ere Fleming's wife died, and left him thirteen or fourteen motherleſs children.

Lancaſter priſon. When I was priſoner at Lancaſter, there was priſoner alſo one major Wiggan, a Baptiſt-preacher. He boaſted much before-hand what he would ſay at the aſſize, if the oath ſhould be put to him; and that he would refuſe to ſwear. But when the aſſize came, and the oath was tendered him, he deſired time to conſider of it; and that being granted him till the next aſſize, he got leave to go to London before the aſſize came again, and ſtaid at London till the plague broke forth, and there both he and his wife were cut off. He was a very wicked man, and the judgments of God came upon him; for he had publiſhed a very wicked book againſt friends, full of lies and blaſphemies; the occaſion of which was this. Whilſt he was in Lancaſter caſtle, he challenged friends to a diſpute. Whereupon I got leave of the gaoler to go up to them. And entering into diſcourſe with him, he affirmed, 'That ſome men never had the Spirit 'of God, and that the true light, which enlighteneth every one that 'cometh into the world, is natural.' For proof of his firſt aſſertion, he inſtanced Balaam, affirming, 'Balaam had not the Spirit of God.' I affirmed and proved, 'That Balaam had the Spirit of God, and 'that wicked men have the Spirit of God, elſe how could they 'quench it, vex it, grieve it, and reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt, like the 'ſtiff-necked Jews?' To his ſecond aſſertion, I anſwered, 'That 'the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the 'world, was the life in the world, and that was divine and eternal, 'and not natural. And he might as well ſay, the word was natural 'as that the life in the word was natural. And wicked men were 'enlightened by this light, elſe how could they hate it? It is ex-'preſsly ſaid, they did hate it; and the reaſon given why, was, "be-"cauſe their deeds were evil;" and they would not come to it, be-'cauſe it reproved them; and that muſt needs be in them, which 'reproved them. Beſides, that light could not be the ſcriptures of 'the New-Teſtament; for it was teſtified of before any part of the 'New-Teſtament was written; ſo it muſt be by the Divine Light, 'which is the Life in Chriſt, the Word, before the ſcriptures were. 'And the grace of God, which brought ſalvation, had appeared 'unto all men, and taught the ſaints; but they that turned from it 'into wantonneſs, and walked deſpitefully againſt the Spirit of 'Grace, were the wicked. Again, the Spirit of Truth, the Holy 'Ghoſt, the Comforter, which leads the diſciples of Chriſt into all 'truth, the ſame ſhould reprove the world of ſin, of righteouſneſs, 'of judgment, and of their unbelief. So the wicked world had it 'to reprove them, and the true diſciples and learners of Chriſt, that 'believed in the light as Chriſt commands, had it to lead them. But 'the world that did not believe in the light, though they were 'lighted, but hated the light which they ſhould have believed in, 'and loved the darkneſs rather than it, this world had a righteouſ-'neſs and a judgment, which the Holy Ghoſt reproved them for, 'as well as for their unbelief.' Having proved, that the good and the bad were enlightened, that the Grace of God had appeared unto all, and that all had the Spirit of God, elſe they could not vex and

grieve

grieve it, I told major Wiggan, The leaſt babe there might ſee him; and preſently ſtood up one Richard Cubham, and proved him an antichriſt and a deceiver by ſcripture. Then the gaoler had me away to my priſon again. Afterwards Wiggan wrote a book of this diſpute, and put in abundance of abominable lies; which was ſoon anſwered in print, and himſelf was not long after cut off, as aforeſaid. 1664. Lancaſter priſon.

This Wiggan was poor, and while he was priſoner at Lancaſter he ſent into the country, and got money gathered for relief of the poor people of God in priſon; and many people gave freely, thinking it had been for us, when indeed it was for himſelf. But when we heard of it, we laid it upon him, and wrote into the country, that friends might let the people know the truth of the matter, that it was not our manner to have collections made for us, and that thoſe collections were only for Wiggan and another, a drunken preacher of his ſociety; who was ſo drunk, that once he loſt his breeches.

After this it came upon me to write to the judges and other magiſtrates concerning their 'giving evil words and nick-names to ſuch 'as were brought before them.' Which was after this manner.

'To all judges or other officers whatſoever in the whole world, 'who profeſs yourſelves to be Chriſtians.

'Friends,

'HEREIN and by reading the ſcriptures, ye may ſee both your 'own words and behaviour, and the words and practice of both 'Jews and Heathens, and of the King of Kings, the Great Law-'giver and Judge of the whole World. Firſt, concerning the 'words and carriage of the Jews, when ſome worthy of death were 'brought before the rulers amongſt them. When Achan had taken 'the Babyloniſh garment, the two hundred ſhekels of ſilver, and the 'wedge of gold of fifty ſhekels weight, and Joſhua, who was then 'judge of Iſrael, had by the lot diſcovered him, he did not call 'him, Sirrah, nor you Raſcal, Knave, Rogue, as ſome, called 'Chriſtian magiſtrates, are too apt to do. But Joſhua ſaid unto 'Achan, "My ſon." Mark his clean language, ſavoury expreſſion, 'and gracious words. "My ſon," ſaid he, "give, I pray thee, "glory to the Lord God of Iſrael, and make confeſſion unto him, "and tell me now what thou haſt done, hide it not from me." 'Then Achan confeſſed, that he had ſinned againſt the Lord God of 'Iſrael, and thus and thus he had done. Then Joſhua, the judge, 'ſaid, "Why haſt thou troubled Iſrael? The Lord ſhall trouble "thee this day; and they ſtoned him and his with ſtones, and "burned his goods with fire." But there was no unſavoury word 'given him that we read of, though he was worthy of death,' Joſh. vii.

'So when the man, that gathered ſticks upon the ſabbath-day, 'was taken and brought before Moſes, the judge of Iſrael, and put 'in ward till the mind of the Lord was known concerning him, 'we read not of any reviling language given him; but the Lord ſaid

'to

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'to Moſes, and Moſes to the people, "The man ſhall ſurely be put "to death," Numb. xv. 35.

'Likewiſe in the rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, 'when Moſes called them to trial, he did not ſirrah them nor miſ-'name them; but ſaid to Corah and the reſt, "Hear, I pray you, ye "ſons of Levi," Numb. xvi. 8. And when he gave the ſentence 'againſt them, he ſaid, "If theſe men die the common death of "all men," &c. He did not ſay, If theſe Raſcals or Knaves, as 'many that profeſs themſelves Chriſtians now do.

'When Elihu ſpoke to Job, who was a judge, and to his friends, 'and ſaid, "Let me not, I pray you, accept of any man's perſon, "neither let me give flattering titles unto man, for I know not to "give flattering titles; in ſo doing my Maker would ſoon take me "away," Job xxxii. Job did not ſay, "Sirrah, hold thy tongue;" 'nor gave him any unſavoury expreſſion. The words of David, 'Solomon, and other kings and officers, ſee in the books of the 'Kings and Chronicles, the ſavoury language they gave to them that 'were brought before them. Nay, though Shimei curſed David the 'king, yet neither did David then or afterward, nor Solomon, when 'he cauſed him to be put to death, give him any reproachful lan-'guage, or ſo much as call him Sirrah, 2 Sam. xvi. and 1 Kings ii.

'Read the prophecies of Iſaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and 'the reſt of the prophets, who propheſied to different people, and 'againſt rulers, kings, and magiſtrates; yet where can it be found, 'that they had any bad language given them, as Sirrah or the like, 'by any ruler either of the Jews or Heathens? Nay, though Jere-'miah was caſt into priſon, and into the dungeon, yet there was no 'ſuch word as Sirrah or Knave given him, Jer. xxxvii.

'Reſpecting the words and carriage of the Heathens. When 'Abraham was before Abimelech, who was a king, he gave Abra-'ham no unſavoury expreſſions, Gen. xx. When Iſaac came before 'Abimelech, he gave him no taunting language, Gen. xxvi. 'When Joſeph was caſt into priſon, and that in Egypt, we do not 'read he had any railing language given him, Gen. xxxix. Neither 'did Pharaoh, when Moſes and Aaron appeared before him, give 'them bad language, as Sirrah, Knave, or the like.

'When Nebuchadnezzar ſentenced the three children to the fiery 'furnace, there was no ſuch language given them as Sirrah, Knave, 'Raſcal; but they were called by the names they were known by, Dan. iii. 'When Daniel was brought before king Darius, and ſentenced to be 'caſt into the lion's den, he had no ſuch ill names given him, as 'many give now, who call thoſe Heathen rulers, but themſelves 'Chriſtians.

'If ye look into the New-Teſtament, in the parable of the wed-'ding-ſupper, the king that came to view his gueſts did not ſay to him 'that was found without a wedding-garment, "Sirrah, how cameſt "thou in hither?" but, "Friend, how cameſt thou in hither?" '&c. though he was to be bound hand and foot, and "caſt into "utter darkneſs," Matth. xxii. Nay, when Judas had betrayed his 'maſter, Jeſus Chriſt, the Lord of Life, and ſold him to the prieſts, 'Chriſt did not call him Sirrah, when he came to apprehend him,

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'but Friend, Matth. xxvi. 50. Stephen, in his examination, ſentence, and death had no ſuch reproachful word given him, as Sirrah or Knave, Acts vi. & vii. chap. When the apoſtles Peter and John were brought before the high-prieſt and rulers of the Jews, and commanded not to preach in the name of Jeſus, Acts iv. they were not called Sirrahs or Knaves, nor had any ſuch ill names given them. When Paul and Silas were caſt into priſon by the magiſtrates, Acts xvi. they called them men, not Rogues, Sirrahs, nor Knaves. And when the magiſtrates had done contrary to law they feared. So ye may ſee how ſhort of this example many are that call themſelves Chriſtian rulers, who are not afraid to caſt innocent people into priſon, and give them ill names beſides, below both Jews and Heathens.

'When the uproar was at Epheſus about Diana's Shrine, Demetrius, who bore great ſway among the craftſmen, did not call Paul Sirrah, but Paul, Acts xix. When Paul was brought priſoner before the high-prieſt Ananias and the council of the Jews, and told them, "He had lived in all good conſcience towards God until that "day;" though they, who profeſſed the ſcriptures but lived out of the life of them, could not abide to hear of living in a good conſcience, as profeſſors of the ſcriptures now, that live not in the life, cannot abide to hear of living in a good conſcience now-a-days; but Ananias cauſed Paul to be "ſmitten on the mouth;" yet he did not call him Knave nor Sirrah, Acts xxiii. The apoſtate Jews indeed, who, though they profeſſed ſcripture, were out of the life thereof, and had rejected Chriſt, in accuſing Paul before the Roman magiſtrates, did once call him a Peſtilent Fellow, Acts xxiv. as the accuſing profeſſors, who live out of the life, ſometimes call us now. But neither Felix, Feſtus, nor king Agrippa, in all their examinations, gave Paul any ſuch words as Sirrah, Raſcal, Knave, or the like, but heard him patiently. So Chriſtians may ſee through all the ſcriptures, when perſons were brought before rulers, kings, or magiſtrates, whether Jews or Heathens, they did not uſe to call them evil names, as Sirrah, Raſcal, Knave, and the like. They had no ſuch foul-mouth'd language in their courts. Nor did they uſe to ſay to them, "Sirrah, put off your "hat." Now, ye that profeſs chriſtianity, and ſay the "ſcripture "is your rule," may ſee that more corrupt words proceed out of your mouths than either out of the Jews or Heathens, if ye will try your practice by the ſcriptures; and doth not the apoſtle tell you, that no corrupt communication ſhould proceed out of your mouths? and that your words ſhould be gracious? I query, Where and whence ye that call yourſelves Chriſtians have got all theſe bad words and names, ſeeing neither God nor Chriſt, the prophets, judges, kings, nor rulers ever gave any ſuch names, ſo far as appears by ſcripture, either amongſt Heathens, Jews, or Chriſtians?

'G. F.'

Before the next aſſizes there was a quarter-ſeſſions held at Lancaſter by the juſtices. To which, though we were not brought, I

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put friends upon drawing up an account of their ſufferings, and laying them before the juſtices in their open ſeſſions. For friends had ſuffered deeply by fines and diſtreſſes, the bailiffs and officers making great havock and ſpoil of their goods; but no redreſs was afforded.

And becauſe ſome evil-minded magiſtates would tell us ſometimes of the late plot in the north, we gave forth the following paper to ſtop their mouths, and to clear truth and friends therefrom.

'A Teſtimony from the people of God, whom the world calls 'Quakers, to all the magiſtrates and officers of what ſort ſo-'ever, from the higheſt to the loweſt.

'WE are peaceable, and ſeek the peace, good, and welfare of all, 'as in our lives and peaceable carriages is manifeſted, and we 'deſire the eternal good of all, and their ſouls everlaſting peace. We 'are become heirs of the bleſſing before the curſe was, and of the power 'of God before the devil was, and before the fall of man. We are 'heirs of the goſpel of peace, which is the power of God; we are 'heirs of Chriſt, who have inherited him and his everlaſting king-'dom, and do poſſeſs the power of an endleſs life. Knowing this 'our portion and inheritance, this is to take off all jealouſies out of 'your minds, and out of the minds of all concerning us, that all 'plots and conſpiracies, plotters and conſpirators againſt the king, 'and all aiders or aſſiſters thereunto we always did and do utterly 'deny to be of us, or to be of the fellowſhip of the goſpel, of 'Chriſt's kingdom, or his ſervants. For Chriſt ſaid, "His king-"dom was not of this world, if it were his ſervants would fight." 'Therefore he bid Peter, "put up his ſword; for," ſaid he, "he "that taketh the ſword ſhall periſh by the ſword." Here is the 'faith and patience of the ſaints, to bear and ſuffer all things, 'knowing vengeance is the Lord's, and he will repay it to them 'that hurt his people and wrong the innocent; therefore cannot we 'avenge but ſuffer for his name's ſake. We know that the Lord 'will judge the world in righteouſneſs according to their deeds, and 'that, when every one ſhall give an account to him of the "deeds "done in the body," then will the Lord give every man according 'to his works, whether they be good or evil. Chriſt faith, he 'came not to "deſtroy men's lives;" and when his diſciples would 'have had "fire to come down from heaven," to have conſumed 'thoſe that did not receive him, he told them, "They knew not "what ſpirit they were of," they would have men's lives deſtroyed; 'therefore he rebuked them, and told them, "That he came "not to deſtroy men's lives, but to ſave them." We are of Chriſt's 'mind, who is the great prophet, whom all ought to hear in all 'things, who commandeth his, "If they ſtrike thee on one cheek "turn the other, and render to no man evil for evil." This 'doctrine of his we have learned, and not only confeſs him in 'words, but follow his doctrine; and therefore we ſuffer all manner 'of reproaches, ſcandals, ſlanders, ſpoiling of goods, buffetings, whippings, ſtripes, and impriſonments for theſe many years, and can ſay, "The Lord forgive them that have thus ſerved us, and

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" lay not theſe things to their charge!" We know the Jews outward ſword, by which they cut down the Heathen outwardly, was a type of the inward ſword of the Spirit, which cuts down the inward Heathen, the raging nature in people. The blood of bulls, lambs, rams, and other offerings, and that prieſthood which offered them, together with other things in the law, were types of Chriſt, the one offering, and of his blood, who is the everlaſting prieſt and covenant, our life, and way to God, the great prophet and ſhepherd, the head of his church, and the great biſhop of our ſouls, whom we witneſs come; he doth overſee and keep his flock. For in Adam, in the fall, we know the ſtriving, quarrelling, unpeaceable ſpirits are at enmity one with another, and not in peace; but in Chriſt Jeſus, the ſecond Adam, that never fell, is peace, reſt, and life. The doctrine of Chriſt, who never ſinned, is to " love one another," and thoſe who are in this doctrine hurt no man, in which we are, in Chriſt, who is our life. Therefore it is well for you to diſtinguiſh betwixt the precious and the vile, between them that fear God and ſerve him and them that do not, and to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty, between him that is holy and pure and the ungodly and prophane; for they that do not ſo, bring troubles, burdens, and ſorrows upon themſelves. This we write in love to your ſouls, that ye may conſider theſe things; for thoſe that hate enemies, and one another, we cannot ſay they are of God, nor in Chriſt's doctrine, but are oppoſers of it. And ſuch as wreſtle with fleſh and blood, with carnal weapons, are gone into the fleſh out of the Spirit. They are not in our fellowſhip in the Spirit, in which is the bond of peace, neither are they of us, nor have we unity with them in their fleſhly ſtate, and with their carnal weapons. For our unity and fellowſhip ſtands in the goſpel, which is the power of God, before the devil was, the liar, the murderer, the manſlayer, and the envious. Chriſt's mind and his doctrine being to ſave men's lives, we who are of Chriſt's mind are out of and above theſe things. Our deſire is, that in the fear of the Lord ye may live, that therein ye may receive God's wiſdom, by which all things were created, that by it all may be ordered to his glory.

' This is from them that love all your ſouls, and ſeek your eternal good.'

Lancaſter caſtle.

Being priſoner in Lancaſter caſtle, a deep ſenſe came upon me of a day of ſore trial and exerciſe that was come and coming upon all who had been high in profeſſion of religion; and I was moved to give forth the following paper as a warning to ſuch:

' NOW is the day that every one's faith and love to God and Chriſt will be tried; who are redeemed out of the earth, and who are in the earth will be manifeſted; who is the maſter they ſerve, and whether they will run to the mountains to cover them. Now will it appear who are the ſtony-ground, who are the thorny-ground, and who are the high-way-ground, in whom the fowls of the air take away the ſeed, the thorns and cares of the world choke,

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'choke, and the heat of perſecution ſcorches and burns up your 'green blade; for the day trieth all things. Therefore let not ſuch 'as forſake truth for ſaving the earth ſay, that your brother prieſt 'only "ſerveth not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt but his own belly, and "mindeth earthly things;" for themſelves alſo do the ſame, do 'hug and embrace ſelf and not the Lord. Now it will be made ma-'nifeſt who is every one's God, Chriſt, and Saviour, and their love 'will be manifeſt, whether it be of the world or the love of God; 'for if it be the love of the world, it is enmity, and the enmity will 'manifeſt itſelf what it is; and the day will try every ſpirit and his 'fruits. Therefore, my dear friends, in the everlaſting ſeed of God 'live, that is over all the houſe of Adam and his works in the fall; 'dwelling in the ſeed, Chriſt, that never fell, in him you all have 'virtue, life, and peace, and through him ye will overcome all that 'is in the fall.

'G. F.'

I wrote alſo another ſhort epiſtle to friends, to warn them to keep out of that ſpirit that wrought in John Perrot and his company againſt the truth.

'Dear friends,

'DWELL in the love of God, and in his righteouſneſs, that will 'preſerve you above all unclean and changeable ſpirits, that 'dwell not in the truth but in quarrels. Avoid ſuch, and keep your 'habitations in the truth. Dwell in the truth, and in the word of 'God, by which ye are reconciled to him. Keep your meetings in 'the name of Jeſus Chriſt, who never fell; then you will ſee over 'all the gatherings of Adam's ſons and daughters, you being met in 'the life over them all, in which is your unity, peace, and fellow-'ſhip with God, and one with another, in the life, wherein ye may 'enjoy God's preſence among you. So remember me to all friends 'in the everlaſting ſeed of God. All that are got into fellowſhip in 'outward things, their fellowſhip will corrupt, and wither away. 'Therefore live in the goſpel, the power of God, which power of 'God the goſpel was before the devil was. This fellowſhip in the 'goſpel, the power of God, is a myſtery to all the fellowſhips in the 'world. So look over all outward ſufferings, and eye the Lord and 'the Lamb, who is the Firſt and Laſt, the Amen; in whom fare-'well.

'G. F.'

Lancaſter aſſizes.

In the ſixth month the aſſizes were held again at Lancaſter, and the ſame judges, Twiſden and Turner, came that circuit again; but judge Turner then ſate on the crown-bench, ſo I was brought before him. Before I was called to the bar, I was put among murderers and felons for about the ſpace of two hours, the people, the juſtices, and the judge alſo gazing upon me. After they had tried ſeveral others, they called me to the bar, and impanelled a jury. Then the judge aſked the juſtices, 'Whether they had tendered me 'the oath at the ſeſſions?' They ſaid, 'They had.' Then he bid,

'give them the book, that they might ſwear they had tendered me 1664.
'the oath at the ſeſſions.' They ſaid, 'They had.' Then he bid, Lancaſter
'Give them the book, that they might ſwear they had tendered me aſſizes.
'the oath according to the indictment.' Some of the juſtices refuſed to be ſworn; but the judge ſaid, he would have it done to take away all occaſion of exception. When the jury were ſworn, and the juſtices had ſworn 'they had tendered the oath according to the in-'dictment,' the judge aſked me, 'Whether I had not refuſed the 'oath at the laſt aſſizes?' I ſaid, 'I never took an oath in my life, 'and Chriſt, the Saviour and Judge of the World, ſaid, "Swear "not at all." The judge ſeemed not to take notice of my anſwer; but aſked me, 'Whether or no I had not refuſed to take the oath at 'the laſt aſſize?' I ſaid, 'The words that I then ſpoke to them 'were, that if they could prove, either judge, juſtices, prieſt, or 'teacher, that after Chriſt and the apoſtle had forbidden ſwearing, 'they commanded that Chriſtians ſhould ſwear, I would ſwear.' The judge ſaid, 'He was not at that time to diſpute whether it was 'lawful to ſwear, but to inquire whether I had refuſed to take the 'oath or no.' I told him, 'Thoſe things mentioned in the oath, as 'plotting againſt the king, and owning the pope's or any other 'foreign power, I utterly deny.' 'Well,' ſaid he, 'you ſay 'well in that; but did you deny to take the oath? What ſay you?' 'What wouldſt thou have me to ſay?' ſaid I, 'for I have told 'thee before what I did ſay.' Then he aſked me, 'If I would have 'theſe men to ſwear that I had taken the oath?' I aſked him, 'If 'he would have thoſe men to ſwear that I had refuſed the oath?' At which the court burſt out into laughter. I was grieved to ſee ſo much lightneſs in a court, where ſuch ſolemn matters are handled, and thereupon aſked him, 'If this court was a play-houſe? Where 'is gravity and ſobriety,' ſaid I; 'for this behaviour doth not be-'come you.' Then the clerk read the indictment, and I told the judge, 'I had ſomething to ſpeak to it; for I had informed myſelf 'of the errors that were in it.' He told me, 'He would hear me 'afterward any reaſons that I could allege why he ſhould not give 'judgment.' Then I ſpoke to the jury, and told them, 'They 'could not bring me in guilty according to that indictment; for the 'indictment was wrong laid, and had many groſs errors in it.' The judge ſaid, 'I muſt not ſpeak to the jury, but he would ſpeak to 'them;' and he told them, 'I had denied to take the oath at the 'laſt aſſizes, and' ſaid he, 'I can tender the oath to any man now, 'and premunire him for not taking it; and,' he ſaid, 'they muſt 'bring me in guilty, ſeeing I refuſed to take the oath.' 'Then,' ſaid I, 'what do ye do with a form? Ye may throw away your 'form then.' And I told the jury, 'It lay upon their conſciences, 'as they would anſwer it to the Lord God before his judgment-ſeat.' Then the judge ſpoke again to the jury, and I called to him to 'do 'me juſtice.' The jury brought me in guilty. Whereupon I told them, 'That both the juſtices and they had forſworn themſelves, 'and therefore they had ſmall cauſe to laugh as they did a little be-'fore.' Oh! the envy, rage, and malice, that appeared againſt me, and the lightneſs; but the Lord confounded them, and they

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were wonderfully ſtopped. So they ſet me aſide, and called up Margaret Fell, who had a great deal of good ſervice amongſt them, and then the court broke up near the ſecond hour.

In the afternoon we were brought again to have ſentence paſſed upon us. Margaret Fell deſired ſentence might be deferred till the next morning. 'I deſired nothing but law and juſtice at his hands, 'for the thieves had mercy; only I requeſted the judge to ſend ſome 'to ſee my priſon, which was ſo bad they would put no creature 'they had in it; and I told him, that colonel Kirby, who was then 'on the bench, ſaid, "I ſhould be locked up, and no fleſh alive "ſhould come to me." The judge ſhook his head, and ſaid, 'When the ſentence was given, he would leave me to the favour of 'the gaoler.' Moſt of the gentry of the country were gathered together, expecting to hear the ſentence; and the noiſe amongſt the people was, 'That I ſhould be tranſported.' But they were all croſſed at that time; for the ſentence being deferred till next morning, I was had to priſon again. Upon my complaining of the badneſs of my priſon, ſome of the juſtices, with colonel Kirby, went up to ſee it; but when they came, they durſt hardly go in, the floor was ſo bad and dangerous, and the place ſo open to wind and rain. Some that came up ſaid, 'Sure it was a Jakes-houſe.' When colonel Kirby ſaw it, and heard what others ſaid of it, he excuſed the matter as well as he could, ſaying, 'I ſhould be removed ere it was 'long to ſome more convenient place.'

Next day, towards the eleventh hour, we were called again to hear the ſentence; and Margaret Fell being called firſt to the bar, ſhe had counſel to plead, who found many errors in her indictment; whereupon, after the judge had acknowledged them, ſhe was ſet by. Then the judge aſked, 'What they could ſay to mine?' I was not willing to let any man plead for me, but to ſpeak to it myſelf; and indeed, though Margaret had ſome that pleaded for her, yet ſhe ſpoke as much herſelf as ſhe would. But before I came to the bar, I was moved in my ſpirit to pray, 'That God would confound their 'wickedneſs and envy, ſet his truth over all, and exalt his ſeed.' The Lord heard and anſwered, and did confound them in their proceedings againſt me. And though they had moſt envy againſt me, yet the moſt groſs errors were found in my indictment.

I having put by others from pleading for me, the judge aſked me, 'What I had to ſay, why he ſhould not paſs ſentence upon me?' I told him, 'I was no lawyer; but I had much to ſay if he would 'but have patience to hear.' At that he laughed, and others laughed alſo, and ſaid, 'Come, what have you to ſay? He can 'ſay nothing.' 'Yes,' ſaid I, 'I have much to ſay; have but the 'patience to hear me.'

I aſked him, 'Whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's 'ſubjects, or to the ſubjects of foreign princes?' He ſaid, 'To 'the ſubjects of this realm.' Then ſaid I, 'Look into the indict-'ment, ye may ſee that ye have left out the word Subject; ſo not 'having named me in the indictment as a ſubject, ye cannot pre-'munire me for not taking an oath.' Then they looked over the ſtatute and the indictment, and ſaw it was as I ſaid; and the judge confeſſed

confeſſed it was an error. I told him, 'I had ſomething elſe to ſtop 1664.
'his judgment,' and deſired him to look what day the indictment Lancaſter
ſaid the oath was tendered to me at the ſeſſions there. They looked, aſſizes.
and ſaid, 'It was the eleventh day of January.' 'What day of the
'week was the ſeſſions held on,' ſaid I? 'On a Tueſday,' ſaid
they. Then ſaid I, 'Look your Almanacks, and ſee whether there
'was any ſeſſions held at Lancaſter on the eleventh day of January, ſo
'called?' So they looked, and found that the eleventh day was the
day called Monday, and that the ſeſſions was on the day called Tueſ-
day, which was the twelfth day of that month. 'Look now,'
ſaid I, 'ye have indicted me for refuſing the oath in the quarter-
'ſeſſions held at Lancaſter on the eleventh day of January laſt, and
'the juſtices have ſworn that they tendered me the oath in open
'ſeſſions here that day, and the jury upon their oaths have found me
'guilty thereupon; and yet ye ſee there was no ſeſſion held in Lan-
'caſter that day.' Then the judge, to cover the matter, aſked,
'Whether the ſeſſions did not begin on the eleventh day?' But
ſome in the court anſwered, 'No; the ſeſſion held but one day, and
'that was the twelfth.' Then the judge ſaid, 'This was a great
'miſtake and an error.' Some of the juſtices were in a great rage at
this, ſtamped, and ſaid, 'Who hath done this? Some body hath
'done this on purpoſe;' and a great heat was amongſt them. Then
ſaid I, 'Are not the juſtices here, that have ſworn to this indict-
'ment, forſworn men in the face of the country? But this is not
'all,' ſaid I, 'I have more yet to offer why ſentence ſhould not be
'given againſt me.' I aſked, 'In what year of the king the laſt
'aſſize here was holden, which was in the month called March laſt?'
The judge ſaid, 'It was in the ſixteenth year of the king.' But,'
ſaid I, 'the indictment ſays, it was in the fifteenth year.' They
looked, and found it ſo. This alſo was acknowledged to be another
error. Then they were all in a fret again, and could not tell what
to ſay; for the judge had ſworn the officers of the court, that the
oath was tendered to me at the aſſize mentioned in the indictment.
'Now,' ſaid I, 'is not the court here forſworn alſo, who have
'ſworn that the oath was tendered to me at the aſſize holden here
'in the fifteenth year of the king, when it was in his ſixteenth year,
'and ſo they have ſworn a year falſe?' The judge bid them look
whether Margaret Fell's indictment was ſo or no. They looked,
and found it was not ſo. I told the judge, 'I had more yet to offer
'to ſtop ſentence;' and aſked him, 'Whether all the oath ought to
'be put into the indictment or no?' 'Yes,' ſaid he, 'it ought to
'be all put in.' 'Then,' ſaid I, 'compare the indictment with
'the oath, and there thou mayeſt ſee theſe words; viz. [or by any
'authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his ſee]
'left out of the indictment, which is a principal part of the oath;
'and in another place the words [heirs and ſucceſſors] are left out.'
The judge acknowledged theſe alſo to be great errors. 'But,'
ſaid I, 'I have ſomething further to allege.' 'Nay,' ſaid the
judge, 'I have enough, you need ſay no more.' 'If,' ſaid I, 'thou
'haſt enough, I deſire nothing but law and juſtice at thy hands; for
'I don't look for mercy.' 'You muſt have juſtice,' ſaid he, 'and
'you

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'you ſhall have law.' Then I aſked, 'Am I at liberty, and free 'from all that ever hath been done againſt me in this matter?' 'Yes,' ſaid the judge, 'you are free from all that hath been done 'againſt you. But then,' ſtarting up in a rage, he ſaid, 'I can put 'the oath to any man here, and I will tender you the oath again.' I told him, 'He had examples enough yeſterday of ſwearing and 'falſe-ſwearing, both in the juſtices and in the jury; for I ſaw before 'mine eyes that both juſtices and jury had forſworn themſelves.' The judge aſked me, 'If I would take the oath?' I anſwered, 'Do me juſtice for my falſe impriſonment all this while; for what 'have I been impriſoned ſo long for? I told him, I ought to be ſet 'at liberty.' 'You are at liberty,' ſaid he, 'but I will put the oath 'to you again.' Then I turned about, and ſaid, 'All people, take 'notice this is a ſnare, for I ought to be ſet free from the gaoler and 'from this court.' But the judge cried, 'Give him the book,' and the ſheriff and the juſtices cried, 'Give him the book.' Then the power of darkneſs roſe up in them, like a mountain, and a clerk lifted up a book to me. I ſtood ſtill, and ſaid, 'If it be a Bible, 'give it me into my hand.' 'Yes, yes,' ſaid the judge and juſtices, 'give it him into his hand.' 'So I took it, and looked into it, and ſaid, 'I ſee it is a Bible, I am glad of it.' He had cauſed the jury to be called, and they ſtood by; for after they had brought in their former verdict, he would not diſmiſs them though they deſired it, but told them, 'He could not diſmiſs them yet, he ſhould have buſineſs 'for them; therefore they muſt attend, and be ready when they 'were called.' When he ſaid ſo, I felt his intent, that if I was freed, he would come on again. So I looked him in the face, and the witneſs of God ſtarted up in him, and made him bluſh when he looked at me again; for he ſaw that I diſcovered him. Nevertheleſs hardening himſelf, he cauſed the oath to be read to me, the jury ſtanding by. When it was read, he aſked me, 'Whether I would take 'the oath or no?' Then ſaid I, 'Ye have given me a book here to 'kiſs, and to ſwear on; and this book which ye have given me to 'kiſs, ſays, "Kiſs the Son;" and the Son ſays in this book, "Swear not at all;" and ſo ſays alſo the apoſtle James. I ſay as the 'book ſays, yet ye impriſon me. How chance ye do not impriſon 'the book for ſaying ſo? How comes it that the book is at liberty 'amongſt you, which bids me not to ſwear, and yet ye impriſon me 'for doing as the book bids me?' I was ſpeaking this to them, and held up the Bible open in my hand, to ſhew them the place where Chriſt forbad ſwearing, they plucked the book out of my hand, and the judge ſaid, 'Nay, but we will impriſon George Fox.' Yet this got abroad over all the country as a by-word, 'That they gave me a 'book to ſwear on that commanded me "not to ſwear at all;" and 'that the Bible was at liberty, and I in priſon for doing as the Bible 'ſaid.' When the judge ſtill urged me to ſwear, I told him, 'I 'never took oath, covenant, nor engagement in my life; but my 'yea or nay was more binding to me than an oath was to many 'others; for had they not had experience how little men regarded 'an oath? and how they had ſworn one way and then another? and 'how the juſtices and court had forſworn themſelves now? I told 'him,

'him, I was a man of a tender conſcience, and if they had any 1664.
'ſenſe of a tender conſcience, they would conſider, that it was in Lancaſter
'obedience to Chriſt's command that I could not ſwear. But,' ſaid aſſizes.
I, 'if any of you can convince me, that, after Chriſt and the 'apoſtle had commanded not to ſwear, they altered that command, 'and commanded Chriſtians to ſwear, ye ſhall ſee I will ſwear.' There being many prieſts by, I ſaid, 'If ye cannot do it, let your 'prieſts ſtand up and do it.' But not one of the prieſts made anſwer. 'Oh!' ſaid the judge, 'all the world cannot convince you.' 'No,' ſaid I, 'how is it like the world ſhould convince me? "The "whole world lies in wickedneſs." Bring out your ſpiritual men, 'as ye call them, to convince me.' Then both the ſheriff and the judge ſaid, 'The angels ſwore in the Revelations.' I replied, 'When God bringeth his firſt-begotten Son into the world, he ſaith, "Let all the angels of God worſhip him;" and he ſaith, "Swear "not at all." 'Nay,' ſaid the judge, 'I will not diſpute.' Then I ſpoke to the jury, telling them, 'It was for Chriſt's ſake that I 'could not ſwear, and therefore I warned them not to act contrary to 'that of God in their conſciences; for before his judgment-ſeat they 'muſt all be brought.' I told them, 'As for plots, and perſecution 'for religion and popery, I deny them in my heart; for I am a 'Chriſtian, and ſhall ſhew forth Chriſtianity amongſt you this day. 'It is for Chriſt's doctrine I ſtand.' More words I had both with the judge and jury before the gaoler took me away.

In the afternoon I was brought up again, and put among the thieves a pretty while, where I ſtood with my hat on till the gaoler took it off. Then the jury having found this new indictment againſt me 'for not taking the oath,' I was called to the bar, and the judge aſked me, 'What I would ſay for myſelf?' I bid them read the indictment; for I would not anſwer to that which I did not hear. The clerk read it, and as he read the judge ſaid 'Take heed it be 'not falſe again;' but he read it in ſuch a manner, that I could hardly underſtand what he read. When he had done, the judge aſked me, 'What I ſaid to the indictment?' I told him, 'At once 'hearing ſo large a writing read, and that at ſuch a diſtance, that I 'could not diſtinctly hear all the parts of it, I could not well tell what 'to ſay to it; but if he would let me have a copy of it, and give me 'time to conſider of it, I ſhould anſwer it.' This put them to a little ſtand; but after a while the judge aſked me, 'What time I would 'have?' I ſaid, 'Till the next aſſize.' But,' ſaid he, 'what plea will 'ye now make? Are ye guilty, or not guilty?' I ſaid, 'I am not guilty 'at all of denying to ſwear obſtinately and wilfully; and as for thoſe 'things mentioned in the oath, as jeſuitical plots and foreign powers, 'I utterly deny them in my heart. If I could take any oath I ſhould 'take that; but I never took any oath in my life.' The judge anſwered, 'I ſaid well; but,' ſaid he, 'the king is ſworn, the par-'liament is ſworn, I am ſworn, and the juſtices are ſworn, and the 'law is preſerved by oaths.' I told him, 'They had ſufficient expe-'rience of men's ſwearing, and he had ſeen how the juſtices and jury 'had ſworn wrong the other day; and if he had read in the book of 'martyrs how many of them had refuſed to ſwear, both in the time

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'of the ten perſecutions and in biſhop Bonner's days, he might ſee, 'that to deny ſwearing in obedience to Chriſt's command was no 'new thing.' He ſaid, 'He wiſhed the laws were otherwiſe.' I ſaid, 'Our yea is yea, and our nay is nay; and if we tranſgreſs our 'yea or our nay, let us ſuffer as they do, or ſhould do, that ſwear 'falſely.' This, I told him, we had offered to the king, and the king ſaid, 'It was reaſonable.'

Lancaſter priſon.

After ſome further diſcourſe, they committed me to priſon again, there to lie till the next aſſize; and colonel Kirby gave order to the gaoler, 'To keep me cloſe, and ſuffer no fleſh alive to come at me; 'for I was not fit,' he ſaid, 'to be diſcourſed with by men.' I was put into a tower, where the ſmoke of the other priſoners came up ſo thick, it ſtood as dew upon the walls, and ſometimes it was ſo thick that I could hardly ſee the candle when it burned; and I being locked under three locks, the under-gaoler, when the ſmoke was great, would hardly be perſuaded to come up to unlock one of the uppermoſt doors, for fear of the ſmoke, ſo that I was almoſt ſmothered. Beſides it rained in upon my bed, and many times, when I went to ſtop out the rain in the cold winter-ſeaſon, my ſhirt was as wet as muck with the rain that came in upon me while I was labouring to ſtop it out. And, the place being high and open to the wind, ſometimes as faſt as I ſtopped it the wind blew it out again. In this manner did I lay all that long cold winter till the next aſſize, in which time I was ſo ſtarved with cold and rain, that my body was greatly ſwelled, and my limbs much benumbed.

Lancaſter aſſizes.

The aſſize began the 16th of the month called March 1664-5. The ſame judges, Twiſden and Turner, coming that circuit again, judge Twiſden ſat this time on the crown-bench, and before him I was brought. I had informed myſelf of the errors in this indictment alſo. For though at the aſſize before, judge Turner ſaid to the officers in court, 'Pray, ſee that all the oath be in the indictment, 'and that the word Subject be in, and that the day of the month 'and year of the king be put in right; for it is a ſhame that ſo many 'errors ſhould be ſeen and found in the face of the country;' yet many errors, and thoſe great ones, were in this indictment as well as in the former. Surely the hand of the Lord was in it, to confound their miſchievous work againſt me, and to blind them therein; inſomuch that although, after the indictment was drawn at the former aſſize, the judge examined it himſelf, and tried it with the clerks, yet the word Subject was left out of this indictment alſo, the day of the month was put in wrong, and ſeveral material words of the oath were left out; yet they went on confidently againſt me, thinking all was ſafe and well. When I was ſet to the bar, and the jury called over to be ſworn, the clerk aſked me, firſt, 'Whether I had any 'objection to make to any of the jury?' I told him, 'I knew 'none of them.' Then, having ſworn the jury, they ſwore three of the officers of the court, to prove, 'That the oath was tendered 'to me at the laſt aſſizes, according to the indictment.' 'Come, 'come,' ſaid the judge, 'it was not done in a corner.' Then he aſked me, 'What I had to ſay to it; or whether I had taken the 'oath at the laſt aſſize?' I told him what I had formerly ſaid to them,

them, as it now came to my remembrance. Whereupon the judge said, 'I will not diſpute with you but in point of law.' 'Then,' said I, 'I have ſomething to ſpeak to the jury concerning the indictment.' He told me, 'I muſt not ſpeak to the jury; but if I had any thing to ſay, I muſt ſpeak to him.' I aſked him, 'Whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's ſubjects only, or to the ſubjects of foreign princes?' He replied, 'To the ſubjects of this realm; for I will ſpeak nothing to you,' ſaid he, 'but in point of law.' 'Then,' ſaid I, 'look in the indictment, and thou mayeſt ſee the word Subject is left out of this indictment alſo. Therefore, ſeeing the oath is not to be tendered to any but the ſubjects of this realm, and ye have not put me in as a ſubject, the court is to take no notice of this indictment.' I had no ſooner ſpoke thus, but the judge cried, 'Take him away, gaoler, take him away.' So I was preſently hurried away. The gaoler and people looked when I ſhould be called for again; but I was never brought to the court any more, though I had many other great errors to aſſign in the indictment. After I was gone, the judge aſked the jury, 'If they were agreed?' They ſaid, 'Yes;' and found for the king againſt me, as I was told. But I was never called to hear ſentence given, nor was any given againſt me that I could hear of. I underſtand, when they looked narrowly into the indictment, they ſaw it was not good; and the judge having ſworn the officers of the court, that the oath was tendered me at the aſſize before, ſuch a day, according as was ſet in the indictment, and that being the wrong day, I ſhould have proved the officers of the court forſworn men again, if the judge would have ſuffered me to plead to the indictment; which was thought to be the reaſon why he hurried me away ſo ſoon. The judge had paſſed ſentence of premunire upon Margaret Fell before I was brought in; and it ſeems, when I was hurried away, they recorded me as a premunired perſon, though I was never brought to hear the ſentence, nor knew of it; which was very illegal. For they ought not only to have had me preſent to hear the ſentence given, but alſo to have aſked me firſt, 'What I could ſay why ſentence ſhould not be given againſt me?' But they knew I had ſo much to ſay they could not give ſentence if they heard me.

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While I was priſoner in Lancaſter caſtle, there was great noiſe and talk of the Turk's overſpreading Chriſtendom, and great fears entered many. But one day, as I was walking in my priſon-chamber, 'I ſaw the Lord's power turn againſt him, and that he was turning back again.' I declared to ſome what the Lord had let me ſee, when there were ſuch fears of his over-running Chriſtendom; and within a month after the news came down, wherein it was mentioned, 'They had given him a defeat.'

Lancaſter priſon.

Another time, as I was walking in my chamber, with my eye to the Lord, 'I ſaw the angel of the Lord, with a glittering drawn ſword ſtretched ſouthward, as though the court had been all on a fire.' Not long after the wars broke out with Holland, the ſickneſs broke forth, and afterwards the fire of London; ſo the Lord's ſword was drawn indeed.

By

1664. Lancaſter priſon. By reaſon of my long and cloſe impriſonment in ſo bad a place, I was become very weak of body; but the Lord's power was over all, ſupported me through all, and enabled me to do ſervice for him, and for his truth and people, as the place would admit. For while I was in Lancaſter priſon, I anſwered ſeveral books, as the Maſs, the Common-prayer, the Directory, and the Church-faith; which are the four chief religions that are got up ſince the apoſtles days. And there being ſeveral friends in priſon at Lancaſter and other priſons for not paying tithes, I was moved to publiſh the following lines concerning tithes:

1665. 'IN the time of the law, thoſe that did not bring their tithes into 'the ſtore-houſe robbed God; then there was not meat in their 'houſe; therefore the Lord commanded, "To bring them into his "houſe, that there might be meat in the ſtore-houſe, which was to "feed the fatherleſs, ſtranger, and widow." But theſe prieſts who 'are counterfeits, who take people's tithes now by a law, are from 'the beaſt; and if they will not pay them, they priſon them, or 'make them pay treble. Theſe rob the poor, rob the fatherleſs, 'and the ſtranger and widow are not filled: ſo their cry is gone up 'to heaven againſt theſe. Many are made almoſt beggars by theſe 'oppreſſing prieſts, their cattle and corn being taken away from 'them, and they caſt into priſon. Others are ſued at law by the 'prieſts, and have treble damage taken from them; yet ſuch prieſts 'are cried up to be miniſters of the goſpel. Though when the un-'changeable prieſt was come, the prieſthood that was changeable 'was denied, as we now deny theſe. But if any be moved to cry 'againſt them, they are ſtocked, beat, or impriſoned. Many are 'now in priſon at Lancaſter and other places by a national law, the 'like whereof was never done by the law of God delivered to 'Moſes. We do not read that under Moſes's law any ſuffered im-'priſonment, or ſpoiling of goods for not paying tithes, or was to 'pay treble damage. Surely, ſurely, the cry for vengeance will be 'heard, which ariſes from the oppreſſed ſouls that lie under the 'altar. There are many priſoners at Kendal, becauſe they cannot 'pay tithes, as captain Ward, Thomas Robertſon, and the widow 'Garland, who hath many ſmall children: theſe ſuffer becauſe 'they cannot pay tithes. Others there are in Kendal priſon, who 'were moved of the Lord to ſpeak to the prieſts, whereof one was 'moved to go in ſackcloth, and of late with aſhes upon her head. 'Others have been moved to go in ſackcloth, as a lamentation for 'the miſerable eſtate of this nation, ſeeing ſo many crying up of the 'preaching of the goſpel, and yet ſo much ſtrife, debate, oaths, 'and diſſenſion among people. But where the goſpel is received in-'deed, ſtrife and contention are ended, and oppreſſion is taken off. 'Oh! the land mourns, becauſe of the oppreſſion of thoſe called 'miniſters! And though the cry of the oppreſſed hath not entered 'into the ears of the magiſtrates, yet is the cry of the poor oppreſſed 'people of God entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath, who 'now will be avenged of all his adverſaries. You unjuſt law-'givers,

'givers, and unjuſt judges, to that in all your conſciences I ſpeak, 1665.
'to be cleared, when ye are judged by the juſt judge of heaven and Lancaſter
'earth; whoſe terror is gone forth againſt all the ungodly, and all gaol.
'the oppreſſors of God's people whatſoever, whether ye will hear or
'forbear.

'G. F.'

After the aſſize, colonel Kirby and other juſtices were very uneaſy with my being at Lancaſter; for I had gauled them ſore at my trials there, and they laboured much to get me removed from thence to ſome remote place. Colonel Kirby threatened I ſhould be ſent far enough; ſometimes he ſaid, 'I ſhould be ſent beyond ſea.' About ſix weeks after the aſſizes, they got an order from the king and council to remove me from Lancaſter; and with it they brought a letter from the earl of Angleſey, wherein was written, 'That if thoſe things were 'found true againſt me, which I was charged withal, I deſerved no 'clemency nor mercy;' yet the greateſt matter they had againſt me was, becauſe I could not diſobey the command of Chriſt, and ſwear.

When they had prepared for my removal, the under-ſheriff and the head-ſheriff's man, with ſome bailiffs, came and fetched me out of the caſtle, when I was ſo weak with lying in that cold, wet, and ſmoky priſon, that I could hardly go or ſtand. They had me into the gaoler's houſe, where was William Kirby and ſeveral others, and they called for wine to give me. I told them, 'I would have none of their 'wine.' Then they cried, 'Bring out the horſes.' I deſired them firſt to ſhew me their order, or a copy of it, if they intended to remove me; but they would ſhew me none but their ſwords. I told them, 'There was no ſentence paſſed upon me, nor was I premu-'nired, that I knew of; and therefore I was not made the king's pri-'ſoner, but was the ſheriff's; for they and all the country knew, that 'I was not fully heard at the laſt aſſize, nor ſuffered to ſhew the er-'rors in the indictment, which were ſufficient to quaſh it, though 'they had kept me from one aſſize to another, to the end they might 'try me. But they all knew there was no ſentence of premunire 'paſſed upon me; therefore I, not being the king's priſoner but the 'ſheriff's, did deſire to ſee their order.' Inſtead of ſhewing me their order, they haled me out, and lifted me upon one of the ſheriff's horſes. When I was on horſeback in the ſtreet, the town's people being gathered to gaze upon me, I told the officers, I had received neither Chriſtianity, civility, nor humanity from them. They hurried me away about fourteen miles to Bentham, though I was ſo very weak Bentham.
that I was hardly able to ſit on horſeback, and my cloaths ſmelt ſo of ſmoke they were loathſome to myſelf. The wicked gaoler, one Hunter, a young fellow, would come behind and give the horſe a laſh with his whip, and make him ſkip and leap; ſo that I, being weak, had much ado to ſit him; then he would come and look me in the face, and ſay, 'How do you, Mr. Fox?' I told him, 'It was not 'civil in him to do ſo.' The Lord cut him off ſoon after.

1665. When we were come to Bentham in Yorkſhire, there met us many troopers and a marſhal; and many of the gentry of the country were come in, and abundance of people to take a view of me. I being very weak and weary, deſired them to let me lie down on a bed, which the ſoldiers permitted; for thoſe that brought me thither gave their order to the marſhal, and he ſet a guard of his ſoldiers upon me. When they had ſtaid a while, they preſſed horſes, raiſed the bailiff of the hundred, the conſtables, and others, and had me to Giggleſwick that night; but exceeding weak I was. There they raiſed the conſtables with their clog-ſhoes, who ſat drinking all the night in the room by me, ſo that I could not get much reſt. Next day we came to a market-town, were ſeveral friends came to ſee me. Robert Widders and divers friends came to me upon the road. The next night I aſked the ſoldiers, 'Whither they 'intended to carry me, and whither I was to be ſent?' Some of them ſaid, 'Beyond ſea,' others ſaid, 'To Tinmouth-caſtle.' And a great fear there was amongſt them, leſt ſome ſhould reſcue me out of their hands; but that fear was needleſs. Next night we came to York, where the marſhal put me up into a great chamber, where there came moſt part of two troops to ſee me. One of thoſe troopers, an envious man, hearing I was premunired, aſked me, 'What 'eſtate I had, and whether it was copy-hold or free-land?' I took no notice of his queſtion, but was moved to declare the word of life to the ſoldiers, and many of them were very loving. At night lord Frecheville, who commanded thoſe horſe, came to me, and was very civil and loving. I gave him an account of my impriſonment, and declared many things to him relating to truth. They kept me at York two days, then the marſhal and four or five ſoldiers were ſent to convey me to Scarborough caſtle. Indeed theſe were very civil men, and carried themſelves civilly and lovingly to me. On the way we baited at Malton, and they permitted friends to come and viſit me. When we were come to Scarborough, they had me to an inn, and gave notice to the governor, who ſent half a dozen ſoldiers to be my guard that night. Next day they conducted me to the caſtle, put me into a room, and ſet a centry on me. I being very weak, and ſubject to fainting, they for a while let me go out ſometimes into the air with a centry. They ſoon removed me out of this room, and put me into an open room, where the rain came in; and the room ſmoked exceedingly, which was very offenſive to me. One day the governor, who was called Sir Jordan Croſland, came to ſee me, and brought with him one called Sir Francis Cobb. I deſired the governor to go into my room, and ſee what a place I had. I had got a little fire made in it, and the room was ſo filled with ſmoke, that when they were in they could hardly find their way out again. He being a Papiſt, I told him that was his purgatory which they had put me into. I was forced to lay out about fifty ſhillings to ſtop out the rain, and keep the room from ſmoking ſo much. When I had been at that charge, and made it ſomewhat tolerable, they removed me into a worſe, where I had neither chimney nor fire-hearth. This being to the ſea-ſide, and lying much open, the wind drove in

Yorkſhire. Bentham. Giggleſwick. York. Malton. Scarborough. Scarborough caſtle.

the rain forcibly, ſo that the water came over my bed, and ran about the room, that I was fain to ſkim it up with a platter. And when my cloaths were wet, I had no fire to dry them; ſo my body was numbed with cold, and my fingers ſwelled, that one was grown as big as two. Though I was at ſome charge on this room alſo, yet I could not keep out the wind and rain. Beſides they would ſuffer few friends to come at me, and many times not any, not ſo much as to bring me a little food; but I was forced for the firſt quarter, to hire one of another ſociety to bring me neceſſaries. Sometimes the ſoldiers would take it from her, and ſhe would ſcuffle with them for it. Afterwards I hired a ſoldier to fetch me water and bread, and ſomething to make a fire of, when I was in a room where a fire could be made. Commonly a three-penny loaf ſerved me three weeks, and ſometimes longer, and moſt of my drink was water, with worm-wood ſteeped or bruiſed in it. One time, when the weather was very ſharp, and I had taken a great cold, I got a little elecampane-beer; and I heard one of the ſoldiers ſay to the other, 'They would 'play me a pretty trick, for they would ſend for me up to the deputy 'governor, and in the mean time drink my ſtrong beer out;' and ſo they did. When I returned, one of the ſoldiers came to me in a jeer, and aſked me for ſome ſtrong beer. I told him, They had played their pretty trick, and took no farther notice of it. But inaſmuch as they kept me ſo very ſtrait, not giving liberty for friends to come to me, I ſpoke to the keepers of the caſtle to this effect: 'I did not 'know till I was removed from Lancaſter caſtle, and brought pri-'ſoner to this caſtle of Scarborough, that I was convicted of a pre-'munire; for the judge did not give ſentence upon me at the aſſizes 'in open court. But ſeeing I am now a priſoner here, if I may not 'have my liberty, let my friends and acquaintance have their liberty 'to come and viſit me, as Paul's friends had among the Romans, who 'were not Chriſtians but Heathens. For Paul's friends had their 'liberty; all that would might come to him, and he had his liberty 'to preach to them in his hired houſe; but I cannot have liberty to 'go into the town, nor for my friends to come to me here. So you, 'that go under the name of Chriſtians, are worſe in this reſpect than 'thoſe Heathens were.'

1665. Scarborough caſtle.

But though they would not let friends come to me, they would often bring others, either to gaze upon me or to contend with me.

One time came a great company of Papiſts to diſcourſe with me, who affirmed, 'The pope was infallible, and had ſtood infallible 'ever ſince Peter's time.' I ſhewed them the contrary by hiſtory: 'For one of the biſhops of Rome, Marcellinus by name, denied the 'faith, and ſacrificed to idols; therefore he was not infallible. I 'told them, if they were in the Infallible Spirit, they need not have 'gaols, ſwords, ſtaves, racks, tortures, fires, whips, and gallows, to 'hold up their religion by, and to deſtroy men's lives about religion; 'for if they were in the Infallible Spirit, they would preſerve mens 'lives, and uſe none but ſpiritual weapons about religion. I told 'them alſo what one that had been of their ſociety told me. A 'woman lived in Kent, who had not only been a Papiſt herſelf but

'had

1665. Scaborough caſtle.

'had brought over ſeveral to that religion; but coming to be convinced of God's truth, and being turned by it to Chriſt, her Saviour, 'ſhe exhorted the Papiſts to the ſame. One of them, a taylor, being 'at work at her houſe, while ſhe opened to him the falſeneſs of the 'Popiſh religion, and endeavoured to draw him from it to the truth, 'drew his knife, and got between her and the door. But ſhe ſpoke 'boldly to him, and bid him put up his knife, for ſhe knew his 'principle. I aſked the woman, What ſhe thought he would have 'done with his knife?' She ſaid, "He would have ſtabbed her." "Stab thee!" ſaid I, "What would he have ſtabbed thee for? thy "religion?" "Yes," ſaid ſhe, "It is the principle of the Papiſts, if "any turn from their religion, to kill them if they can." This ſtory 'I told thoſe Papiſts, and that I had it from a perſon who had been 'one of them, but had forſook their principles, and diſcovered their 'practices. They did not deny this to be their principle, but ſaid, 'What! would I declare this abroad?' I told them, 'Yes, ſuch 'things ought to be declared abroad, that it might be known how con-'trary their religion was to true Chriſtanity;' whereupon they went away in a great rage.

Another Papiſt came to diſcourſe with me, who ſaid, 'All the 'patriarchs were in hell from the creation till Chriſt came, and that 'when Chriſt ſuffered he went into hell, and the devil ſaid to him, 'What comeſt thou hither for, to break open our ſtrongs holds? And 'Chriſt ſaid, To fetch them all out. So,' he ſaid, 'Chriſt was 'three days and three nights in hell to bring them out.' I told him, that was falſe; for Chriſt ſaid to the thief, 'This day thou ſhalt be 'with me in paradiſe.' And Enoch and Elijah were tranſlated into heaven. And Abraham was in heaven: for the ſcripture ſaith, 'La-'zarus was in his boſom; and Moſes and Elias were with Chriſt 'upon the mount before he ſuffered.' Theſe inſtances ſtopped the Papiſt's mouth, and put him to a ſtand.

Another time came Dr. Witty, who was eſteemed a great doctor in phyſick, with lord Falconbridge, the governor of Tinmouth caſtle, and ſeveral knights. I being called to them, Witty undertook to diſcourſe with me, and aſked me, 'What I was in priſon for?' I told him, 'Becauſe I would not diſobey the command of Chriſt, and 'ſwear.' He ſaid, 'I ought to ſwear my allegiance to the king.' He being a great Preſbyterian, I aſked him, 'Whether he had not 'ſworn againſt the king and houſe of lords, and taken the Scotch 'covenant? And had he not ſince ſworn to the king? What then 'was his ſwearing good for? But my allegiance,' I told him, 'did 'not conſiſt in ſwearing, but in truth and faithfulneſs.' After ſome further diſcourſe, I was had away to my priſon again; and afterwards Dr. Witty boaſted in the town amongſt his patients, that he had conquered me. When I heard of it, I told the governor, 'It 'was a ſmall boaſt in him to ſay, He had conquered a bondman.' I deſired to bid him come to me again, when he came to the caſtle. He came again a while after, with about ſixteeen or ſeventeen great perſons, and then he ran himſelf worſe on ground than before. For he affirmed before them all, 'That Chriſt had not enlightened

'every

'every man that cometh into the world;' and 'that the grace of 'God, that brought ſalvation, had not appeared unto all men,' and 'that Chriſt had not died for all men.' I aſked him, what ſort of men thoſe were which Chriſt had not enlightened? and whom his grace had not appeared to? and whom he had not died for? He ſaid, 'Chriſt did not die for adulterers, and idolaters, and wicked 'men.' I aſked him, 'Whether adulterers and wicked men were 'not ſinners?' He ſaid, 'Yes.' 'Did not Chriſt die for ſinners,' ſaid I? 'Did he not come to call ſinners to repentance?' 'Yes,' ſaid he. 'Then,' ſaid I, 'thou haſt ſtopped thy own mouth.' So I proved, that the grace of God had appeared unto all men, tho' ſome turned from it into wantonneſs, and walked deſpitefully againſt it; and that Chriſt had enlightened all men, tho' ſome hated the light. Several of the people confeſſed it was true; but he went away in a great rage, and came no more to me. 1665. Scarborough caſtle.

Another time the governor brought a prieſt; but his mouth was ſoon ſtopped. Not long after he brought two or three parliament-men, who aſked me, 'Whether I did own miniſters and biſhops?' I told them, 'Yes, ſuch as Chriſt ſent, ſuch as had freely received, 'and would freely give, ſuch as were qualified, and were in the ſame 'power and ſpirit the apoſtles were in. But ſuch biſhops and 'teachers as theirs, that would go no farther than a great benefice, 'I did not own; for they were not like the apoſtles. Chriſt ſaith 'to his miniſters, "Go ye into all nations, and preach the goſpel;" 'but ye parliament-men, who keep your prieſts and biſhops in ſuch 'great fat benefices, have ſpoiled them all. For do ye think they 'will go into all nations to preach? or will go any farther than a 'great fat benefice? Judge yourſelves whether they will or no.'

There came another time the widow of old lord Fairfax, and with her a great company; one of whom was a prieſt. I was moved to declare the truth to them, and the prieſt aſked me, 'Why we ſaid 'Thou and Thee to people? for he counted us but fools and idiots 'for ſpeaking ſo.' I aſked him, 'Whether thoſe that tranſlated the 'ſcriptures, and made the grammar and accidence, were fools and 'idiots, ſeeing they tranſlated the ſcriptures ſo, and made the gram-'mar ſo, Thou to one, and You to more than one, and left it ſo to 'us? If they were fools and idiots, why had not he and ſuch as 'he, who looked upon themſelves as wiſe men, and could not bear 'Thou and Thee to a ſingular, altered the grammar, accidence, 'and bible, and put the plural inſtead of the ſingular? But if they 'were wiſe men, that ſo tranſlated the bible, and made the gram-'mar and accidence ſo, I wiſhed him to conſider, whether they 'were not fools and idiots themſelves, that did not ſpeak as their 'grammars and bibles taught them; but were offended with us, and 'called us fools and idiots for ſpeaking ſo?' Thus the prieſt's mouth was ſtopped, many of the company acknowledged the truth, and were pretty loving and tender. Some would have given me money, but I would not receive it.

After this came Dr. Cradock, with three prieſts more, and the governor with his lady (ſo called) and another that was called a lady, with a great company. Dr. Cradock aſked me, 'What I was in

1665. Scarborough caſtle.

'priſon for?' I told him, 'For obeying the command of Chriſt 'and the apoſtle, in not ſwearing. But if he, being both a doctor 'and a juſtice, could convince me, that after Chriſt and the apoſtle 'had forbid ſwearing, they commanded Chriſtians to ſwear, then I 'would ſwear. Here was the bible, I told him, he might if he 'could ſhew me any ſuch command.' He ſaid, 'It is written, ye 'ſhall ſwear in truth and righteouſneſs.' 'Aye,' ſaid I, 'it was 'written ſo in Jeremiah's time; but that was many ages before 'Chriſt commanded not to ſwear at all; but where is it written ſo 'ſince Chriſt forbad all ſwearing? I could bring as many inſtances 'out of the Old Teſtament for ſwearing as thou, and it may be 'more; but of what force are they to prove ſwearing lawful in the 'New Teſtament ſince Chriſt and the apoſtle forbad it? Beſides,' ſaid I, 'in that text where it is written, "Ye ſhall ſwear," what '[Ye] was this? Was it Ye Gentiles, or Ye Jews?' To this he would not anſwer; but one of the prieſts that were with him anſwered, 'It was to the Jews that this was ſpoken.' Then Dr. Cradock confeſſed it was ſo. 'Very well,' ſaid I, 'but where did 'God ever give a command to the Gentiles to ſwear? For thou 'knoweſt that we are Gentiles by nature.' 'Indeed,' ſaid he, 'in 'the goſpel-times every thing was to be eſtabliſhed out of the mouths 'of two or three witneſſes; but there was to be no ſwearing then.' 'Why then,' ſaid I, 'doſt thou force oaths upon Chriſtians, con-'trary to thy own knowledge, in the goſpel-times? And why,' ſaid I, 'doſt thou excommunicate my friends?' (for he had excommunicated abundance both in Yorkſhire and Lancaſhire). He ſaid, 'For not coming to church.' 'Why,' ſaid I, 'ye left us 'above twenty years ago, when we were but young lads and laſſes, 'to the Preſbyterians, Independents, and Baptiſts, many of whom 'made ſpoil of our goods, and perſecuted us becauſe we would not 'follow them. We being but young, knew little then of your prin-'ciples, and the old men that did know them, if ye had intended to 'have kept them to you, and have kept your principles alive, that 'we might have known them, ye ſhould either not have fled from 'us as ye did, or ye ſhould have ſent us your epiſtles, collects, 'homilies, and evening ſongs; for Paul wrote epiſtles to the ſaints, 'though he was in priſon. But they and we might have turned 'Turks or Jews for any collects, homilies, or epiſtles we had from 'you all this while. And now thou haſt excommunicated us, both 'young and old, and ſo have others of you done; that is, "Ye "have put us out of your church, before ye have got us into it," 'and before ye have brought us to know your principles. Is not 'this madneſs in you, to put us out before we were brought in? 'Indeed, if ye had brought us into your church, and when we had 'been in, if we had done ſome bad thing, that had been ſomething 'like a ground for excommunication or putting out again. But,' ſaid I, 'What doſt thou call the church?' 'Why,' ſaid he, 'that which you call the ſteeple-houſe.' Then I asked him, 'Whe-'ther Chriſt ſhed his blood for the ſteeple-houſe? and purchaſed 'and ſanctified the ſteeple-houſe with his blood? And ſeeing the 'church is Chriſt's bride and wife, and that he is the head of the

'church,

1665. Scarborough caſtle.

'church, doſt thou think the ſteeple-houſe is Chriſt's wife and 'bride, and that he is the head of that old houſe, or of his people? 'No,' ſaid he, 'Chriſt is the head of his people, and they are the 'church.' 'But,' ſaid I, 'you have given the title church to an 'old houſe, which belongs to the people; and you have taught them 'to believe ſo.' I asked him alſo, 'Why he perſecuted friends for 'not paying tithes? And whether God ever commanded the Gen-'tiles to pay tithes? And whether Chriſt had not ended tithes when 'he ended the Levitical prieſthood that took tithes? And whether 'Chriſt, when he ſent his diſciples to preach, had not commanded 'them to preach freely, as he had given them freely? And whether 'all the miniſters of Chriſt are not bound to obſerve this command 'of Chriſt?' He ſaid, 'He would not diſpute that.' Neither did I find he was willing to ſtay on that ſubject; for he preſently turned to another matter, and ſaid, 'You marry, but I know not how.' I replied, 'It may be ſo: but why doſt thou not come and ſee?' Then he 'threatened that he would uſe his power againſt us, as he 'had done.' I bid him, 'Take heed; for he was an old man.' I asked him alſo, 'Where he read from Geneſis to Revelations, that 'ever any prieſt did marry any? I wiſhed him to ſhew me ſome 'inſtance thereof, if he would have us come to them to be married; 'for, ſaid I, thou haſt excommunicated one of my friends two 'years after he was dead, about his marriage. And why doſt thou 'not excommunicate Iſaac, and Jacob, and Boaz, and Ruth? For 'we do not read they were ever married by the prieſts; but they 'took one another in the aſſemblies of the righteous, in the preſence 'of God and his people; and ſo do we. So that we have all the 'holy men and women, that the ſcripture ſpeaks of in this practice, 'on our ſide.' Much diſcourſe we had; but when he found he could get no advantage on me, he went away with his company.

With ſuch people I was much exerciſed while I was there; for moſt that came to the caſtle would deſire to ſpeak with me, and great diſputes I had with them. But as to friends, I was as a man buried alive; for though many came far to ſee me, few were ſuffered to come at me; and when any friend came into the caſtle about buſineſs, if he looked but towards me, they would rage at him. At laſt the governor came under trouble himſelf; for having ſent out a privateer to ſea, they took ſome ſhips that were not enemies ſhips, but their friends; whereupon he was brought into trouble; after which he grew ſomewhat more friendly to me. For before I had a marſhal ſet over me, on purpoſe to get money out of me; but I was not to give him a farthing; and when they found they could get nothing from me, he was taken off again. The officers often threatened me, that I ſhould be hanged over the wall. Nay, the deputy-governor told me once, that the king, knowing I had great intereſt in the people, had ſent me thither; that if there ſhould be any ſtirring in the nation, they ſhould hang me over the wall to keep the people down. There being a while after a marriage at a Papiſt's houſe, upon which occaſion a great many of them were met together, they talked much then of hanging me. But I told them, 'If that was what they deſired, and it was per-

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1665. Scarborough caſtle.

'mitted them, I was ready; for I never feared death nor ſufferings 'in my life; but I was known to be an innocent, peaceable man, 'free from all ſtirrings and plottings, and one that ſought the good 'of all men.' Afterwards, the governor growing kinder, I ſpoke to him, when he was to go to London to the parliament, and deſired him to ſpeak to ſquire Marſh, Sir Francis Cobb, and ſome others; and let them know how long I had lain in priſon, and for what: which he did. When he came down again, he told me, ſquire Marſh ſaid, 'He would go an hundred miles barefoot for my liberty, 'he knew me ſo well;' and ſeveral others, he ſaid, ſpoke well of me. From which time the governor was very loving to me.

There were amongſt the priſoners two very bad men, who often ſat drinking with the officers and ſoldiers; and becauſe I would not ſit and drink with them, it made them the worſe againſt me. One time, when theſe two priſoners were drunk, one of them (whoſe name was William Wilkinſon, a Preſbyterian, who had been a captain) came and challenged me to fight with him. I ſeeing what condition he was in, got out of his way; and next morning, when he was more ſober, ſhewed him, 'How unmanly a thing it was in 'him to challenge a man to fight, whoſe principle, he knew it, 'was not to ſtrike; but if he was ſtricken on one ear, to turn the 'other. I told him, if he had a mind to fight, he ſhould have 'challenged ſome of the ſoldiers, that could have anſwered him in 'his own way. But however, ſeeing he had challenged me, I was now 'come to anſwer him, with my hands in my pockets: and (reach-'ing my head towards him) Here, ſaid I, here is my hair, here 'are my cheeks, here is my back.' With that he ſkipped away from me, and went into another room; at which the ſoldiers fell a laughing; and one of the officers ſaid, 'You are a happy man, 'that can bear ſuch things.' Thus he was conquered without a blow. After a while he took the oath, gave bond, got out of priſon; and not long after the Lord cut him off.

There were great impriſonments in this and the former years, while I was priſoner at Lancaſter and Scarborough. At London many friends were crouded into Newgate, and other priſons, where the ſickneſs was; and many died in priſon. Many alſo were baniſhed, and ſeveral ſent on ſhipboard by the king's order. Some maſters of ſhips would not carry them, but ſet them on ſhore again; yet ſome were ſent to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Mevis, and the Lord bleſſed them there. One maſter of a ſhip was very wicked and cruel to friends that were put on board his ſhip; for he kept them down under decks, though the ſickneſs was amongſt them; ſo that many died of it. But the Lord viſited him for his wickedneſs; for he loſt moſt of his ſeamen by the plague, and lay ſeveral months croſſed with contrary winds, though other ſhips went out, and made their voyages. At laſt he came before Plymouth, where the governor and magiſtrates would not ſuffer him nor any of his men to come aſhore, though he wanted neceſſaries for his voyage; but Thomas Lower, Arthur Cotton, John Light, and other friends went to the ſhip's ſide, and carried neceſſaries for the friends that were priſoners on board. The maſter, being thus croſſed and vexed, curſed them that

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put him upon this freight; and said, 'He hoped he ſhould not go far 'before he was taken.' And the veſſel was but a little while gone out of ſight of Plymouth, before ſhe was taken by a Dutch man of war, and carried into Holland. When they came into Holland, the States ſent the baniſhed friends back to England, with a letter of paſſport, and a certificate, 'That they had not made an eſcape, but were ſent back 'by them.' In time the Lord's power wrought over this ſtorm, and many of our perſecutors were confounded and put to ſhame. 1666. Scarborough caſtle.

After I had lain priſoner above a year in Scarborough caſtle, I ſent a letter to the king, in which I gave him 'an account of my im-'priſonment, and the bad uſage I had received in priſon; and alſo 'that I was informed no man could deliver me but he.' After this, John Whitehead being at London, and having acquaintance alſo with ſquire Marſh, he went to viſit him, and ſpoke to him about me; and he undertook, if John Whitehead would get the ſtate of my caſe drawn up, to deliver it to the maſter of requeſts, Sir John Birkenhead, who would endeavour to get a releaſe for me. So John Whitehead and Ellis Hookes drew up a relation of my impriſonment and ſufferings, and carried it to Marſh; and he went with it to the maſter of requeſts, who procured an order from the king for my releaſe. The ſubſtance of the order was, 'That the king being certainly informed 'that I was a man principled againſt plotting and fighting, and had 'been ready at all times to diſcover plots, rather than to make any, '&c. therefore his royal pleaſure was, that I ſhould be diſcharged from 'my impriſonment,' &c. As ſoon as this order was obtained, John Whitehead came to Scarborough with it, and delivered it to the governor; who, upon receipt thereof, gathered the officers together, and, without requiring bond or ſureties for my peaceable living, being ſatisfied that I was a man of a peaceable life, he diſcharged me freely, and gave me the following paſſport:

'PERMIT the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a priſoner here, and 'now diſcharged by his majeſty's order, quietly to paſs about his 'lawful occaſions, without any moleſtation. Given under my hand at 'Scarborough caſtle, this firſt day of September, 1666.

'JORDAN CROSLANDS,
'Governor of Scarborough caſtle.'

After I was releaſed, I would have made the governor a preſent for the civility and kindneſs he had of late ſhewed me; but he would not receive any thing; ſaying, 'Whatever good he could do for me and 'my friends, he would do it, and never do them any hurt.' And afterwards, if at any time the mayor of the town ſent to him for ſoldiers to break up friends meetings, if he ſent any down, he would privately give them a charge, 'Not to meddle.' He continued loving to his dying-day. The officers alſo and the ſoldiers were mightily changed, and become very reſpectful to me. When they had occaſion to ſpeak of me, they would ſay, 'He is as ſtiff as a tree, and as pure as a bell; 'for we could never bow him.' Scarborough.

1666. Scarborough.

The very next day after my releaſe, the fire broke out in London; and the report of it came quickly down into the country. Then I ſaw the Lord God was true and juſt in his word, which he had ſhewed me before in Lancaſter gaol, when I ſaw the angel of the Lord with a glittering drawn ſword ſouthward, as before expreſſed. The people of London were forewarned of this fire: yet few laid it to heart, or believed it; but rather grew more wicked, and higher in pride. A friend was moved to come out of Huntingdonſhire a little before the fire, and to ſcatter his money up and down the ſtreets, turn his horſe looſe, untie the knees of his breeches, and let his ſtockings fall down, and to unbutton his doublet, and tell the people, 'So ſhould they run up and down, ſcattering their money 'and goods, half undreſſed, like mad people, as he was a ſign to 'them;' which they did when the city was burning. Thus hath the Lord exerciſed his prophets and ſervants by his power, ſhewed them ſigns of his judgments, and ſent them to forewarn the people; but, inſtead of repenting, they have beaten and cruelly entreated ſome; and ſome they have impriſoned, both in the former power's days, and ſince. But the Lord is juſt; and happy are they that obey his word. Some have been moved to go naked in their ſtreets, in the other power's days, and ſince, as ſigns of their nakedneſs; and have declared amongſt them, 'That God would ſtrip them of their hypocritical pro-'feſſions, and make them as bare and naked as they were.' But, inſtead of conſidering it, they have frequently whipped, or otherwiſe abuſed them, and ſometimes impriſoned them. Others have been moved to go in ſackcloth, and to denounce the woes and vengeance of God againſt the pride and haughtineſs of the people; but few regarded it. And in the other power's days, the wicked, envious, profeſſing prieſts put up ſeveral petitions both to Oliver and Richard, called protectors, and to the parliaments, judges, and juſtices againſt us, ſtuffed full of lies, and vilifying words and ſlanders: but we got copies of them, and through the Lord's aſſiſtance anſwered them all, and cleared the Lord's truth and ourſelves of them. But oh! the body of darkneſs that roſe againſt the truth, in them that made lies their refuge! But the Lord ſwept them away; and in and with his power, truth, light, and life hedged his lambs about, and preſerved them as on eagle's wings. Therefore we all had and have great encouragement to truſt the Lord, who, we ſaw, by his power and Spirit, overturned and brought to nought all the confederacies and counſels that were hatched in darkneſs againſt his truth and people; and by the ſame truth gave his people dominion, that therein they might ſerve him.

Indeed, I could not but take notice how the hand of the Lord turned againſt thoſe my perſecutors who had been the cauſe of my impriſonment, or had been abuſive or cruel to me under it. For the officer that fetched me to Houlker Hall waſted his eſtate, and ſoon after fled into Ireland. And moſt of the juſtices that were upon the bench at the ſeſſions when I was ſent to priſon died in a while after; as old Thomas Preſton, Rawlinſon, Porter, and Matthew Weſt of Borwick. And juſtice Fleming's wife died, and left him thirteen or fourteen motherleſs children; who had impriſoned

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two friends to death, and thereby made ſeveral children fatherleſs. Colonel Kirby never proſpered after. The chief conſtable, Richard Dodgſon, died ſoon after; and Mount, the petty conſtable, and the wife of John Aſhburnham the other petty conſtable, who railed at me in her houſe, died ſoon after. William Knipe, the witneſs they brought againſt me, died ſoon after. Hunter, the gaoler of Lancaſter, who was very wicked to me while I was his priſoner, was cut off in his young days. The under-ſheriff, that carried me from Lancaſter priſon towards Scarborough, lived not long after. And Joblin, the gaoler of Durham, who was priſoner with me in Scarborough caſtle, and had often incenſed the governor and ſoldiers againſt me, though he got out of priſon, the Lord cut him off in his wickedneſs ſoon after. When I came into that country again, moſt of thoſe that dwelt in Lancaſhire were dead, and others ruined in their eſtates: ſo that, though I did not ſeek revenge upon them, for their actings againſt me contrary to the law, yet the Lord had executed his judgments upon many of them. 1666. Scarborough.

Being now at liberty, I went about three miles to a large general meeting at a friend's houſe, who had been a chief conſtable; and all was quiet and well. On fourth day after I returned to Scarborough, and had a meeting in the town at Peter Hodgſon's. To this meeting came one called a lady, and ſeveral other great perſons; alſo a young man, ſon to the bailiff of the town, who had been convinced while I was there in priſon. That lady (ſo called) came to me, and ſaid, 'I 'ſpoke againſt the miniſters.' I told her, 'Such as the prophets and 'Chriſt declared againſt formerly, I declared againſt now.'

From hence I went to Whitby: and, having viſited friends there, paſſed to Burlington, where I had another meeting. From thence to Oram, where I had another meeting; and thence to Marmaduke Storr's, and had a large meeting at a conſtable's houſe, on whom the Lord had wrought a great miracle. Whitby. Burlington. Oram. Marmaduke Storr's.

Next day two friends being to take each other in marriage, there was a very great meeting, which I attended. I was moved to open the ſtate of our marriages, declaring, 'How the people of God took 'one another in the aſſemblies of the elders; and that it was God 'who joined man and woman together before the fall. And though 'men had taken upon them to join in the fall, yet in the reſtoration 'it is God's joining that is the right and honourable marriage; but 'never any prieſt did marry any, that we read of in the ſcriptures, 'from Geneſis to Revelations.' Then I ſhewed them the duty of man and wife, how they ſhould ſerve God, being heirs of life and grace together.

I paſſed from thence to Grace Barwick's, where I had a general meeting, which was very large. I came next to Richard Shipton's, where I had another meeting; and to a prieſt's houſe, whoſe wife was convinced, and himſelf grown very loving, and glad to ſee me. This was that prieſt, who, in the year 1651, threatened, 'If ever 'he met with me again, he would have my life, or I ſhould have 'his;' and ſaid, 'He would loſe his head if I were not knocked 'down in a month;' but now he was partly convinced, and become very G. Barwick's. R. Shipton's.

1666. very kind. I went from his houſe towards the ſea, where ſeveral friends came to viſit me: amongſt others, Philip Scarff, who had formerly been a prieſt, but, having received the truth, was now become a preacher of Chriſt freely, and continued ſo. Paſſing on, I called to ſee an ancient man, who was convinced of truth, and was above an hundred years old. Then I came to a friend's houſe, where I had a great meeting, and quiet. I had a great meeting near Malton; and another large one near Hull: from whence I went to Holdendike. As we went into the town, the watchmen queſtioned me and thoſe that were with me; but they not having any warrant to ſtay us, we paſſed by them, and they in a rage threatened they would ſearch us out. I went to the houſe of one called the lady Montague, where I lodged that night; and ſeveral friends came to viſit me. Next morning, being up betimes, I walked into the orchard, and ſaw a man about ſun-riſing go into the houſe in a great cloak. He ſtaid not long; but ſoon came out again, and went away, not ſeeing me. I felt ſometing ſtrike at my life; and went into the houſe, where I found the maid-ſervant affrighted and trembling. She told me, 'That man had a naked rapier under his cloak.' By which I perceived he came with an intent to have done miſchief; but the Lord prevented him.

Whitby. Near Malton. Near Hull. Holdendike. L. Montague.

York. I then viſited friends till I came to York, where we had a large meeting. After which I went to viſit juſtice Robinſon, an ancient juſtice of peace; who had been very loving to me and friends from the beginning. There was a prieſt with him; who told me, 'It was ſaid, 'that we loved none but ourſelves.' I told him, 'We loved all 'mankind, as they were God's creation, and as they were children of 'Adam and Eve by generation; and we loved the brotherhood in the 'Holy Ghoſt.' This ſtopped him. After ſome other diſcourſe, we parted friendly, and paſſed away.

About this time I wrote a book, intituled, 'Fear God, and honour 'the king;' in which I ſhewed, 'That none could rightly fear God, 'and honour the king, but they that departed from ſin and evil:' This book did much affect the ſoldiers, and moſt people.

G. Watkinſon. Having viſited friends at York, we paſſed to a market town, where we had a meeting at George Watkinſon's, who formerly had been a juſtice. A glorious, bleſſed meeting it was, very large, and the ſeed of life was ſet over all. But we had been troubled to get into this town, had not Providence made way for us; for the watchmen ſtood ready to ſtop us: but there being a man riding juſt before us, the watchmen queſtioned him firſt; and perceiving he was a juſtice, let him paſs; and we riding cloſe after him, by that means eſcaped.

T. Taylor. From this place we paſſed to Thomas Taylor's, who had formerly been a captain, where we had a precious meeting. Hard by Thomas Taylor's lived a knight, who was much diſpleaſed when he heard I was like to be releaſed out of priſon; and threatened, 'if the 'king ſet me at liberty, he would ſend me to priſon again the next 'day.' But though I had this meeting ſo near him, the Lord's power ſtopped him from meddling, and our meeting was quiet. Col. Kirby alſo, who had been the chief means of my impriſonment at Lancaſter and Scarborough caſtles, when he heard I was ſet at liberty,

got another order for the taking me up; and said, 'He would ride 'his horse forty miles to take me, and would give forty pounds to 'have me taken.' A while after I came so near as to have a meeting within two miles of him: and then he was struck with the gout, and kept his bed, so that it was thought he would have died. 1666. T. Taylor's.

From Thomas Taylor's I visited friends till I came to Synderhill-Green, where I had a large and general meeting. The priest of the place, hearing of it, sent the constable to the justices for a warrant; and they rode their horses so hard, they almost spoiled them: but the notice they had being short, and the way long, the meeting was ended before they came. I heard not of them till I was going out of the house, after meeting was over; and then a friend came and told me, 'They were searching another house for me, the house I 'was then going to.' As I went along the closes towards it, I met the constables, wardens, and the justice's clerk. I passed through them, they looking at me, and went to the house they had been searching. Thus they lost their design; for the Lord's power bound them, and preserved me over them; and friends parted, and all escaped them. The officers went away as they came; for the Lord had frustrated their design; praised be his name for ever! Synderhill-Green.

After this I went into Derbyshire, where I had a large meeting. Some friends were apprehensive of the constables coming; for they had great persecution in those parts: but our meeting was quiet. A justice of peace in that county had taken away much of friends goods; whereupon Ellen Fretwell had made her appeal to the sessions, and the rest of the justices granted her her goods again, and spoke to that persecuting justice, that he should not do so any more. She was moved to speak to that justice, and to warn him; whereupon he bid her, 'Come and sit down on the bench.' 'Ay,' said she, 'if I may persuade you to do justice to the country, I will sit 'down with you.' 'No,' said he, 'then you shall not. Get out 'of the court.' As she was going, she was moved of the Lord to turn again, and say, 'She should be there when he should not.' After the sessions, he went home and drove away her brother's oxen, for going to meetings. Then Susan Frith, a friend of Chesterfield, was moved of the Lord to tell him, 'If he continued in his perse-'cuting of the innocent, the Lord would execute his plagues upon 'him.' Soon after which he fell distracted, and died. This relation I had from Ellen Fretwell herself. Derbyshire.

I travelled out of Derbyshire into Nottinghamshire, and had a large meeting at Skegby; from thence went to Mansfield, where also I had a meeting; and thence to another town, where was a fair, at which I met with many friends. Then passing through the forest in a mighty thundering and rainy day, I came to Nottingham. So great was the tempest, that many trees were torn up by the roots, and some people killed; but the Lord preserved us. On first day following I had a large meeting in Nottingham, very quiet; friends were come to sit under their teacher the grace of God, which brought them salvation, and were established upon the rock and foundation Christ Jesus. After meeting I went to visit the friend who had been sheriff about the year 1649, whose prisoner I then was. Nottinghamshire. Skegby. Mansfield. Nottingham.

1666.

Nottingham. Leiceſter-ſhire. Syleby. Leiceſter. Warwick. Badgley. Northamp-tonſhire. Bedfordſhire. Buckingham-ſhire. Oxfordſhire.

From Nottingham I paſſed into Leiceſterſhire, and came to Syleby, where we had a large bleſſed meeting. After which I went to Leiceſter to viſit the priſoners there, and then to John Penford's, where we had a general meeting, large and precious. From thence I paſſed, viſiting friends and my relations, till I came to Warwick; where having viſited the priſoners, I paſſed to Badgley, and had a precious meeting. I travelled through Northamptonſhire, Bedfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Oxfordſhire, viſiting friends in each county. In Oxfordſhire the devil had laid a ſnare for me, but the Lord broke it; his power came over all, his bleſſed truth ſpread, and friends were increaſed therein. Thus after I had paſſed through many counties, viſiting friends, and had many large and precious meetings amongſt them, I came to London. But I was ſo weak with lying almoſt three years in cruel and hard impriſonments, my joints and my body were ſo ſtiff and benumbed, that I could hardly get upon my horſe, nor bend my joints, nor well bear to be near the fire, or to eat warm meat, I had been kept ſo long from it. Being come to London, I walked a little among the ruins, and took good notice of them. I ſaw the city lying, according as the word the Lord came to me concerning it ſeveral years before.

London.

Kingſton. Reading. Wiltſhire. Briſtol.

After I had been a time in London, and viſited meetings through the city, I went into the country again, and had large meetings as I went, at Kingſton, Reading, and in Wiltſhire, till I came to Briſtol; where alſo I had many large meetings. Thomas Lower came out of Cornwall to meet me, and friends from ſeveral parts of the nation, it being then the fair-time. After I was clear of Briſtol, I went to Nath. Crips's, and through the country to London again, having large meetings in the way, and all quiet, bleſſed be the Lord. Thus, though I was very weak, I travelled up and down in the ſervice of the Lord, who enabled me to go through in it.

N. Crips's. London.

About this time ſome, who had run out from truth and claſhed againſt friends, were reached unto by the power of the Lord, which came wonderfully over, and made them 'condemn and tear their 'papers of controverſy to pieces.' Several meetings we had with them, the Lord's everlaſting power was over all, and ſet judgment on the head of that which had run out. In theſe meetings, which laſted whole days, ſeveral who had gone out with John Perrot and others came in again, and condemned that ſpirit which led them to 'keep on their hats when friends prayed, and when themſelves 'prayed.' Some of them ſaid, 'Friends were more righteous than 'they;' and that, 'If friends had not ſtood they had been gone, 'and had fallen into perdition.' Thus the Lord's power was wonderfully manifeſted, and came over all.

Monthly and quarterly meetings.

Then I was moved of the Lord to recommend the ſetting up of five monthly meetings of men and women in the city of London, beſides the womens meetings and the quarterly meetings, to take care of God's glory, and to admoniſh and exhort ſuch as walked diſorderly or careleſſly, and not according to truth. For whereas friends had only quarterly meetings, now truth was ſpread and friends grown more numerous, I was moved to recommend the ſetting up of monthly meetings throughout the nation. And the Lord opened

to me what I muſt do, and how the men's and women's monthly and quarterly meetings ſhould be ordered and eſtabliſhed in this and other nations; and that I ſhould write to thoſe where I came not, to do the ſame. After things were well ſettled at London, and the Lord's truth, power, ſeed, and life reigned and ſhined over all in the city, I went into Eſſex. After the monthly meetings were ſettled in that county, I went into Suffolk and Norfolk, Thomas Dry being with me. When we had viſited friends in thoſe parts, and the monthly meetings were ſettled, we went into Huntingdonſhire, where we had very large and bleſſed meetings; and though we met with ſome oppoſition, the Lord's power came over all, and the monthly meetings were eſtabliſhed there alſo. When we came into Bedfordſhire, we had great oppoſition; but the Lord's power came over it all. Afterwards we went into Nottinghamſhire, where we had many precious meetings, and the monthly meetings were ſettled there. Then, paſſing into Lincolnſhire, we had a meeting of ſome men-friends of all the meetings in the county, at his houſe who had been formerly ſheriff of Lincoln; and all was quiet. After this meeting we paſſed over Trent into Nottinghamſhire, he that had been the ſheriff of Lincoln being with me, where we had ſome of all the meetings in that county together. Our meeting was glorious and peaceable, and many precious meetings we had in that county.

1656. Monthly and quarterly meetings. London. Eſſex. Suffolk. Norfolk. Huntingdonſhire. Bedfordſhire. Nottinghamſhire. Lincolnſhire. Trent. Nottinghamſhire.

At that time William Smith was very weak and ſick, and the conſtables and others had ſeized all his goods, to the very bed he lay upon, for truth's ſake. Theſe officers threatened to break up our meeting; but the Lord's power chained them, ſo that they had not power to meddle with us, bleſſed be his name. After the meeting I went to viſit William Smith, and there were conſtables and others watching his corn and his beaſts, that none of them might be removed.

From thence we paſſed into Leiceſterſhire and Warwickſhire, where we had many bleſſed meetings. The order of the goſpel was ſet up, and the men's monthly meetings eſtabliſhed in all thoſe counties. Then we went into Derbyſhire, where we had ſeveral large and bleſſed meetings. In many places we were threatened by the officers, but through the power of the Lord we eſcaped their hands. Leaving things well ſettled in Derbyſhire, we travelled over the Peak-hills (which were very cold, for it was then froſt and ſnow) and came into Staffordſhire. At Thomas Hammerſley's we had a general men's meeting; where things were well ſettled in the goſpel-order, and the monthly meetings eſtabliſhed. I was ſo exceeding weak, I was hardly able to get on or off my horſe's back; but my ſpirit being earneſtly engaged in the work the Lord had concerned me in and ſent me forth about, I travelled on therein, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of my body, having confidence in the Lord, that he would carry me through, as he did by his power. We came into Cheſhire, where we had ſeveral bleſſed meetings, and a general men's meeting; wherein all the monthly meetings for that county were ſettled, according to the goſpel-order, in and by the power of God. After the meeting I paſſed away. But when the juſtices heard of it, they were very much troubled that they had not come and broke it up, and taken me; but the Lord prevented them. After I had

Leiceſterſhire. Warwickſhire. Derbyſhire. Peak-hills. Staffordſhire. Cheſhire.

1666. I had cleared myſelf there in the Lord's ſervice, I paſſed into Lancaſhire, to William Barnes's, near Warrington, where met ſome of moſt of the meetings in that county; and there all the monthly meetings were eſtabliſhed in the goſpel order. From thence I ſent papers into Weſtmoreland by Leonard Fell and Robert Widders, and alſo into Biſhoprick, Cleveland, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Scotland, to exhort friends to ſettle the monthly meetings in the Lord's power in thoſe places; which they did. So the Lord's power came over all, and the heirs of it came to inherit it. For the authority of our meetings is the power of God, the goſpel, which brings life and immortality to light; that all might ſee over the devil that darkened them, that all the heirs of the goſpel might walk according to the goſpel, and glorify God with their bodies, ſouls, and ſpirits, which are the Lord's: for the order of the glorious goſpel is not of man nor by man. To this meeting in Lancaſhire, Margaret Fell, being a priſoner, got liberty to come, and went with me from thence to Jane Milner's in Cheſhire, where we parted. I paſſed into Shropſhire, and from thence into Wales, and had a large general men's meeting at Charles Lloyd's, where ſome oppoſers came in; but the Lord's power brought them down.

Lancaſhire. Near Warrington. Weſtmoreland. Biſhoprick of Durham. Cleveland. Northumberland. Cumberland. Scotland. Lancaſhire. Cheſhire. Shropſhire. Wales.

Having gone through Denbighſhire and Montgomeryſhire, we paſſed into Merionethſhire, where we had ſeveral bleſſed meetings; and then to the ſea-ſide, where we had a precious meeting. We left Wales, the monthly meetings being ſettled there in the power of God, and returned into Shropſhire, where the friends of the county gathering together, the monthly meetings were eſtabliſhed there. Coming into Worceſterſhire, after many meetings amongſt friends in that county, we had a general men's meeting at Henry Gibs's, at Paſhur; where alſo the monthly meetings were ſettled in the goſpel-order.

Denbighſh. Montgomeryſhire. Merionethſhire. Shropſhire. Worceſterſhire. Paſhur.

The ſeſſions being held that day in the town, ſome friends were concerned leſt they ſhould ſend officers to break up our meeting; but the power of the Lord reſtrained them, ſo that it was quiet; through which power we had dominion. I had ſeveral meetings amongſt friends in that county, till I came to Worceſter; and it being the fair-time, we had a precious meeting. There was then in Worceſter one major Wild, a perſecuting man; and after I was gone ſome of his ſoldiers inquired after me; but having left the friends there ſettled in good order, we paſſed to Droitwich, and from thence to Shrewſbury, where alſo we had a very precious meeting. The mayor hearing I was in town, got the reſt of the officers together to conſult what to do againſt me; for they ſaid, 'The great Quaker of Eng-'land is come to town.' But when they were come together, the Lord confounded their councils, ſo that ſome were for impriſoning me, others oppoſed it; and being divided amongſt themſelves, I eſcaped their hands.

Worceſter. Droitwich. Shrewſbury.

We went into Radnorſhire, where we had many precious meetings, and the monthly meetings were ſettled in the Lord's power. As we came out of that county, ſtaying a little at a market-town, a juſtice's clerk and other rude fellows combined together to do us a miſchief upon the road. Accordingly they followed us out of town, and

Radnorſhire.

and ſoon overtook us; but there being many market people on the way, they were ſomewhat hindered from doing what they intended. Yet obſerving two of our company ride at ſome diſtance behind, they ſet upon them two, and one of them drew his ſword, and cut Richard Moor, the ſurgeon of Shrewſbury. Mean while another of theſe rude fellows came galloping after me and the other friend with me; and we being to paſs over a bridge, ſomewhat of the narroweſt for him to paſs by us, he, in his eagerneſs to get before us, rode into the brook, and plunged his horſe into a deep hole in the water. I ſaw the deſign, ſtopped, and deſired friends to be patient, and give them no occaſion. In this time came Richard Moor up to us, with the other friend, who knew the men and their names. Then we rode on, and a little further met another man on foot, much in liquor, with a naked ſword in his hand, and not far beyond him two men and two women, one of which men had his thumb cut off by the drunken man; for being in drink he attempted rudeneſs to one of the women, and this man withſtanding him, and reſcuing her, he whipped out his ſword and cut off his thumb. This miſchievous man had a horſe, that, being looſe, followed him a pretty way behind. I rode after the horſe, caught him, and brought him to the man who had his thumb cut off; and bid him take the horſe to the next juſtice of peace, by which means they might find out and purſue the man that had wounded him. 1666. Radnorſhire.

Upon this occaſion I wrote a letter to the juſtices, and the judge of aſſize, which was then at hand. I employed ſome friends to carry it to the juſtices firſt. The juſtice, to whom the clerk belonged, rebuked him and the others alſo, for abuſing us upon the highway; ſo that they were glad to come and intreat friends not to appear againſt them at the aſſize; which, upon their ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment, was granted. This was of good ſervice in the country; for it ſtopped many rude people, who had been forward to abuſe friends.

We paſſed into Herefordſhire, where we had ſeveral bleſſed meetings. We had a general men's meeting alſo, where all the monthly meetings were ſettled. There was about this time a proclamation againſt meetings; and as we came through Herefordſhire, we were told of a great meeting there of the Preſbyterians, who had engaged themſelves to ſtand, and give up all, rather than forſake their meetings. When they heard of this proclamation, the people came, but the prieſt was gone, and left them at a loſs. Then they met in Leominſter privately, and provided bread, cheeſe, and drink, in readineſs, that if the officers ſhould come, they might put up their bibles and fall to eating. The bailiff found them out, came in among them, and ſaid, 'Their bread and cheeſe ſhould not cover them, 'he would have their ſpeakers.' They cried, 'What then would 'become of their wives and children?' But he took their ſpeakers and kept them a while. This the bailiff told Peter Young, and ſaid, 'They were the verieſt hypocrites that ever made a profeſſion of re-'ligion.' Herefordſhire.

The like contrivance they had in other places. For there was one Pocock at London, that married Abigail Darcy, who was called a

1667. lady; and ſhe being convinced of truth, I went to his houſe to ſee her. This Pocock had been one of the triers of the prieſts; and, being an high Preſbyterian, and envious againſt us, he uſed to call our friends houſe-creepers. He being preſent, ſhe ſaid to me, 'I 'have ſomething to ſpeak to thee againſt my huſband.' 'Nay,' ſaid I, 'thou muſt not ſpeak againſt thy huſband.' 'Yes,' ſaid ſhe, 'but I muſt in this caſe. The laſt firſt day,' ſaid ſhe, 'he, his 'prieſts and people, the Preſbyterians, met; they had candles, 'tobacco-pipes, bread, cheeſe, and cold meat on the table; and 'they agreed beforehand, if the officers ſhould come in upon them, 'they would leave their preaching and praying, and fall to their cold 'meat.' 'Oh,' ſaid I to him, 'is not this a ſhame to you who 'impriſoned us, and ſpoiled our goods, becauſe we would not join 'you in your religion, and called us houſe-creepers, that ye do 'not ſtand to your own religion yourſelves? Did ye ever find our 'meetings ſtuffed with bread and cheeſe and tobacco-pipes? Or did 'ye ever read in the ſcriptures of any ſuch practice among the ſaints?' 'Why,' ſaid the old man, 'we muſt be as wiſe as ſerpents.' I anſwered, 'This is the ſerpent's wiſdom indeed. But who would 'have thought that you Preſbyterians and Independents, who per-'ſecuted, impriſoned others, ſpoiled their goods, and whipped ſuch 'as would not follow your religion, ſhould now flinch yourſelves, 'and not dare to ſtand to your own religion, but cover it with 'tobacco-pipes, flagons of drink, cold meat, and bread and 'cheeſe!' But this, and ſuch-like deceitful practices, I underſtood afterwards, were too common amongſt them in times of perſecution.

Herefordſhire.

Monmouthſhire. After we had travelled through Herefordſhire, and meetings were well ſettled there, we paſſed into Monmouthſhire, where I had ſeveral bleſſed meetings; and at Walter Jenkins's, who had been a juſtice of peace, we had a large meeting, where ſome were convinced: this meeting was quiet. But to a meeting before this came the bailiff of the hundred, almoſt drunk, pretending he was to take up the ſpeakers. There was a mighty power of God in the meeting; ſo that, although he raged, it limited him, that he could not break up the meeting. When it was over, I ſtaid a while, and he ſtaid alſo. After ſome time I ſpoke to him; and ſo paſſed quietly away. At night ſome rude people came, and ſhot off a muſket againſt the houſe; but did not hurt any-body. Thus the Lord's power came over all, and chained down the unruly ſpirits, ſo that we eſcaped them. We came to Roſs that night, and had a meeting at James Merrick's.

Roſs.

Glouceſterſhire. After this we came into Glouceſterſhire, and had a general men's meeting at Nathaniel Crips's, where all the monthly meetings were ſettled in the Lord's everlaſting power; and the heirs of ſalvation were exhorted to take their poſſeſſions in the goſpel, the power of God, which was and is the authority of their meetings. Many bleſſed meetings we had in that county, before we came to Briſtol. And after ſeveral powerful ſeaſons, the men's and women's meetings were ſettled there alſo.

Briſtol.

As I was in bed at Briſtol, the word of the Lord came to me, that I muſt go back to London. Next morning Alexander Parker and ſeveral others came to me. I aſked them, What they felt? They aſked me, What was upon me? I told them, I felt I muſt return to London. They ſaid, the ſame was upon them. So we gave up to return to London; for which way the Lord moved and led us, thither we went in his power. Leaving Briſtol, we paſſed into Wiltſhire, and eſtabliſhed the men's monthly meetings in the Lord's power there; and viſited friends till we came to London. 1667. Briſtol. Wiltſhire. London.

After we had viſited friends in the city, I was moved to exhort them to bring all their marriages to the men's and women's meetings, that they might lay them before the faithful; that care might be taken to prevent ſuch diſorders as had been committed by ſome. For many had gone together in marriage contrary to their relations minds; and ſome young, raw people, that came among us, had mixed with the world. Widows had married without making proviſion for their children by their former huſbands, before their ſecond marriage. Yet I had given forth a paper concerning marriages about the year 1653, when truth was but little ſpread, adviſing friends, who might be concerned in that caſe, 'That they might 'lay it before the faithful in time, before any thing was concluded; 'and afterwards publiſh it in the end of a meeting, or in a market, 'as they were moved thereto. And when all things were found 'clear, being free from all others, and their relations ſatisfied, they 'might appoint a meeting on purpoſe, for the taking of each other; 'in the preſence of at leaſt twelve faithful witneſſes.' Yet theſe directions not being obſerved, and truth being now more ſpread over the nation, it was ordered by the ſame power and Spirit of God, 'That marriages ſhould be laid before the men's monthly and quar-'terly meetings, or as the meetings were then eſtabliſhed; that 'friends might ſee, that the relations of thoſe who proceeded to 'marriage were ſatisfied; that the parties were clear from all others; 'and that widows had made proviſion for their firſt huſband's chil-'dren, before they married again; and what elſe was needful to be 'inquired into; that all things might be kept clean and pure, and 'be done in righteouſneſs to the glory of God.' Afterwards it was ordered in the wiſdom of God, 'That if either of the parties in-'tending to marry came out of another nation, county, or monthly 'meeting, they ſhould bring a certificate from the monthly meeting 'to which they belonged; for the ſatisfaction of the monthly meet-'ing before which they came to lay their intentions of marriage.'

After theſe things, with many other ſervices for God, were ſet in order, and ſettled in the city, I paſſed out of London, in the leadings of the Lord's power, into Hertfordſhire. After I had viſited friends there, and the men's monthly meetings were ſettled, I had a great meeting at Baldock of many ſorts of people. Then returning towards London by Waltham, I adviſed the ſetting up of a ſchool there for teaching boys; and alſo a women's ſchool to be opened at Shacklewell for inſtructing girls and young maidens, in whatſoever things were civil and uſeful in the creation. Hertfordſhire. Baldock. Waltham. Shacklewell.

Thus,

1667. Thus, after ſeveral precious meetings in the country, I came to London again, where I ſtaid a while in the work and ſervice of the Lord; and then went into Buckinghamſhire, where I had many precious meetings. At John Brown's of Weſton near Ayleſbury ſome of the men friends of each meeting being gathered together, the men's monthly meetings for that county were eſtabliſhed, in the order of the goſpel, the power of God; which confirmed it in all that felt it, who came thereby to ſee and feel that the power of God was the authority of their meetings. I then went to Nathaniel Ball's, at North Newton near Banbury, Oxfordſhire, who was a friend in the miniſtry. And there being a general meeting, where ſome of all the meetings were preſent, the monthly meetings for that county were ſettled in the power of God; and friends were very glad of them; for they came into their ſervices in the church, to take care for God's glory. After this, we came into Glouceſterſhire, viſiting friends till we came into Monmouthſhire, to Richard Hambery's; where meeting with ſome of all the meetings of that county, the monthly meetings were ſettled there in the Lord's power, that all in it might take care of God's glory, and admoniſh and exhort ſuch as did not walk as became the goſpel. And indeed theſe meetings made a great reformation amongſt people, inſomuch that the juſtices took notice of their uſefulneſs.

London.
Buckinghamſhire.
Weſton.
North Newton, near Banbury.
Glouceſterſhire.
Monmouthſhire.

Richard Hambery and his wife accompanied us a day's journey, viſiting friends, till we came to a widow's, where we lay that night. From thence we paſſed over the hills, viſiting friends, and declaring the truth to people, till we came to another widow's, where we had a meeting. The woman could not ſpeak Engliſh; yet ſhe praiſed the Lord for ſending us to viſit them.

Swanſey. We travelled till we came to Swanſey, where on the firſt day we had a large and precious meeting, the Lord's preſence being eminently amongſt us. On a week day afterwards we had a general meeting beyond Swanſey, of men friends from Swanſey, Tenby, Haverfordweſt, and other places; and the monthly meetings were ſettled in the goſpel order, and received by friends in the power of the Lord; whoſe truth was over all.

Beyond Swanſey.

From hence we endeavoured to get over the water into Cornwall; and in order thereunto went back through Swanſey to Mumbles, thinking to have got paſſage there; but the maſter deceived us: for though he had promiſed to carry us, when we came he would not. We went to another place, where was a paſſage-boat, into which we got our horſes; but ſome rude men in the boat (though called gentlemen) threatened to piſtol the maſter, if he took us in; who, being afraid of them, turned our horſes out again; which put us out of hopes of getting over that way. Wherefore turning back into the country, we ſtaid up all night; and about the ſecond hour in the morning took horſe, and travelled till we came near Cardiff, where we ſtaid one night. The next day we came to Newport, and it being market-day there, ſeveral friends came to us, with whom we ſat a while; and after a fine refreſhing ſeaſon together, we parted from them, and went forward.

Mumbles.
Near Cardiff.
Newport.

Beyond

Beyond this market-town we overtook a man who lingered on the way, as if he ſtaid for ſomebody; but when we came up to him, he rode along with us, and asked us many queſtions. At length meeting with two, who ſeemed to be pages to ſome great perſons, he took acquaintance with them; and I heard him tell them he would ſtop us, and take us up. We rode on; and when he came to us, and would have ſtopped us, I told him, 'None ought to ſtop us 'on the king's highway, for it was as free for us as for them;' and I was moved to exhort him to fear the Lord. Then he galloped away before us; and I perceived his intent was to ſtop us at Shipton in Wales, a garriſon-town, through which we were to paſs. When we were come to Shipton, John ap John being with me, we walked down the hill into the town, leading our horſes. It being market-day there, ſeveral friends met us, and would have had us to an inn. But we were not to go into any inn, ſo we walked directly through the town over the bridge, and then were out of the limits of that town. Thus the Lord's everlaſting arm and power preſerved us, and carried us over in his work and ſervice. 1667. Newport. Shipton.

The next firſt-day we had a large meeting in the Foreſt of Dean; and all was quiet. Next day we paſſed over the water to Oldſtone; where after we had viſited friends, we came again to William Yeomans's, at Jubb's Court in Somerſetſhire. From thence we went to a meeting at Poſſet, whither ſeveral friends of Briſtol came to us. After which we went further into the country, and had ſeveral large meetings. The Lord's living preſence was with us, ſupporting and refreſhing us in our labour and travel in his ſervice. Foreſt of Dean. Oldſtone. Somerſetſhire. Jubb's Court. Poſſet meeting.

We came to a place near Minehead, where we had a general meeting of the men friends in Somerſetſhire. There came alſo a cheat, whom ſome friendly people would have had me to have taken along with me. I ſaw he was a cheat; therefore bid them bring him to me, and ſee whether he would look me in the face. Some were ready to think I was too hard towards him, becauſe I would not let him go along with me; but when they brought him to me, he was not able to look me in the face, but looked hither and thither; for he was indeed a cheat, and had cheated a prieſt, by pretending himſelf to be a miniſter, he had got a prieſt's ſuit, and went away with it. Near Minehead.

After the meeting we paſſed to Minehead, where we tarried that night. In the night I had an exerciſe upon me, from a ſenſe I had of a dark ſpirit working and ſtriving to get up to diſturb the church of Chriſt. Next morning I was moved to write a few lines to friends, as a warning thereof, as follows: Minehead.

'Dear friends,

'LIVE in the power of the Lord God, in his Seed that is ſet 'over all, and is over all trials that you may have from the 'dark ſpirit, which would be owned in its actings, and thruſt itſelf 'amongſt you; which is not come as yet: but in the power of the 'Lord God, and his Seed, keep over it, and bring it to condemna-'tion. For I felt a kind of dark ſpirit thruſting itſelf up towards

1668. Minehead.

'you, and heaving up laſt night; but you may keep it down with 'the power of God; that the witneſs may ariſe to condemn its act-'ings, ſo far as it hath ſpread its dark works, before it have any 'admittance. So no more, but my love in the Seed of God, which 'changeth not.

'G. F.'

'Minehead in Somerſetſhire, the
'22d of the 4th month, 1668.'

Devonſhire. Barnſtable. Appledon.

The next day ſeveral friends of Minehead accompanied us as far as Barnſtable and Appledon in Devonſhire, where we had a meeting. Barnſtable had been a bloody, perſecuting town. There were two men friends of that town, who had been a great while at ſea; and coming home to viſit their relations (one of them having a wife and children) the mayor of the town ſent for them, under pretence of diſcourſe with them; and put the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy to them. Becauſe they could not ſwear, he ſent them to Exeter gaol, where judge Archer premunired them, and kept them till one of them died in priſon. When I heard of this, I was moved to write a letter to judge Archer, and another to that mayor of Barnſtable, laying their wicked and unchriſtian actions upon their heads; and letting them know, that the 'blood of that man would be required 'at their hands.'

Cornwall. Stratton. Truro. Land's End. Tregangeeves.

After a precious meeting at Appledon among ſome faithful friends there, we paſſed to Stratton, and ſtaid at an inn all night. Next day we rode to Humphrey Lower's, where we had a very precious meeting; the next day to Truro; ſo viſiting friends till we came to the Land's End. Then coming by the ſouth part of that county, we viſited friends till we came to Tregangeeves, where at Loveday Hambley's we had a general meeting for all the county; in which the monthly meetings were ſettled in the Lord's power, and in the bleſſed order of the goſpel: that all who were faithful might admoniſh and exhort ſuch as walked not according to the goſpel; that the houſe of God might be kept clean, righteouſneſs might run down, and all unrighteouſneſs be ſwept away. Several, who had run out, were brought to condemn what they had done amiſs; and through repentance came in again.

Devonſhire. Plymouth.

Being clear of that county, we came into Devonſhire, and had a meeting amongſt friends at Plymouth. Whence paſſing to Richard Brown's, we came to the widow Philips's, where we had ſome men friends from all the meetings together; and there the mens monthly meetings were ſettled in the heavenly order of the goſpel, the power of God; which anſwered the witneſs of God in all. There was a great noiſe of a troop of horſe coming to diſturb our meeting; but the Lord's power prevented it, and preſerved us in peace and ſafety.

King's Bridge. Topſham. Membury.

After things were well ſettled, and the meeting done, we came to King's Bridge, and viſited friends. Then (leaving friends in thoſe parts well ſettled in the power of God) we paſſed to Topſham and Membury, viſiting friends, and having many meetings in the way, till

till we came to Ilcheſter in Somerſetſhire. Here we had a general mens meeting, and therein ſettled the mens monthly meetings for that county in the Lord's everlaſting power, the order of the goſpel. After the meetings were ſettled, and friends refreſhed, comforted in the Lord's power, and eſtabliſhed upon Chriſt, their rock and foundation, we paſſed to Puddimore; where, at William Beaton's, we had a bleſſed meeting, and all was quiet: though the conſtables had threatened before. 1668. Ilcheſter. Somerſetſh. Puddimore.

When we had viſited moſt of the meetings in Somerſetſhire, we paſſed into Dorſetſhire to George Harris's, where we had a large mens meeting. There all the mens monthly meetings for that county were ſettled in the glorious order of the goſpel; that all in the power of God might 'ſeek that which was loſt, bring again 'that which was driven away; cheriſh the good, and reprove the 'evil.' Dorſetſhire.

Then we came to Southampton, where we had a large meeting on the firſt-day. From thence we went to Capt. Reeves's, where the general mens meeting for Hampſhire was appointed; to which ſome from all parts of the county came, and a bleſſed meeting we had. The mens monthly meetings for that county were ſettled in the order of the goſpel, which had brought life and immortality to light in them. Southampton.

But there came a rude company of Ranters, who had oppoſed and diſturbed our meetings much. One of the women had lain with a man, who declared it at the Market-croſs, and gloried in his wickedneſs. A company of theſe lewd people lived together, at a houſe hard-by the place of our meeting. I went to the houſe, and told them of their wickedneſs. The man of the houſe aſked, 'Why! did I 'make ſo ſtrange of that?' Another of them ſaid, 'It was to ſtumble 'me.' I told them, 'Their wickedneſs ſhould not ſtumble me; 'for I was above it.' I was moved of the Lord to tell them, 'The 'plagues and judgments of God would overtake them, and come 'upon them.' Afterwards they went up and down the country, till at laſt they were caſt into Wincheſter gaol; where the man that had lain with the woman ſtabbed the gaoler, but not mortally. After they were let out of gaol, this fellow that ſtabbed the gaoler hanged himſelf. The woman alſo had like to have cut a child's throat, as we were informed. Theſe people had formerly lived about London; and, when the city was fired, they propheſied, 'That all the reſt of London ſhould be burnt within fourteen days,' and haſted out of town. Though they were Ranters, great oppoſers of friends, and diſturbers of our meetings, yet in the country, where they came, ſome would be apt to ſay they were Quakers. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to write a paper, to be diſperſed amongſt the magiſtrates and people of Hampſhire, to clear friends and truth of them and their wicked actions.

After the mens monthly meetings in thoſe parts were ſettled, and the Lord's bleſſed power was over all, we went to a town, where we had a meeting with friends. From thence we came to Farnham, where we met many friends, it being the market-day. We had Farnham.

1668. precious meetings up and down that country. Friends in thoſe parts
Farnham. had formerly been plundered, and their goods much ſpoiled, on account of tithes, and for going to meetings; but the Lord's power at this time preſerved both them and us from falling into the perſecutors hands.

Surry. We had a general mens meeting at a friend's houſe in Surry; who had been plundered ſo extremely, that he had ſcarce a cow, horſe, or ſwine left. The conſtables threatened to come and break up our meeting; but the Lord reſtrained them. At this meeting the mens monthly meetings were ſettled in the authority of the heavenly power. After we had viſited friends in that county, and had many
Suſſex. large and precious meetings, we paſſed to a friend's houſe in Suſſex, where the general meeting for the men friends of that county was appointed to be held; and thither came ſeveral from London to viſit us. We had a bleſſed meeting; and the mens monthly meetings for that county were then ſettled in the Lord's eternal power, the goſpel of ſalvation; that all in it might keep to the order of the goſpel. There were at that time great threatenings of diſturbance; but the meeting was quiet. We had ſeveral large meetings in that county; though friends were in great ſufferings there, and many in priſon. I was ſent for to viſit a friend that was ſick, and went to ſee friends that were priſoners. There was danger of my being apprehended; but I went in the faith of God's power, and thereby the Lord preſerved me in ſafety.

Kent. We paſſed into Kent; where, after we had been at ſeveral meetings, we had a general one for the men friends of that county. There alſo the mens monthly meetings for that county were ſettled in the power of God, and eſtabliſhed in the order of the goſpel, for all the heirs of it to enter into their ſervices and care in the church for the glory of God. Friends rejoiced in the order of the goſpel, and were glad of the ſettlement thereof.

London. After this I viſited the meetings in Kent; and when I had cleared myſelf of the Lord's ſervice in that county, I came to London. Thus were the mens monthly meetings ſettled through the nation; for I had been in Berkſhire before, where moſt of the ancient friends of that county were in priſon; and when I had informed them of the ſervice of theſe monthly meetings, they were ſettled amongſt them alſo. The quarterly meetings were generally ſettled before. I wrote alſo into Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, and ſeveral parts of America, adviſing friends to ſettle their mens monthly meetings in thoſe countries. For they had their general quarterly meetings before; but now that truth was increaſed amongſt them, they ſhould ſettle monthly meetings in the power and Spirit of God which firſt convinced them. Since theſe meetings have been ſettled, many mouths have been opened in thankſgivings and praiſe, and many have bleſſed the Lord, that he ſent me forth in this ſervice; yea, with tears have many praiſed him. For all coming to have a concern and care for God's honour and glory, that his name be not blaſphemed, which they profeſs; and to ſee that all who profeſs the truth, walk in the truth, in righteouſneſs and holineſs, which becomes

comes the houſe of God, and that all order their converſation aright, that they may ſee the ſalvation of God; all having this care upon them for God's glory, and being exerciſed in his holy power and Spirit, in the order of the heavenly life and goſpel of Jeſus, they may all ſee and know, poſſeſs and partake of the government of Chriſt, of the increaſe of which there is to be no end. Thus the Lord's everlaſting renown and praiſe is ſet up in every one's heart that is faithful; ſo that we can ſay the goſpel order eſtabliſhed amongſt us is not of man, nor by man, but of and by Jeſus Chriſt, in and through the Holy Ghoſt. This order of the goſpel, which is from Chriſt the heavenly man, is above all the orders of men in the fall, whether Jews, Gentiles, or apoſtatized Chriſtians, and will remain when they are gone. For the power of God, which is the everlaſting goſpel, was before the devil was, and will be and remain for ever. And as the everlaſting goſpel was preached in the apoſtles days to all nations, that all might come into the order thereof, through the divine power, which brings life and immortality to light, that they who were heirs of it, might inherit the power and authority of it; ſo now, ſince all nations have drunk the whore's cup, and all the world hath worſhipped the beaſt (but they, whoſe names are written in the book of life from the foundation of the world, who have worſhipped God in ſpirit and truth, as Chriſt commanded) the everlaſting goſpel is to be and is preached again, as John the divine foreſaw it ſhould, to all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people. This everlaſting goſpel torments the whore, and makes her and the beaſt to rage, even the beaſt that hath power over the tongues, which are called the original, to order them, by which they make divines, as they call them. But all that receive the goſpel, the power of God, which brings life and immortality to light, come to ſee over the beaſt, devil, whore, and falſe prophet, that darkened them and all their worſhips and orders, and come to be heirs of the goſpel, the power of God, which was before the beaſt, whore, falſe prophet, and devil were, and will be when they are all gone and caſt into the lake of fire. And they that are heirs of this power and of this goſpel inherit the power which is the authority of this order, and of our meetings. Theſe come to poſſeſs the joyful order of the joyful goſpel, the comfortable order of the comfortable goſpel, the glorious order of the glorious goſpel, and the everlaſting order of the everlaſting goſpel, the power of God, which will laſt for ever, and will out-laſt all the orders of the devil, and that which is of men or by men. Theſe ſhall ſee the government of Chriſt, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him; and of the increaſe of his glorious, righteous, holy, juſt government there is no end; but his government and his order will remain: for he who is the author of it is the firſt and the laſt, the beginning and ending, the foundation of God, which over all ſtands ſure, Chriſt Jeſus, the Amen.

1668. Kent.

Being returned to London, I ſtaid ſome time, viſiting friends meetings in and about the city. While I was in London, I went one day to viſit ſquire Marſh, who had ſhewed much kindneſs both to me and friends. I happened to go when he was at dinner. He

London.

1668. London. no ſooner heard of my name, but he ſent for me up, and would have had me ſit down with him to dinner; but I had not freedom to do ſo. Several great perſons were at dinner with him; and he ſaid to one of them who was a great Papiſt, 'Here is a Quaker, which you 'have not ſeen before.' The Papiſt aſked me, 'Whether I did own 'the chriſtening of children?' I told him, 'There was no ſcrip-'ture for any ſuch practice.' What!' ſaid he, 'not for chriſtening 'children!' I ſaid, 'Nay.' I told him, 'The one baptiſm by 'the one ſpirit into one body we owned; but to throw a little water 'on a child's face, and ſay, that was baptizing and chriſtening it, 'there was no ſcripture for that.' He aſked me, 'Whether I did 'own the Catholic faith?' I ſaid, 'Yes;' but added, 'That nei-'ther the pope nor the papiſts were in the Catholic faith; for the 'true faith works by love, and purifies the heart; and if they were 'in that faith that gives victory, by which they might have acceſs to 'God, they would not tell the people of a purgatory after they were 'dead. So I undertook to prove, "That neither pope nor papiſts, "that held a purgatory hereafter, were in the true faith." For the 'true, precious, divine faith, which Chriſt is the author of, gives 'victory over the devil and ſin, that ſeparated man and woman from 'God. And if they (the Papiſts) were in the true faith, they would 'never uſe racks, priſons, and fines to perſecute and force others 'to their religion, that were not of their faith. This was not the 'practice of the apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians, who witneſſed 'and enjoyed the true faith of Chriſt; but it was the practice of the 'faithleſs Jews and heathens ſo to do. But, ſaid I, ſeeing thou art 'a great leading man among the Papiſts, and haſt been taught and 'bred up under the pope, and ſeeing thou ſayeſt, "There is no ſal-"vation but in your church;" I deſire to know of thee, "What it "is that doth bring ſalvation in your church?" He anſwered, "A "good life." And nothing elſe, ſaid I? 'Yes,' ſaid he, 'good 'works!' 'Is this it that brings ſalvation in your church, a good 'life and good works? Is this your doctrine and principle?' ſaid I. 'Yes,' ſaid he. 'Then, ſaid I, neither thou, nor the pope, nor any 'of the Papiſts know what it is that brings ſalvation.' He aſked me, 'What brought ſalvation in our church?' I told him, 'That which 'brought ſalvation to the church in the apoſtles days, the ſame 'brought ſalvation to us, and not another; namely, "The grace of "God, which," the ſcripture ſays, "brings ſalvation, and hath ap-"peared to all men," which taught the ſaints then, and teaches us 'now. This grace, which brings ſalvation, teaches, "To deny un-"godlineſs and worldly luſts, and to live godly, righteouſly, and ſo-"berly." So it is not the good works, nor the good life that brings 'ſalvation, but the grace. 'What!' ſaid the Papiſt, 'doth this 'grace, that brings ſalvation, appear unto all men?' 'Yes,' ſaid I. 'Then,' ſaid he, 'I deny that.' I replied, 'All that deny that are 'ſect-makers, and are not in the univerſal faith, grace, and truth, 'which the apoſtles were in.' Then he ſpoke to me about the mo-'ther-church. I told him, The ſeveral ſects in Chriſtendom had ac-'cuſed us, and ſaid, "We forſook our mother-church." The Pa-'piſts charged us with forſaking their church, ſaying, "Rome was

"the

" the only mother-church." The Epiſcopalians taxed us with forſak- 1668.
' ing the old Proteſtant religion, alledging, " Theirs was the reformed London.
" mother-church." The Preſbyterians and Independents blamed us for
' leaving them, each of them pretending " Theirs was the right-
" reformed church." But I ſaid, if we could own any outward place
' to be the mother-church, we ſhould own Jeruſalem, where the
' goſpel was firſt preached by Chriſt himſelf and the apoſtles, where
' Chriſt ſuffered, where the great converſion to Chriſtianity by Peter
' was, where were the types, figures, and ſhadows, which Chriſt
' ended, and where Chriſt commanded his " diſciples to wait until
" they were endued with power from on high." If any outward
' place deſerved to be called the mother, that was the place where
' the firſt great converſion to Chriſtianity was. But the apoſtle ſaith,
' Gal. iv. 25, 26. " Jeruſalem, which now is in bondage with her
" children; but Jeruſalem, which is above, is free, which is the mo-
" ther of us all. For it is written, Rejoice, thou barren, that beareſt
" not; break forth and cry, thou that travaileſt not; for the deſo-
" late hath many more children than ſhe that hath an huſband," ver.
' 27. The apoſtle doth not ſay, outward Jeruſalem was the mo-
' ther, though the firſt and great converſion to Chriſtianity was there;
' and there is leſs reaſon for the title [mother] to be given to Rome,
' or to any other outward place or city, by the children of Jeruſa-
' lem, that is above and free: neither are they Jerſulem's children
' that is above and free, who give the title of mother either to out-
' ward Jeruſalem, to Rome, or to any other place or ſect of people.
' And though this title [mother] hath been given to places and ſects
' by the degenerate Chriſtians, yet we ſay ſtill, as the apoſtle ſaid of
' old, " Jeruſalem that is above, is the mother of us all." We can
' own no other, neither outward Jeruſalem, nor Rome, nor any ſect
' of people for our mother, but Jeruſalem which is above; which
' is free, the mother of all that are born again, become true believers
' in the light, and are grafted into Chriſt, the heavenly vine. For
' all who are born again of the immortal ſeed, by the word of God
' which lives and abides for ever, feed upon the milk of the word,
' the breaſt of life, grow by it in life; and cannot acknowledge
' any other to be their mother, but Jeruſalem which is above.' ' Oh!'
ſaid ſquire Marſh to the Papiſt, ' You do not know this man. If
' he would but come to church now-and-then, he would be a brave
' man.'

After ſome other diſcourſe, I went aſide with juſtice Marſh to another room, to ſpeak with him concerning friends; for he was a juſtice of peace for Middleſex, and being a courtier, the other juſtices put much of the management of affairs upon him. He told me, ' He was in a ſtreight how to act between us and ſome other ' Diſſenters. For,' ſaid he, ' You cannot ſwear, and the Indepen-
' dents, Baptiſts, and Fifth-monarchy-people ſay alſo, They cannot
' ſwear; therefore,' ſaid he, ' how ſhall I diſtinguiſh betwixt you
' and them, ſeeing they and you all ſay, It is for conſcience-ſake
' that you cannot ſwear?' I anſwered, ' I will ſhew thee how to
' diſtinguiſh. They, or moſt of them, thou ſpeakeſt of, can and do
' ſwear in ſome caſes, but we cannot ſwear in any caſe. If a man

ſhould

1669. London.

'should steal their cows and horses, and thou shouldest ask them 'whether they would swear they were theirs? many of them would 'readily do it; but if thou try our friends, they cannot swear for 'their own goods. Therefore, when thou puttest the oath of alle-'giance to any of them, ask them, "Whether they can swear in "any other case, as for their cow or horse?" Which, if they be 'really of us, they cannot do, though they can bear witness to the 'truth.' I gave him a relation of a trial in Berkshire, which was thus: 'A thief stole two beasts from a friend of ours. The thief 'was taken and cast into prison, and the friend appeared against 'him at the assizes. But somebody having informed the judge, that 'the prosecutor was a Quaker and could not swear, the judge, be-'fore he heard the friend, said, "Is he a Quaker? And will he "not swear? Then tender him the oaths of allegiance and supre-"macy." So he cast the friend into prison, and premunired him, 'and set the thief at liberty.' Justice Marsh said, 'That judge was a 'wicked man.' 'But,' said I, 'If we could swear in any case, we 'would take the oath of allegiance to the king, who is to preserve the 'laws that are to support every man in his estate. Whereas others, 'that can swear in some cases, to preserve a part of their estates if 'they be robbed, will not take this oath to the king, who is to pre-'serve them in their whole estates and bodies also. So that thou 'mayest easily distinguish and put a difference betwixt us and those 'people.' Justice Marsh was afterwards very serviceable to friends in this and other cases; for he kept several, both friends and others, from being premunired: and when friends were brought before him, in time of persecution, he set many of them at liberty. When he could not avoid sending to prison, he sent some for a few hours, or a night. At length he went to the king, and told him, 'He had sent some 'of us to prison contrary to his conscience, and he could not do so 'any more.' Therefore he removed his family from Limehouse, where he lived, and took lodgings near James's Park. He told the king, 'If he would be pleased to give liberty of conscience, that would 'quiet and settle all; for then none could have any pretence to be un-'easy.' And indeed he was a very serviceable man to truth and friends in his day.

We had great service at London this year; the Lord's truth came over all. Many who had gone out came in again this year, confessing and condemning their outgoings.

Surry. Sussex. Warwick. Birmingham. Badgely. Nottingham.

After I had staid some time in London, I visited friends in Surry, Sussex, and other places that way, and then travelled northward, having Leonard Fell with me. We visited friends till we came to Warwick, where many were in prison. We had a meeting in the town. I passed from thence to Birmingham and Badgely. At Badgely I had a large meeting. After which I passed to Nottingham, where on the first-day we had a precious meeting, but not without danger of being apprehended; the constables having threatened friends.

Balby. York.

I passed from thence, visiting friends, till I came to Balby, and so to York quarterly-meeting. A blessed meeting we had. Friends had in Yorkshire seven monthly meetings before, and they were so sensible of the service of them, that they desired to have seven more added;

added; for truth was much ſpread in that county. Accordingly in that quarterly meeting they were ſettled: ſo now they have fourteen monthly meetings. 1669. York.

It being the aſſize-time at York, I met with juſtice Hotham, a well-wiſher to friends, who had been tender and very kind to me from the firſt.

After I had finiſhed my ſervice in York, I paſſed into the country. As I went, a great burden fell upon me; but I did not preſently know the reaſon of it. I came to a meeting on firſt-day at Richard Shipton's, which was very large. There being a meeting the ſame day at another place, and the prieſt of that place, being miſinformed that I was to be there, got a warrant, and made great diſturbance at that meeting; of which Iſaac Lindley gave me an account by the following letter: R. Shipton's.

'G. F.

'WHEN thou went'ſt from York, the firſt-day after thou waſt at Richard Shipton's, that day I had appointed a meeting ten 'miles from York, where there had not been a meeting before. But 'the prieſt and the conſtable got a warrant on the ſeventh-day, and 'put thy name only in the warrant; for they had heard thou waſt 'to be there. They came with weapons and ſtaves, and cried, "Where is Mr. Fox?" over and over; many friends being there, 'they concluded thou waſt among them. But thoſe raveners, being 'diſappointed, plucked me down, abuſed me, beat ſome friends, 'and then took me before a magiſtrate; but he ſet me at liberty.

'Iſaac Lindley.'

I then viſited friends at Whitby and Scarborough. When I was at Scarborough, the governor, hearing I was come, ſent to invite me to his houſe, ſaying, 'Surely, I would not be ſo unkind, as not to 'come and ſee him and his wife.' After the meeting I went to viſit him, and he received me very courteouſly and lovingly. Whitby. Scarborough.

Having viſited moſt of the meetings in Yorkſhire, the Woulds, and Holderneſs, I came to Henry Jackſon's, where I had a great meeting. From thence to Thomas Tayler's, and to John Moor's at Eldreth, where we had a very large meeting: the Lord's power and preſence was eminently amongſt us. Not far from this place lay colonel Kirby, lame of the gout, who had threatened, 'If ever I 'came near, he would ſend me to priſon again; and had bid forty 'pounds to any man that could take me,' as I was credibly informed. The Woulds. Holderneſs. H. Jackſon's. T. Tayler's. Eldreth.

After this I came into Staffordſhire and Cheſhire, where we had many large and precious meetings. I had a very large one at William Barns's, about two miles from Warrington; and though colonel Kirby was now got abroad again, as violent in breaking up meetings as before, and was then at Warrington, the Lord did not ſuffer him to come to this meeting: ſo we were preſerved out of his hands. Staffordſhire. Cheſhire. Warrington.

1669. Ireland. Now was I moved of the Lord to go over into Ireland, to viſit the ſeed of God in that nation. There went with me Robert Lodge, James Lancaſter, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs. We waited Liverpool. near Liverpool for ſhipping and wind. After we had waited ſome days, we ſent James Lancaſter, who took paſſage, and brought word the ſhip was ready, and would take us in at Black-rock. We went thither on foot. It being pretty fair, and the weather very hot, I was much ſpent with walking. When we arrived the ſhip was not there, ſo we were obliged to go to the town and take ſhipping. When we were got on board, I ſaid to the reſt of the company, 'Come, ye will triumph in the Lord; for we ſhall have fair wind and 'weather.' There were many paſſengers in the ſhip ſick, but not one of our company. The maſter and many of the paſſengers were very loving; and being at ſea on a firſt-day, I was moved to declare truth among them; whereupon the maſter ſaid to the paſſengers, 'Come, here are things that you never heard in your lives.' When Dublin. we came before Dublin, we took boat, and went aſhore; and the earth and air ſmelt, methought, with the corruption of the nation, ſo that it yielded another ſmell to me than England did; which I imputed to the popiſh maſſacres that had been committed, and the blood that had been ſpilt in it, from which a foulneſs aſcended. We paſſed through among the officers of the cuſtoms four times, yet they did not ſearch us; for they perceived what we were. Some of them were ſo envious, they did not care to look at us. We did not preſently find friends; but went to an inn, and ſent to inquire for ſome, who were exceeding glad of our coming, and received us with great joy. We ſtaid there the weekly meeting, which was a large one, and the power and life of God appeared greatly in it. Afterwards we paſſed to a province-meeting, which laſted two days, there being both a men's meeting about the poor, and another more general, in which a mighty power of the Lord appeared. Truth was livingly declared, and friends were much refreſhed therein.

Paſſing from thence about twenty-four miles, we came to another place, where we had a very good refreſhing meeting; after which ſome Papiſts were angry, and raged very much. When I heard of it, I ſent for one of them, a ſchool-maſter; but he would not come. Whereupon I ſent a challenge to him, with all the friers, monks, prieſts, and jeſuits, to come forth, and 'try their God and their 'Chriſt, which they made of bread and wine;' but no anſwer could I get from them. Wherefore I told them, 'They were worſe than 'the prieſts of Baal; for Baal's prieſts tried their wooden god, but 'theſe durſt not try their god of bread and wine; and Baal's prieſts 'and people did not eat their god, as theſe did, and then make an-'other.'

New-garden. Bandon-bridge. Land's-end. We went on to New-garden, where was a great meeting. From thence we travelled to Bandon-bridge and the Land's-end, having many meetings as we went; in which the mighty power of the Lord was manifeſted, friends were well refreſhed, and many people were affected with the truth. At Bandon, the mayor's wife, being convinced, deſired her huſband to come to the meeting; but he

he bid her for her life ſhe ſhould not make known that I was at a meeting there. 1669. Bandon.

He that was then mayor of Cork, being very envious againſt truth and friends, had many friends in priſon; and knowing I was in the country, he ſent four warrants to take me; therefore friends were deſirous that I might not ride through Cork. But being at Bandon, there appeared to me in a viſion, 'A very ugly-viſaged man, of a 'black and dark look. My ſpirit ſtruck at him in the power of 'God, and it ſeemed to me, that I rode over him with my horſe, 'and my horſe ſet his foot on the ſide of his face.' When I came down in the morning, I told a friend, the command of the Lord was Cork. to me to ride through Cork; but bid him tell no man. So we took horſe, many friends being with me. When we came near the town, friends would have ſhewed me a way on the backſide of it; but I told them, my way was through the ſtreets. Taking Paul Morrice to guide me through the town, I rode on; and as we rode through the market-place, and by the mayor's door, he, ſeeing me, ſaid, 'There goes George Fox;' but he had not power to ſtop me. When we had paſſed through the centinels, and were come over the bridge, we went to a friend's houſe, and alighted. There the friends told me, what a rage was in the town, and how many warrants were granted to take me. While I was ſitting there with friends, I felt the evil ſpirit at work in the town, ſtirring up miſchief againſt me; and I felt the power of the Lord ſtrike at that evil ſpirit. By-and-by ſome other friends coming in, told me, 'It was over the town, 'and amongſt the magiſtrates, that I was in the town.' I ſaid, 'Let 'the devil do his worſt.' After a while that friends were refreſhed one in another, and we travellers had refreſhed ourſelves, I called for my horſe, and having a friend to guide me, we went on our way. But great was the rage that the mayor and others of Cork were in, that they had miſſed me, and great pains they afterwards took to have taken me, having their ſcouts abroad upon the roads, as I underſtood, to obſerve which way I went. Afterwards, ſcarce a public meeting I came to, but ſpies came to watch if I was there. And the envious magiſtrates and prieſts ſent informations one to another concerning me, deſcribing me by my hair, hat, cloaths, and horſe; ſo that when I was near an hundred miles from Cork they had an account concerning me, and deſcription of me, before I came amongſt them. One very envious magiſtrate, who was both a prieſt and a juſtice, got a warrant from the judge of aſſize to apprehend me; the warrant was to go over all his circuit, which reached near an hundred miles. Yet the Lord diſappointed all their councils, defeated all their deſigns againſt me, and by his good hand of Providence preſerved me out of all their ſnares, and gave us many ſweet and bleſſed opportunities to viſit friends, and ſpread truth through that nation. For meetings were very large, friends coming to them far and near; and other people flocking in. The powerful preſence of the Lord was preciouſly felt with and amongſt us; whereby many of the world were reached, convinced, gathered to the truth, and the Lord's flock was increaſed; and friends were greatly refreſhed and comforted in feeling the love of God. Oh! the brokenneſs that was

amongſt

1669. Ireland. amongſt them in the flowings of life! So that, in the power and Spirit of the Lord, many together broke out into ſinging, even with audible voices, making melody in their hearts.

At which time I was moved to declare to friends there in the miniſtry, as followeth:

'SOUND, ſound abroad, you faithful ſervants of the Lord, witneſſes in his name, faithful ſervants, prophets of the Higheſt, and angels of the Lord! Sound ye all abroad in the world, to the awakening and raiſing of the dead, that they may be awakened, and raiſed up out of the grave, to hear the voice that is living. For the dead have long heard the dead, the blind have long wandered among the blind, and the deaf amongſt the deaf. Therefore ſound, ye ſervants, prophets, and angels of the Lord, ye trumpets of the Lord, that you may awaken the dead, awaken them that are aſleep in their graves of ſin, death, and hell, ſea and earth, and who lie in the tombs. Sound abroad, ye trumpets, and raiſe up the dead, that they may hear the voice of the Son of God, the voice of the Second Adam that never fell, the voice of the Light, the voice of the Life, the voice of the Power, the voice of the Truth, the voice of the Righteous, and the voice of the Juſt. Sound ye the trumpets, the melodious ſound abroad, that all the deaf ears may be opened to hear the pleaſant ſound of the trumpet to judgment and life, to condemnation and light. Sound your trumpets all abroad, you angels of the Lord, ſons and daughters, prophets of the Higheſt, that all that are dead and aſleep in the graves, who have been long dreaming and ſlumbering, may be awakened and hear the voice of the Lamb, who have long heard the voice of the beaſt, that now they may hear the voice of the Bridegroom, the voice of the Bride, the voice of the Great Prophet, the voice of the Great King, the voice of the Great Shepherd and Biſhop of their ſouls. Sound it all abroad, ye trumpets, among the dead in Adam; for Chriſt is come, the ſecond Adam, that they might have life, yea have it abundantly. Awaken the dead, awaken the ſlumberers, awaken the dreamers, awaken them that are aſleep, awaken them out of their graves, out of their tombs, out of their ſepulchres, out of the ſeas! Sound abroad, ye trumpets, that awaken the dead, that they may all hear the ſound of it in the graves, and they that hear may live and come to the Life, that is, the Son of God. He is riſen from the dead, the grave could not hold nor contain him, neither could all the watchers of the earth, with all their guards, keep him therein. Sound, ye trumpets of the Lord, to all the ſeekers of the living among the dead, that he is riſen from the dead; to all the ſeekers of the living among the dead, and in the graves that the watchers keep; he is not in the grave, he is riſen: and there is that under the grave of the watchers of the outward grave, which muſt be awakened and come to hear his voice, who is riſen from the dead, that they might come to live. Therefore ſound abroad, you trumpets of the Lord, that the grave might give up her dead, and hell and the ſea might give up their dead; and all might come

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'forth to judgment, to the judgment of the Lord before his throne, 'and have their ſentence and reward according to their works.

'Away with all the chaff and the huſks, and contentions and 'ſtrife, that the ſwine feed upon in the mire, and in the fall; and 'the keepers of them of Adam and Eve's houſe in the fall, that lies 'in the mire, out of light and life.

'G. F.'

To James Hutchinſon's in Ireland came many great perſons, deſiring to diſcourſe with me about Election and Reprobation. I told them, 'Though they judged our principle fooliſh, it was too high 'for them, they could not with their wiſdom comprehend it; there-'fore I would diſcourſe with them according to their capacities. You 'ſay,' ſaid I, 'that God hath ordained the greateſt part of men for 'hell, and that they were ordained ſo before the world began; for 'which your proof is in Jude. You ſay, Eſau was reprobated, and 'the Egyptians, and the ſtock of Ham. But Chriſt ſaith to his diſ-'ciples, "Go, teach all nations;" and, "Go into all nations, "and preach the goſpel of life and ſalvation." If they were to go to 'all nations, were they not to go to Ham's ſtock, and Eſau's ſtock? 'Did not Chriſt die for all? Then for the ſtock of Ham, of Eſau, 'and the Egyptians. Doth not the ſcripture ſay, "God would have "all men to be ſaved?" Mark, "All men;" then the ſtock of 'Eſau, and of Ham alſo. Doth not God ſay, "Egypt my people?" 'and that he would have an altar in Egypt? Iſa. xix. Were there 'not many Chriſtians formerly in Egypt? And doth not hiſtory 'ſay, that the biſhop of Alexandria would formerly have been pope? 'And had not God a church in Babylon? I confeſs, "The word "come to Jacob, and the ſtatutes to Iſrael; the like was not to "other nations." For the law of God was given to Iſrael; but the 'goſpel was to be preached to all nations, and is to be preached. 'The goſpel of peace and glad-tidings to all nations, "He that be-"lieves is ſaved, but he that doth not believe is condemned already;" 'ſo the condemnation comes through unbelief. And whereas Jude 'ſpeaks of ſome that were of old ordained (or written of before) 'to condemnation, he doth not ſay, before the world began; but, "written of old;" which may be referred to Moſes's writings, who 'wrote of thoſe whom Jude mentions, namely Cain, Corah, Balaam, 'and the angels that kept not their firſt eſtate; and ſuch Chriſtians 'as followed them in their way, and apoſtatized from the firſt ſtate 'of Chriſtianity, were and are ordained for condemnation by the 'light and truth, which they are gone from. And though the 'apoſtle ſpeaks of God's loving Jacob and hating Eſau, yet he tells 'the believers, "We all were by nature children of wrath, as well "as others." This includes the ſtock of Jacob, of which the 'apoſtle himſelf and all believing Jews were. Thus both Jews and 'Gentiles were all concluded under ſin, and ſo under condemnation, 'that God might have mercy upon all through Jeſus Chriſt. The 'election and choice ſtands in Chriſt: "and he that believes is "ſaved, and he that believes not is condemned already." Jacob 'typifies the ſecond birth, which God loved; and both Jews and

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'Gentiles muſt be born again, before they can enter the kingdom of 'God. When you are born again, ye will know election and re-'probation; for the election ſtands in Chriſt, the ſeed, before the 'world began; but the reprobation lies in the evil ſeed ſince the 'word began.' After this manner, but ſomewhat more largely, I diſcourſed with thoſe great perſons about this matter, and they confeſſed they had never heard ſo much before.

After I had travelled over Ireland, and viſited friends in their meetings, as well for buſineſs as worſhip, and anſwered ſeveral papers and writings from monks, friars, and Proteſtant prieſts (for they all were in a rage againſt us, and endeavoured to ſtop the work of the Lord, and ſome Jeſuits ſwore in ſome of our hearing, that we came to ſpread our principles in that nation, but we ſhould not do it) Dublin. I returned to Dublin, in order to take paſſage for England. When I had ſtaid the firſt-day's meeting there, which was very large and precious, there being a ſhip ready, and the wind ſerving, we took our leave of friends; parting in much tenderneſs and brokenneſs, in the ſenſe of the heavenly life and power, manifeſted amongſt us. Having put our horſes and neceſſaries on board in the morning, we went ourſelves in the afternoon, many friends accompanying us to the ſhip; and divers friends and friendly people followed us in boats, when we were near a league at ſea, their love drawing them, though not without danger. A good, weighty, and true people there is in that nation, ſenſible of the power of the Lord God, tender of his truth, and very good order they have in their meetings; for they ſtand up for righteouſneſs and holineſs, which dams up the way of wickedneſs. A precious viſitation they had, and there is an excellent ſpirit in them, worthy to be viſited. Many things more I could write of that nation, and of my travels in it, which would be large to mention particularly; but thus much I thought good to ſignify, that the righteous may rejoice in the proſperity of truth.

James Lancaſter, Robert Lodge, and Thomas Briggs came back with me; John Stubbs, having further ſervice there, ſtaid behind. At ſea. We were two nights at ſea; in one of which a mighty ſtorm aroſe that put the veſſel in great danger; but I ſaw the power of God went over the winds and ſtorms, he had them in his hand, and his power bound them. And the ſame power of the Lord God, which carried us over, brought us back again; and in his life gave us dominion over all the evil ſpirits that oppoſed us there.

Liverpool. We landed at Liverpool, and went to Richard Johnſon's, William Barnes's, and to William Gandy's, viſiting friends, and having many Lancaſhire. precious meetings in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire. We came into Glou-Cheſhire. ceſterſhire, and met with a report at Nailſworth, which was ſpread Glouceſterſh. in that country, 'That George Fox was turned Preſbyterian, that a Nailſworth. 'pulpit was prepared for him and ſet in a yard, and that there would 'be a thouſand people there the next day to hear him.' I thought it ſtrange that ſuch a report ſhould be raiſed of me; yet as we went further from one friend's houſe to another, we met with the ſame. We paſſed by the yard where the pulpit was, and ſaw it, and went to the place where friends meeting was to be next day, where we ſtaid that night.

night. Next day, being the firſt-day, we had a very large meeting, and the Lord's power and preſence was amongſt us. 1669. Glouceſter-ſhire.

The occaſion of this ſtrange report (as I was informed) was this. There was one John Fox, a Preſbyterian prieſt, who uſed to go about preaching; and ſome, changing his name from John to George, gave out that George Fox was turned from a Quaker to be a Preſbyterian, and would preach at ſuch a place ſuch a day. This begat ſuch curioſity in the people, that they went thither to hear this Quaker turned Preſbyterian, who would not have gone to have heard John Fox himſelf. By this means it was reported they had got together above a thouſand people. But when they came there, and perceived they had a trick put upon them, that he was but a counterfeit George Fox, and underſtood that the real George Fox was hard-by, ſeveral hundreds came to our meeting, and were ſober and attentive. 'I directed them to the grace of God in themſelves, which would 'teach them, and bring them ſalvation.' When the meeting was over, ſome of the people ſaid, 'They liked George Fox the 'Quaker's preaching better than George Fox the Preſbyterian's.' Thus, by my providential coming into thoſe parts at that time, this falſe report was diſcovered, and ſhame came over the contrivers of it.

Not long after this John Fox was complained of in the houſe of commons, for 'having a tumultuous meeting, in which treaſon-'able words were ſpoken:' which (according to the beſt information I could get) was thus. John Fox had formerly been prieſt of Mansfield in Wiltſhire; and, being put out of that place, was afterwards permitted by a Common-prayer prieſt to preach ſometimes in his ſteeple-houſe. At length this Preſbyterian prieſt, preſuming too far upon the pariſh prieſt's former grant, began to be more bold than welcome, and attempted to preach there whether the pariſh prieſt would or no. This cauſed a great buſtle and conteſt in the ſteeple-houſe between the two prieſts, and their hearers on either ſide: in which conteſt the Common-prayer-book was cut to pieces, and ſome treaſonable words ſpoken by ſome of the followers of John Fox. This was quickly put in the news, and ſome malicious Preſbyterians cauſed it to be ſo worded as if it had proceeded from George Fox the Quaker, though I was above two hundred miles from the place when this buſtle happened. When I heard of it, I ſoon procured certificates from ſome of the members of the houſe of commons, who knew this man, and gave it under their hands, that it was J. Fox, who had formerly been parſon of Mansfield in Wiltſhire, that was complained of to the houſe of commons, to be the chief ringleader in that unlawful aſſembly.

And indeed this John Fox diſcovered himſelf to be an ill man; for ſome who had been his followers came to be convinced of truth, and thereupon left him; upon which he came to ſome of their houſes, to talk with them; and they telling him, 'He was in 'the ſteps of the falſe prophets, preaching for hire and filthy lucre, 'like thoſe whom Chriſt cried woe againſt, and the apoſtles declared 'againſt, ſuch as ſerved not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt but their own 'bellies, and telling him, Chriſt ſaid, Freely ye have received,

1669. Glouceſter-ſhire.

'freely give, and therefore he ſhould not take money of people for 'preaching, eſpecially now times were ſo hard;' he replied, 'God 'bleſs preaching, that brings in money, let times go how they will. 'Fill my belly with good victuals; then call me falſe prophet, or 'what you will, and kick me about the houſe when ye have done, 'if ye will.' This relation I had from a man and his wife, who had been formerly his hearers, and whom John Fox (with others) cauſed deeply to ſuffer. For he, and ſome other Preſbyterian prieſts, reſorting to a widow woman's, who had the impropriation, and took the tithes of the pariſh, ſhe told them, 'There was a Quaker in 'that pariſh that would not pay her tithes;' and aſked, what ſhe ſhould do with him. They adviſed her, 'To ſend workmen to cut 'down and carry away his corn:' which ſhe did, and thereby impoveriſhed the man. But to proceed.——

Briſtol. After this meeting in Glouceſterſhire, we travelled till we came to Briſtol; where I met with Margaret Fell, who was come to viſit her daughter Yeomans. I had ſeen from the Lord a conſiderable time before, that I ſhould take Margaret Fell to be my wife; and when I firſt mentioned it to her, ſhe felt the anſwer of Life from God thereunto. But though the Lord had opened this thing to me, yet I had not received a command from him for the accompliſhing of it then. Wherefore I let the thing reſt, and went on in the work and ſervice of the Lord, according as he led me; travelling in this nation, and through Ireland. But now being at Briſtol, and finding Margaret Fell there, it opened in me from the Lord, that the thing ſhould be accompliſhed. After we had diſcourſed the matter together, I told her, 'If ſhe alſo was ſatisfied with the ac-'compliſhing of it now, ſhe ſhould firſt ſend for her children:' which ſhe did. When the reſt of her daughters were come, I aſked both them and her ſons-in-law, 'If they had any thing againſt it, or for 'it?' and they all ſeverally expreſſed their ſatisfaction therewith. Then I aſked Margaret, 'If ſhe had fulfilled her huſband's will to 'her children?' She replied, 'The children knew ſhe had.' Whereupon I aſked them, 'Whether, if their mother married, 'they ſhould not loſe by it?' I aſked Margaret, 'Whether ſhe had 'done any thing in lieu of it, which might anſwer it to the children?' The children ſaid, 'She had anſwered it to them, and deſired me 'to ſpeak no more of it.' I told them, 'I was plain, and would 'have all things done plainly: for I ſought not any outward advan-'tage to myſelf.' So our intention of marriage was laid before friends both privately and publickly, to their full ſatisfaction, many of whom gave teſtimony that it was of God. Afterwards, a meeting being appointed on purpoſe for the accompliſhing thereof, in the publick meeting-houſe at Broad Mead in Briſtol, we took each other in marriage; the Lord joining us together in the honourable marriage, in the everlaſting covenant and immortal Seed of life. In the ſenſe whereof, living and weighty teſtimonies were borne thereunto by friends in the movings of the heavenly power, which united us together. Then was a certificate, relating both the proceedings and the marriage, openly read, and ſigned by the relations, and by moſt

moſt of the ancient friends of that city; beſides many others from divers parts of the nation. 1669.

We ſtaid about a week in Briſtol, and then went together to Oldſtone: where taking leave of each other in the Lord, we parted, betaking ourſelves each to our ſeveral ſervice; Margaret returning homewards to the north, and I paſſing on in the work of the Lord as before. I travelled through Wiltſhire, Berkſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and ſo to London, viſiting friends: in all which counties I had many large and precious meetings. Oldſtone. Wiltſhire. Berkſhire. Oxfordſhire. Buckinghamſhire. London.

Being in London, it came upon me to write to friends throughout the nation, about 'putting out poor children to trades.' Wherefore I ſent the following epiſtle to the quarterly meetings of friends in all the counties.

'My dear Friends,

'LET every quarterly meeting make inquiry through all the 'monthly and other meetings, to know all friends that are wi-'dows, or others, that have children fit to put out to apprentice-'ſhips; ſo that once a quarter you may ſet forth an apprentice from 'your quarterly meeting; ſo you may ſet forth four in a year in each 'county, or more, if there be occaſion. This apprentice, when 'out of his time, may help his father or mother, and ſupport the 'family that is decayed; and, in ſo doing, all may come to live 'comfortably. This being done in your quarterly meetings, ye 'will have knowledge through the county, in the monthly and par-'ticular meetings, of maſters fit for them; and of ſuch trades as 'their parents or you deſire, or the children are moſt inclinable 'to. Thus being placed out to friends, they may be trained up in 'truth; and by this means in the wiſdom of God, you may preſerve 'friends children in the truth, and enable them to be a ſtrength and 'help to their families, and nurſers and preſervers of their rela-'tions in their ancient days. Thus alſo, things being ordered in 'the wiſdom of God, you will take off a continual maintenance, 'and free yourſelves from much cumber. For in the country, ye 'know, ye may ſet forth an apprentice for a little to ſeveral trades, 'as bricklayers, maſons, carpenters, wheelwrights, ploughwrights, 'taylors, tanners, curriers, blackſmiths, ſhoemakers, nailers, butch-'ers, weavers of linen and woollen, ſtuffs and ſerges, &c. And 'you may do well to have a ſtock in your quarterly meetings for 'that purpoſe. All that is given by any friends at their deceaſe (ex-'cept it be given to ſome particular uſe, perſon, or meeting) may 'be brought to the publick ſtock for that purpoſe. This will be a 'way for the preſerving of many that are poor among you; and it 'will be a way of making up poor families. In ſeveral counties it 'is practiſed already. Some quarterly meetings ſet forth two ap-'prentices; and ſometimes the children of others that are laid on 'the pariſh. You may bind them for fewer or more years, accord-'ing to their capacities. In all things the wiſdom of God will 'teach you; by which ye may help the children of poor friends, 'that they may come to ſupport their families, and preſerve them in

1669. London. ‘ the fear of God. So no more, but my love in the everlaſting Seed, ‘ by which ye will have wiſdom to order all things to the glory of ‘ God.’

‘ G. F.’

‘ London, the firſt of the
‘ 11th month, 1669.’

I ſtaid not long in London; but having viſited friends, and finding things there quiet and well, the Lord's power being over all, I paſſed into Eſſex and Hertfordſhire, where I had many precious meetings. Intending to go as far as Leiceſterſhire, I wrote a letter to my wife, to acquaint her therewith; that, if ſhe found it convenient, ſhe might meet me there. From Hertfordſhire I turned into Cambridgeſhire; thence into Huntingdonſhire, and ſo into Leiceſterſhire; where, inſtead of meeting my wife, I heard ſhe was haled out of her houſe to Lancaſter priſon, by an order got from the king and council, to fetch her back to priſon upon the old premunire; though ſhe had been diſcharged from that impriſonment by an order from the king and council the year before. Wherefore, having viſited friends as far as Leiceſterſhire, I returned by Derbyſhire and Warwickſhire to London; having had many large and bleſſed meetings in the ſeveral counties I paſſed through, and been ſweetly refreſhed amongſt friends in my travels.

Eſſex. Hertfordſhire. Cambridgeſhire. Huntingdonſhire. Leiceſterſhire. 1670. Derbyſhire. Warwickſhire.

As ſoon as I was got to London, I haſtened Mary Lower and Sarah Fell (two of my wife's daughters) to the king, to acquaint him how their mother was dealt with, and ſee if they could get a full diſcharge for her, that ſhe might enjoy her eſtate and liberty without moleſtation. This was ſomewhat difficult, but by diligent attendance they at length obtained it; the king giving comand to Sir John Otway to ſignify his pleaſure therein by letter to the ſheriff, and other ſconcerned in the country. Which letter Sarah Fell, going down with her brother and ſiſter Rous, carried with her to Lancaſter; and by them I wrote to my wife, as followeth:

London.

‘ My dear heart in the truth and life, that changeth not,

‘ IT was upon me that Mary Lower and Sarah ſhould go to the king concerning thy impriſonment; and to Kirby, that the power of ‘ the Lord might appear over them all in thy deliverance. They ‘ went; and then thought to have come down; but it was upon me ‘ to ſtay them a little longer, that they might follow the buſineſs till ‘ it was effected: which it now is, and is here ſent. The late declaration of mine hath been very ſerviceable, people being generally ſatisfied with it. So no more but my love in the holy Seed.

‘ G. F.’

The declaration here mentioned was a printed ſheet, written upon occaſion of a new perſecution ſtirred up. For by that time I was got to London, a freſh ſtorm was riſen, occaſioned, it was thought, by that tumultuous meeting in a ſteeple-houſe in Wiltſhire or Glouceſterſhire, mentioned a little before; from which, as it was ſaid, ſome members of

of parliament took advantage to get an act paſſed againſt ſeditious conventicles; which ſoon after came forth, and was turned againſt us, who of all people were free from ſedition and tumult. Whereupon I wrote a declaration, ſhewing from the preamble and terms of the act that we were not ſuch a people, nor our meetings ſuch as were deſcribed in that act. Beſides that declaration, I wrote alſo another ſhort paper, on the occaſion of that act againſt meetings; opening our caſe to the magiſtrates, as followeth: 1670. London.

'O FRIENDS, conſider this act, which limits our meetings to five. Is this, 'to do as ye would be done by?' Would ye 'be ſo ſerved yourſelves? We own Chriſt Jeſus as well as you, his 'coming, death, and reſurrection; and if we be contrary-minded 'to you in ſome things, is not this the apoſtle's exhortation, to "wait till God hath revealed it?" Doth not he ſay, 'What is not 'of faith, is ſin?' Seeing we have not faith in things which ye 'would have us to do, would it not be ſin in us if we ſhould act 'contrary to our faith? Why ſhould any man have power over 'any other man's faith, ſeeing Chriſt is the author of it? When 'the apoſtles preached in the name of Jeſus, and great multitudes 'heard them, and the rulers forbad them to ſpeak any more in that 'name, did not they bid them judge whether it were better to obey 'God or man? Would not this act have taken hold of the twelve 'apoſtles and ſeventy diſciples; for they met often together? If 'there had been a law made then, that not above five ſhould have 'met with Chriſt, would not that have been an hindering him from 'meeting with his diſciples? Do ye think that he, who is the wiſ'dom of God, or his diſciples, would have obeyed it? If ſuch a 'law had been made in the apoſtles days, that not above five might 'have met together, who had been different-minded from either the 'Jews or the Gentiles, do ye think the churches of Chriſt at Corinth, 'Philippi, Epheſus, Theſſalonica, or the reſt of the gathered churches, 'would have obeyed it? O therefore conſider! for we are Chriſtians, 'and partake of the nature and life of Chriſt. Strive not to limit the 'Holy One; for God's power cannot be limited, and is not to be 'quenched. "Do unto all men as ye would have them do unto "you; for that is the law and the prophets."

'This is from thoſe who wiſh you all well, and deſire your ever'laſting good and proſperity, called Quakers; who ſeek the 'peace and good of all people, though they afflict us, and cauſe 'us to ſuffer.'

'G. F.'

As I had endeavoured to ſoften the magiſtrates, and to take off the ſharpneſs of their edge in the execution of the act, ſo it was upon me to write a few lines to friends, to 'ſtrengthen and encourage them to 'ſtand faſt in their teſtimony, and bear, with Chriſtian patience and 'content, the ſuffering that was coming upon them.'

'MY

1670. London.

'MY dear friends, Keep in the faith of God above all outward things and in his power, that hath given you dominion over all. The ſame power of God is ſtill with you to deliver you as formerly: for God and his power is the ſame; his Seed is over all, and before all; and will be, when that which makes to ſuffer is gone. Be of good faith in that which changeth not; for whatſoever any doth againſt the truth it will come upon themſelves, and fall as a millſtone on their heads. If the Lord ſuffer you to be tried, let all be given up; look at the Lord and his power, which is over the whole world, and will remain when the world is gone. In the Lord's power and truth rejoice, friends, over that which makes to ſuffer, in the Seed, which was before it was; for the life, truth, and power of God is over all. All keep in that; and if ye ſuffer in that it is to the Lord.

'Friends, the Lord hath bleſſed you in outward things; and now he may try you, whether your minds be in outward things, or with the Lord that gave you them? Therefore keep in the Seed, by which all outward things were made, and which is over them all. What! ſhall not I pray, and ſpeak to God, with my face towards heavenly Jeruſalem, according to my wonted time? Let not any one's Dalilah ſhave his head, leſt ſuch loſe their ſtrength; neither reſt in its lap, leſt the Philiſtines be upon you. For your reſt is in Chriſt Jeſus; therefore reſt not in any thing elſe.

'G. F.'

'London, the 12th of the
'2d Month, 1670.'

Gracechurch-ſtreet meeting.

On the next firſt day after the act came in force, I went to the meeting-houſe at Gracechurch-ſtreet, where I expected the ſtorm was moſt likely to begin. When I came there, I found the ſtreet full of people, and a guard ſet to keep friends out of their meeting-houſe. I went to the other paſſage, out of Lombard-ſtreet, where alſo I found a guard; but the court was full of people, and a friend was ſpeaking amongſt them: but ſpoke not long. When he had don, I ſtood up, and was moved to ſay, 'Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? It is hard for thee to kick againſt that which pricks thee. Then I ſhewed, it is Saul's nature that perſecutes ſtill; and that they, who perſecute Chriſt in his members now, where he is made manifeſt, kick againſt that which pricks them. That it was the birth of the fleſh that perſecuted the birth born of the Spirit; and that it was the nature of dogs to tear and devour the ſheep; but that we ſuffered as ſheep that bite not again; for we were a peaceable people, and loved them that perſecuted us.' After I had ſpoken a while to this effect, the conſtable came with an informer and ſoldiers; and as they plucked me down, I ſaid, 'Bleſſed are the peace-makers.' The commander of the ſoldiers put me among the ſoldiers, and bid them ſecure me, ſaying to me, 'You are the man I looked for.' They took alſo John Burneyate, with another friend, and had us away firſt to the Exchange, and afterwards towards Moorfields. As we went along the ſtreets the people were very moderate. Some of them laughed at the conſtable, and told

told him, 'We would not run away.' The informer went with us unknown; till falling into diſcourſe with one of the company, he ſaid, 'It would never be a good world till all people came to the 'good old religion that was two hundred years ago.' Whereupon I aſked him, 'Art thou a Papiſt? What! a Papiſt informer? for 'two hundred years ago there was no other religion but that of the 'Papiſts.' He ſaw he had enſnared himſelf, and was vexed at it; for as he went along the ſtreets, I ſpoke often to him, and manifeſted what he was. When we were come to the mayor's houſe, and were in the court-yard, ſeveral aſked me, 'How and for 'what I was taken?' I deſired them to aſk the informer; and alſo know what his name was: but he refuſed to tell his name. Whereupon one of the mayor's officers, looking out at a window, told him, 'He ſhould tell his name before he went away: for the lord mayor 'would know by what authority he intruded himſelf with ſoldiers 'into the execution of thoſe laws which belonged to the civil ma-'giſtrate to execute, and not to the military.' After this, he was eager to be gone; and went to the porter to be let out. One of the officers called to him, ſaying, 'Have you brought people here to 'inform againſt, and now will you go away before my lord mayor 'comes?' Some called to the porter not to let him out; whereupon he forcibly pulled open the door, and ſlipped out. No ſooner was he come into the ſtreet but the people gave a ſhout, that made the ſtreet ring again, crying out, 'A Papiſt informer! A Papiſt inform-'er!' We deſired the conſtable and ſoldiers to go and reſcue him out of the people's hands, leſt they ſhould do him a miſchief. They went, and brought him into the mayor's entry, where we ſtaid a while: but when he went out again, the people received him with ſuch another ſhout. Whereupon the ſoldiers were obliged to reſcue him once more; and then they had him into an houſe in an alley, where they perſuaded him to change his perriwig, ſo he got away unknown. 1670. London.

When the mayor came, we were brought into the room where he was, and ſome of his officers would have taken off our hats; which he perceiving, bid them 'let us alone, and not meddle with 'our hats; for,' ſaid he, 'they are not yet brought before me in ju-'dicature.' So we ſtood by, while he examined ſome Preſbyterian and Baptiſt teachers; with whom he was ſomewhat ſharp, and convicted them. After he had done with them, I was brought to the table where he ſat; and then the officers took off my hat. The mayor ſaid mildly to me, 'Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man 'amongſt thoſe of your profeſſion; pray, will you be inſtrumental 'to diſſuade them from meeting in ſuch great numbers? for, ſeeing 'Chriſt hath promiſed, that where two or three are met in his 'name, he will be in the midſt of them; and the king and parlia-'ment are graciouſly pleaſed to allow of four to meet together to 'worſhip God; why will not you be content to partake both of 'Chriſt's promiſe to two or three, and the king's indulgence to four?' I anſwered to this purpoſe: 'Chriſt's promiſe was not to diſcourage 'many from meeting together in his name; but to encourage the 'few, that the feweſt might not forbear to meet, becauſe of their

1670. London.

'fewneſs. But if Chriſt hath promiſed to manifeſt his preſence in 'the midſt of ſo ſmall an aſſembly, where but two or three were 'gathered in his name, how much more would his preſence abound, 'where two or three hundred are gathered in his name? I wiſhed 'him to conſider whether this act would not have taken hold of 'Chriſt, with his twelve apoſtles and ſeventy diſciples (if it had 'been in their time) who uſed to meet often together, and that in 'great numbers? However, I told him this act did not concern us; 'for it was made againſt ſeditious meetings, of ſuch as met, under 'colour and pretence of religion, to contrive inſurrections, as (the 'act ſays) late experience had ſhewn; but we had been ſufficient-'ly tried and proved, and always found peaceable; therefore he 'ſhould do well to put a difference between the innocent and the 'guilty.' He ſaid, 'The act was made againſt meetings, and a 'worſhip not according to the liturgy.' I told him, '[According 'to] was not the very ſame thing; and aſked him, whether the li-'turgy was according to the ſcriptures? And whether we might not 'read ſcriptures, and ſpeak ſcriptures? He ſaid, Yes. I told him, 'This act took hold only of ſuch as met to plot and contrive inſur-'rections, as late experience had ſhewn; but they had never expe-'rienced that by us. Becauſe thieves are ſometimes on the road, 'muſt not honeſt men travel? And becauſe plotters and contrivers 'have met to do miſchief, muſt not an honeſt, peaceable people meet 'to do good? If we had been a people that met to plot and contrive 'inſurrections, &c. we might have drawn ourſelves into fours; for 'four might do more miſchief in plotting than if there were four hun-'dred, becauſe four might ſpeak out their minds more freely to one 'another than four hundred could. Therefore we being innocent, 'and not the people this act concerns, we keep our meetings as we 'uſed to do; and I ſaid, I believed that he knew in his conſcience 'we were innocent.' After ſome more diſcourſe he took our names, and the places where we lodged, and at length, as the informer was gone, ſet us at liberty.

Gracechurch-ſtreet meeting.

Being at liberty, the friends with me aſked, 'Whither I would 'go?' I told them, 'To Gracechurch-ſtreet meeting again, if it 'was not over.' When we came there, the people were generally gone; only ſome few ſtood at the gate. We went into Gerrard Roberts's. From thence I ſent to know how the other meetings in the city were? And underſtood, that at ſome of the meeting-places friends were kept out; at others they were taken, but ſet at liberty again a few days after. A glorious time it was; for the Lord's power came over all, and his everlaſting truth got renown. For as faſt as ſome, that were ſpeaking, were taken down, others were moved of the Lord to ſtand up and ſpeak, to the admiration of the people; and the more, becauſe many Baptiſts and other ſectaries left their publick meetings, and came to ſee how the Quakers would ſtand. As for the informer aforeſaid, he was ſo frighted, that there durſt hardly any informer appear publickly again in London for ſome time after. But the mayor, whoſe name was Samuel Starling, though he carried himſelf ſmoothly towards us, proved afterwards a very great perſecutor of our friends, many of whom he caſt into priſon,

priſon, as may be ſeen in the trials of W. Penn, W. Mead, and others at the Old Bailey this year. 1670. London.

After ſome time the heat of perſecution in the city began to abate, and meetings were quieter there. I being then clear of the city, went to viſit friends in the country; and attended ſeveral meetings in Middleſex, Buckinghamſhire, and Oxfordſhire, which were quiet, though in ſome places there was much threatening. At Reading moſt of the friends were in priſon; and I went to viſit them. When I had been a while with them, the friends that were priſoners gathered together, and ſeveral other perſons came in; ſo I had a fine opportunity amongſt them, and 'declared the word of life, encouraging 'them in the truth; and they were refreſhed in feeling the preſence 'and power of the Lord amongſt them.' When the meeting was ended, the gaoler underſtanding I was there, friends were concerned how to get me ſafe out again; for they feared he ſhould ſtop me. After I had ſtaid a while, and eat with them, I went down ſtairs, and the gaoler being at the door, I put my hand in my pocket, which he had ſuch an eye to, hoping to get ſomething of me, that he aſked me no queſtion. So I gave him ſomething, and bad him 'be kind 'and civil to my friends in priſon, whom I came to viſit;' and he let me paſs out without interruption. But ſoon after Iſaac Penington coming to viſit them, he ſtopped him, and cauſed him to be made a priſoner. Middleſex. Buckinghamſhire. Oxfordſhire. Reading.

Next morning I rode to a meeting at Baghurſt in Hampſhire; Thomas Briggs being with me. When we came into the pariſh, ſome ſober people told us, 'the prieſt of the town was an envious 'man, and did threaten us.' We went to the meeting, which was large, and after ſome time Thomas Briggs ſtood up and ſpoke. It ſeems the prieſt had got a warrant, and ſent the conſtables and other officers with it. They came to the houſe, ſtaid a while, and then went away, but did not come into the meeting; ſo we in the meeting did not know of their being there. After Thomas Briggs had done ſpeaking, I was moved of the Lord to ſtand up, and declare the word of life to the people; and a precious meeting we had. When the meeting was ended and riſen, I heard a great clutter in the yard; and when we came out, the man of the houſe told us, 'The officers had been in the houſe before, and did not come into 'the meeting, but went away without doing any thing. And that 'now the prieſt in a great rage had ſent them again, and his own 'ſervant with them.' But the meeting being ended before they came, they could do nothing. Thus the good providence of the Lord preſerved us from the wicked deſign of the envious prieſt. Hampſhire. Baghurſt.

From thence we went to a friend's on the edge of Berkſhire, where ſeveral friends came to viſit us. Afterwards we paſſed into Surry, and had many precious meetings, till we came to Stephen Smith's near Guildford, where great perſecution had been; and much goods had been taken away from friends for their meetings, and under great threatenings they were at that time; yet we had ſeveral bleſſed meetings thereabouts; and the Lord's power was over all, in and by which we were preſerved. Berkſhire. Surry. Guildford.

We

1670.

Suſſex. We went into Suſſex, by Richard Baxe's, where we had a large, precious, quiet meeting, though the conſtables had given out threatenings before. I had many more meetings in that county; and though there were ſome threatenings, meetings were peaceable; and friends refreſhed, and eſtabliſhed upon the foundation of God that ſtands ſure. When I had thoroughly viſited Suſſex, I went into Kent. Kent, and had many glorious and precious meetings in ſeveral parts Deal. of that county. I went to a meeting near Deal, which was very Canterbury. large; and, returning from thence to Canterbury, viſited friends Iſle of Shep- there; then paſſed into the Iſle of Sheppy, where I ſtaid two or py. three days; and thither came Alexander Parker, George Whitehead, and John Rouſe.

The next day, finding my ſervice for the Lord finiſhed there, we paſſed towards Rocheſter. As I was walking down a hill, a great weight and oppreſſion fell upon my ſpirit. I got on my horſe again; but the weight remained ſo, that I was hardly able to ride. Rocheſter. At length we came to Rocheſter, but I was much ſpent, being ſo extremely loaden and burdened with the world's ſpirits, that my Graveſend. life was oppreſſed under them. I got with difficulty to Graveſend, and lay at an inn there; but could hardly either eat or ſleep. The next day John Rouſe and Alexander Parker went for London. John Eſſex. Stubbs and I went over the Ferry into Eſſex. We came to Horn- Hornchurch. church, where was a meeting on the firſt day. After the meeting I Stratford. rode with great uneaſineſs to Stratford, to a friend's whoſe name was Williams; he had formerly been a captain. Here I lay exceeding weak, and at laſt loſt both hearing and ſight. Several friends came to me from London. I told them, 'I ſhould be as a ſign to 'ſuch as would not ſee, and ſuch as would not hear the truth.' In this condition I continued a pretty while. Several came about me; and though I could not ſee their perſons, I felt and diſcerned their ſpirits, who of them was honeſt-hearted, and who was not. Divers friends, who practiſed phyſick, would have given me medicines, but I was not to meddle with any; for I was ſenſible I had a travail to go through; and therefore deſired none but ſolid, weighty friends might be about me. Under great ſufferings, ſorrows, and oppreſſions I lay for ſeveral weeks; whereby I was brought ſo low and weak in body, that few thought I could live. Some of thoſe with me went away, ſaying, 'They would not ſee me die;' and it was reported both in London and in the country that I was deceaſed; but I felt the Lord's power inwardly ſupporting me. When thoſe about me had given me up to die, I ſpoke to them to get a coach to carry me to Gerrard Roberts's, about twelve miles off; for I found it was my place to go thither. I had now recovered a little glimmering ſight, ſo that I could diſcern the people and fields as I went, and that was all. When I came to Gerrard's, he was very weak. I was moved to ſpeak to him, and encourage him. After I had ſtaid about three weeks there, it was with me to go to Enfield. Friends were afraid of my removing; but I told them I might ſafely go. When I had taken my leave of Gerrard, and was come to Enfield, I went firſt to viſit Amor Stoddart, who lay very weak, and almoſt ſpeechleſs. I was moved to tell him, 'He had been faithful

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'as a man, and faithful to God; and that the immortal Seed of 'life was his crown.' Many more words I was moved to ſpeak to him; though I was then ſo weak, I was hardly able to ſtand; and within a few days after Amor died. I went to the widow Dry's at Enfield, where I lay all that winter; warring in ſpirit with the evil ſpirits of the world, that warred againſt truth and friends. For there were great perſecutions at this time. Some meeting-houſes were pulled down, and many were broken up by ſoldiers. Sometimes a troop of horſe or a company of foot came; and ſome broke their ſwords, carbines, muſkets, and pikes with beating friends. Many they wounded, ſo that their blood lay in the ſtreets. Amongſt others, that were active in this cruel perſecution at London, my old adverſary colonel Kirby was one; who, with a company of foot, went to break up ſeveral meetings; and would often inquire for me at the meetings he broke up. One time, as he went over the water to Horſlydown, there happening ſome ſcuffle between ſome of his ſoldiers and ſome of the watermen, he bid his men 'Fire at them;' which they did, and killed ſome.

I was under great ſufferings at this time, beyond what I have words to declare. For I was brought into the deep, and ſaw all the religions of the world, and people that lived in them, and the prieſts that held them up; who were as a company of men-eaters, eating up the people like bread, and gnawing the fleſh from off their bones. But as for true religion and worſhip, and miniſters of God, alack! I ſaw there was none amongſt thoſe of the world that pretended to it. For they that pretended to be the church, were but a company of men-eaters, men of cruel viſages, and of long teeth; who, though they had cried againſt the men-eaters in America, I ſaw they were in the ſame nature. And as the great profeſſing Jews did 'eat up God's people like bread,' and the falſe prophets and prieſts then preached peace to people, ſo long as they 'put into their 'mouths and fed them;' but if they fed them not, they prepared war againſt them; 'they ate their fleſh off their bones, and chopped 'them for the cauldron;' ſo theſe that profeſs themſelves chriſtians now (both prieſts and profeſſors) and are not in the ſame power and Spirit that Chriſt and the holy prophets and apoſtles were in, are in the ſame nature that the old profeſſing Jews were in, and are men-eaters as well as they. Theſe ſtirred up perſecution, and ſet the wicked informers on work; ſo that a friend could hardly ſpeak a few words in a private family, before they ſat down to eat, but ſome were ready to inform againſt them. A particular inſtance of which I have heard, as followeth:

At Droitwich, Jo. Cartwright came to a friend's houſe; and being moved of the Lord to ſpeak a few words before he ſat down to ſupper, there came an informer, and ſtood hearkening under the window. When he had heard the friend ſpeak, hoping to get ſome gain to himſelf, he went and informed; and got a warrant to diſtrain the friend's goods, under pretence that there was a meeting at his houſe: whereas there was none in the houſe at that time but the friend, the man of the houſe, his wife, and their maid-ſervant. But this evil-minded man, as he came back with his warrant in the

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night, fell off his horſe, and broke his neck. So there was a wretched end of a wicked informer, who hoped to have enriched himſelf by ſpoiling friends; but the Lord prevented him, and cut him off in his wickedneſs.

Though it was a cruel, bloody, perſecuting time, yet the Lord's power went over all, his everlaſting Seed prevailed; and friends were made to ſtand firm and faithful in the Lord's power. Some ſober people of other profeſſions would ſay, 'If friends did not ſtand, the 'nation would run into debauchery.'

Though by reaſon of my weakneſs I could not travel amongſt friends as I uſed to do; yet in the motion of life I ſent the following lines, as an encouraging teſtimony to them:

'My dear friends,

'THE Seed is above all. In it walk; in which ye all have life. 'Be not amazed at the weather; for always the juſt ſuffered 'by the unjuſt, but the juſt had the dominion. All along ye may 'ſee, by faith the mountains were ſubdued; and the rage of the 'wicked, with his fiery darts, were quenched. Though the waves 'and ſtorms be high, yet your faith will keep you, ſo as to ſwim 'above them; for they are but for a time, and the truth is without time. Therefore keep on the mountain of holineſs, ye who 'are led to it by the light, where nothing ſhall hurt. Do not 'think that any thing will outlaſt the truth, which ſtandeth ſure; 'and is over that which is out of the truth. For the good will 'overcome the evil, the light darkneſs, the life death, virtue vice, 'and righteouſneſs unrighteouſneſs. The falſe prophet cannot overcome the true; but the true prophet, Chriſt, will overcome all 'the falſe. So be faithful, and live in that which doth not think 'the time long.

'G. F.'

After ſome time it pleaſed the Lord to allay the heat of this violent perſecution; and I felt in ſpirit an overcoming of the ſpirits of thoſe men-eaters that had ſtirred it up, and carried it on to that height of cruelty, though I was outwardly very weak. I plainly felt, and thoſe friends that were with me, and that came to viſit me, took notice, that, as the perſecution ceaſed, I came from under the travails and ſufferings which had laid with ſuch weight upon me: ſo that towards the ſpring I began to recover, and to walk up and down, beyond the expectation of many; who did not think I could ever have gone abroad again.

Whilſt I was under this ſpiritual ſuffering, the ſtate of the New Jeruſalem, which comes down out of heaven, was opened to me; which ſome carnal-minded people had looked upon to be like an outward city, dropped out of the elements. I ſaw the beauty and glory of it, the length, the breadth, and the height thereof, all in complete proportion. I ſaw that all, who are within the light of Chriſt, in his faith, which he is the author of, in the Spirit, the Holy Ghoſt, which Chriſt, the holy Prophets and Apoſtles were in, and within the grace, truth, and power of God, which are the walls

of the city, ſuch are within the city, are members of this city, and have right to eat of the tree of life, which yields her fruit every month, and whoſe leaves are for the healing of the nations. But they that are out of the grace, truth, light, Spirit and power of God, ſuch as reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt, quench, vex, and grieve the Spirit of God, who hate the Light, turn from the grace of God into wantonneſs, and do deſpite to the Spirit of Grace, ſuch as have erred from the faith, made ſhipwreck of it and of a good conſcience, who abuſe the power of God, and deſpiſe propheſying, revelation, and inſpiration, theſe are the dogs and unbelievers that are without the city. Theſe make up the great city Babylon, confuſion, and her cage, the power of darkneſs; and the evil ſpirit of error ſurrounds and covers them over. In this great city Babylon are the falſe prophets, in the falſe power and falſe ſpirit; the beaſt in the dragon's power, and the whore that is gone a whoring from the Spirit of God, and from Chriſt her huſband. But the Lord's power is over all this power of darkneſs, cage, whore, beaſt, dragon, falſe prophets and their worſhippers, who are for the lake which burns with fire. Many things more did I ſee concerning the heavenly city, the New Jeruſalem, which are hard to be uttered, and would be hard to be received. But, in ſhort, this holy city is within the light; and all that are within the light are within the city; the gates whereof ſtand open all the day (for there is no night there) that all may come in. Chriſt's blood being ſhed for every man, he taſted death for every man, and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; and his grace, that brings ſalvation, having appeared to all men, there is no place or language where his voice may not be heard. The chriſtians in the primitive times were called by Chriſt 'A city ſet 'upon an hill;' they were alſo called 'The light of the world,' and, 'The ſalt of the earth;' but when chriſtians loſt the light, ſalt, and power of God, they came to be trodden under-foot, like unſavoury ſalt. Even as the Jews, who while they kept the law of God were preſerved above all nations, but when they turned their backs on God and his law they were trodden under-foot of other nations; ſo Adam and Eve, while they obeyed God, were kept in his image and in the paradiſe of God, in dominion over all the works of his hands; but when they diſobeyed God, they loſt the image of God, the righteouſneſs and the holineſs in which they were made; they loſt their dominion, were driven out of paradiſe, fell under the dark power of Satan, and came under the chains of darkneſs. But the promiſe of God was, 'That the Seed of the 'woman, Chriſt Jeſus, ſhould bruiſe the ſerpent's head,' ſhould break his power and authority, which had led into captivity, and had held man therein. So Chriſt, who is the firſt and laſt, ſets man free, and is the reſurrection of the juſt and unjuſt, the Judge of quick and dead; and they that are in him are inveſted with everlaſting reſt and peace, out of all the labours, travails, and miſeries of Adam in the fall. So he is ſufficient and of ability to reſtore man up into the ſtate that he was in before he fell; and not into that ſtate only, but up into that ſtate alſo that never fell, even to himſelf.

1670. Enfield.

I had

1670. Enfield.

I had alſo in this time a great exerciſe and travail of ſpirit upon me, concerning the powers and rulers of theſe nations, from the ſenſe I had of the many tender viſitations and faithful warnings given them, and of their great abuſe thereof, who had refuſed to hear, and rejected the counſel of the Lord. And tho' I knew friends would be clear of their blood, yet I could not but mourn over them, and give forth theſe few lines concerning them:

'WE have given them a viſitation, have faithfully warned them, have declared to them our innocency and uprightneſs, and that we never did any hurt to the king, nor to any of his people. We have nothing in our hearts but love and good-will to him and his people, and deſire their eternal welfare. But if they will not hear, the day of judgment, ſorrow, torment, miſery, and ſudden deſtruction will come from the Lord upon them, that have been the cauſe of the ſufferings of many thouſands of ſimple, innocent, harmleſs people, that have done them no hurt, nor have had any ill-will towards him or them; but have deſired their eternal good, for the eternal truth's ſake. Deſtruction will come upon them that turn the ſword backward. Therefore do not blind your eyes, the Lord will bring ſwift deſtruction and miſery upon you. Surely he will do it, and relieve his innocent people, who have groaned for deliverance from under your oppreſſion, and have alſo groaned for your deliverance out of wickedneſs. Bleſſed be the Lord God, that he hath a people in this nation that ſeek the good of all men upon the face of the earth; for we have the mind of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that deſires not the death of a ſinner, but the ſalvation and good of all. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord our God for ever!

'G. F.'

While I continued at Enfield, a ſenſe came upon me of an hurt, that ſometimes happened by perſons coming under the profeſſion of truth out of one country into another, to take an huſband or wife amongſt friends, where they were ſtrangers, and it was not known whether they were clear and orderly or no. And it opened in me to recommend the following method to friends, for preventing ſuch inconveniencies.

'ALL friends that marry, whether men or women, if they come out of another nation, iſland, plantation, or county, let them bring a certificate from the men's meeting of that county, nation, iſland, or plantation from which they come, to the men's meeting where they propoſe their intention of marriage. For the men's meeting being made up of the faithful, this will ſtop all bad and raw ſpirits from roving up and down. When any come with a certificate or letter of recommendation from one men's meeting to another, one is refreſhed by another, and can ſet their hands and hearts to the thing. This will prevent a great deal of trouble. And then, when ye have to ſay to them in the power of God, in admoniſhing and inſtructing them, ye are left to the power and

'ſpirit

'Spirit of God to do it, and to let them know the duty of marriage, and what it is; that there may be unity and concord in the Spirit, and power, light, and wiſdom of God, throughout all the men's meetings in the whole world, in one, in the life. Let copies of this be ſent to every county, nation, and iſland, where friends are, that all things may be kept holy, pure, and righteous, in unity and peace, and God over all may be glorified among you, his lot, his people, and inheritance, his adopted ſons and daughters, and heirs of his life. So no more, but my love in that which changeth not. 1670. Enfield.

'G. F.'

'The 14th of the 1ſt month, 1670-1.'

When I had recovered, ſo that I could walk a little up and down, I went from Enfield to Gerrard Roberts's again, and from thence to the women's ſchool at Shacklewell, and ſo to the meeting at Grace-church-ſtreet, London; where, though I was yet but weak, the Lord's power upheld and enabled me to declare his eternal word of life. Shacklewell. London. Gracechurch-ſtreet.

About this time I was moved to pray to the Lord, as followeth:

"O Lord God Almighty! proſper Truth, and preſerve juſtice and equity in the land! Bring down all injuſtice, iniquity, oppreſſion, falſhood, cruelty, and unmercifulneſs in the land, that mercy and righteouſneſs may flouriſh!

"O Lord God! ſet up and eſtabliſh verity, and preſerve it in the land! Bring down in the land all debauchery, vice, whoredoms, fornication, and this raping ſpirit, which cauſeth and leadeth people to have no eſteem of thee, O God! nor their own ſouls or bodies, nor of chriſtianity, modeſty, or humanity!

"O Lord! put it in the magiſtrates hearts to bring down all this ungodlineſs, violence, cruelty, prophaneneſs, curſing and ſwearing! and to put down all thoſe whore-houſes and play-houſes, which corrupt youth and people, and lead them from thy kingdom, where no unclean thing can enter, neither ſhall come! Such works lead people to hell. Lord, in mercy, bring down all theſe things in the nation, to ſtop thy wrath, O God! from coming on the land!

"G. F."

"This prayer was wrote the 17th
of the 2d month, 1671."

I mentioned before, that, upon notice received of my wife's being had to priſon again, I ſent two of her daughters to the king, and they procured his order to the ſheriff of Lancaſhire for her diſcharge. But though I expected ſhe would have been ſet at liberty, yet this violent ſtorm of perſecution coming ſuddenly on, the perſecutors there found means to hold her ſtill in priſon. But now the perſecution a little ceaſing, I was moved to ſpeak to Martha Fiſher, and another woman-friend, to go to the king about her liberty. They went in

1674. London. the faith, and in the Lord's power; and He gave them favour with the king, ſo that he granted a diſcharge under the broad ſeal, to clear both her and her eſtate after ſhe had been ten years a priſoner, and premunired; the like whereof was ſcarce to be heard in England. I ſent down the diſcharge forthwith by a friend; by whom alſo I wrote to her, to inform her how to get it delivered to the juſtices, and alſo to acquaint her, that it was upon me from the Lord to go beyond ſea, to viſit the plantations in America, and therefore deſired her to haſten to London, as ſoon as ſhe could conveniently after ſhe had obtained her liberty, becauſe the ſhip was then fitting for the voyage. In the mean time I got to Kingſton, and ſtaid at John Rous's till my wife came up, and then began to prepare for the voyage. But the yearly meeting being near at hand, I tarried till that was over. Many friends came up to it from all parts of the nation, and a very large and precious meeting it was; for the Lord's power was over all, and his glorious, everlaſtingly-renowned ſeed of life was exalted above all.

Kingſton.

London yearly meeting.

After this meeting was over, and I had finiſhed my ſervices for the Lord in England, the ſhip, and the friends that intended to go with me, being ready, I went to Graveſend the 12th of the 6th month. The friends that were bound for the voyage with me went down to the ſhip the night before. Their names were, Thomas Briggs, William Edmundſon, John Rouſe, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaſter, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattiſon, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton, and Elizabeth Miers. The veſſel we were to go in was a yatch, called the Induſtry, the maſter's name Thomas Forſter, and the number of paſſengers about fifty. I lay that night on board; but moſt of the friends lay at Graveſend. Early next morning, the paſſengers, and thoſe friends that intended to accompany us to the Downs, being come on board, we took our leave in great tenderneſs of thoſe that came with us to Graveſend only, and ſet ſail about ſix in the morning for the Downs. Having a fair wind, we out-ſailed all the ſhips that were outward-bound, and got thither by the evening. Some of us went aſhore that night, and lodged at Deal; where we underſtood, an officer had orders from the governor to take our names in writing, which he did the next morning, though we told him they had been taken at Graveſend. In the afternoon, the wind ſerving, I took leave of my wife and the other friends, and went on board. Before we could ſet ſail, there being two of the king's frigates riding in the Downs, the captain of one of them ſent his preſs-maſter on board us, who took three of our ſeamen. This had certainly delayed, if not wholly prevented our voyage, had not the captain of the other frigate, being informed of the leakineſs of our veſſel, and the length of our voyage, in compaſſion and much civility, ſpared us two of his men. Before this was over, an officer of the cuſtom-houſe came on board to peruſe packets and get fees, ſo that we were kept from ſailing till about ſun-ſet; during which ſtop, a very conſiderable number of merchantmen, outward-bound, were got ſeveral leagues before us. Being clear we ſet ſail in the evening, and by next morning overtook part of that fleet about the height of Dover. We ſoon reached the reſt, and in a little time left them all behind us; for our yatch was counted a very

Graveſend.

The Downs.

Deal.

The Downs.

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ſwift ſailer. But ſhe was very leaky, ſo that the ſeamen and ſome of the paſſengers did for the moſt part pump day and night. One day they obſerved, that in two hours time ſhe ſucked in ſixteen inches of water in the well.

When we had been about three weeks at ſea, one afternoon we ſpied a veſſel about four leagues aſtern of us. Our maſter ſaid, It was a Sallee man of war, who ſeemed to give us chace. Our maſter ſaid, 'Come, let us go to ſupper, and when it grows dark we ſhall loſe 'him.' This he ſpoke to pacify the paſſengers, ſome of whom began to be very apprehenſive of the danger. But friends were well ſatisfied, having faith in God, and no fear upon their ſpirits. When the ſun was down, I ſaw the ſhip out of my cabbin making towards us. When it grew dark, we altered our courſe to miſs her; but ſhe altered alſo, and gained upon us. At night the maſter and others came into my cabbin, and aſked me, 'What they ſhould do?' I told them, 'I was no mariner;' and aſked them, 'What they 'thought was beſt to do?' They ſaid, 'There were but two ways, 'either to out-run him, or tack about and hold the ſame courſe we 'were going before.' I told them, 'If he were a thief, they might be 'ſure he would tack about too; and as for out-running him, it was 'to no purpoſe to talk of that, for they ſaw he ſailed faſter than 'we.' They aſked me again, 'What they ſhould do?' For,' they ſaid, 'if the mariners had taken Paul's counſel, they had not come 'to the damage they did.' I anſwered, 'It was a trial of faith, 'therefore the Lord was to be waited on for counſel.' So retiring in ſpirit, the Lord ſhewed me, 'That his life and power was placed 'between us and the ſhip that purſued us.' I told this to the maſter and the reſt, and that the beſt way was to tack about and ſteer our right courſe. I wiſhed them alſo to put out all their candles, but that they ſteered by, and to ſpeak to all the paſſengers to be ſtill and quiet. About the 11th hour in the night the watch called, and ſaid, 'They were juſt upon us.' That diſquieted ſome of the paſſengers; whereupon I ſat up in my cabbin, and looking through the port-hole, the moon being not quite down, I ſaw them very near us. I was getting up to go out of the cabbin; but remembering the word of the Lord, 'That his life and power was placed be-'tween us and them,' I lay down again. The maſter and ſome of the ſeamen came again, and aſked me, 'If they might not ſteer ſuch 'a point?' I told them, 'They might do as they would.' By this time the moon was gone quite down, a freſh gale aroſe, and the Lord hid us from them; and we ſailed briſkly on, and ſaw them no more. The next day, being the firſt day of the week, we had a publick meeting in the ſhip, as we uſually had on that day throughout the voyage, and the Lord's preſence was greatly among us. I deſired the people, 'To mind the mercies of the Lord, who 'had delivered them; for they might have been all in the Turks 'hands by that time, had not the Lord's hand ſaved them.' About a week after, the maſter and ſome of the ſeamen endeavoured to perſuade the paſſengers, it was not a Turkiſh pirate that chaſed us, but a merchant-man going to the Canaries. When I heard of it, I aſked them, 'Why then did they ſpeak ſo to me? Why did they

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'trouble the paſſengers? And why did they tack about from him, 'and alter their courſe?' I told them, 'They ſhould take heed of 'ſlighting the mercies of God.'

Afterwards, while we were at Barbadoes, came in a merchant from Sallee, and told the people, 'That one of the Sallee men of war 'ſaw a monſtrous yatch at ſea, the greateſt that ever he ſaw, had her 'in chace, and was juſt upon her; but there was a Spirit in her that 'he could not take.' This confirmed us in the belief, that it was a Sallee-man we ſaw make after us; and that it was the Lord that delivered us out of his hands.

I was not ſea-ſick during the voyage, as many of the friends and other paſſengers were; but the many hurts and bruiſes I had formerly received, and the infirmities I had contracted in England by extreme cold and hardſhips, that I had undergone in many long and ſore impriſonments, returned upon me at ſea; ſo that I was very ill in my ſtomach, and full of violent pains in my bones and limbs. This was after I had been at ſea about a month; for about three weeks after I came firſt to ſea, I ſweat abundantly, chiefly my head; and my body broke out in pimples, and my legs and feet ſwelled extremely, ſo that my ſtockings and ſlippers could not be drawn on without difficulty and great pain. On a ſudden the ſweating ceaſed, ſo that when I came into the hot climate, where others ſweat moſt freely, I could not ſweat at all; but my fleſh was hot, dry, and burning, and that which before broke out in pimples ſtruck in again to my ſtomach and heart; ſo that I was very ill, and weak beyond expreſſion. Thus I continued during the reſt of the voyage, which was about a month; for we were ſeven weeks and ſome odd days at ſea.

Barbadoes. The third of the eighth month, early in the morning, we diſcovered the iſland of Barbadoes; but it was between nine and ten Carliſle-bay. at night ere we came to anchor in Carliſle-bay. We got on ſhore as ſoon as we could, and I with ſome others walked to a friend's houſe, R. Forſtall. a merchant, whoſe name was Richard Forſtall, above a quarter of a mile from the bridge. But being very ill and weak, I was ſo tired, that I was in a manner ſpent by that time I got thither. There I abode very ill ſeveral days, and though they ſeveral times gave me things to make me ſweat, they could not effect it. What they gave me did rather parch and dry up my body, and made me probably worſe than otherwiſe I might have been. Thus I continued about three weeks after I landed, having much pain in my bones, joints, and whole body, ſo that I could hardly get any reſt; yet I was pretty cheary, and my ſpirit kept above it all. Neither did my illneſs take me off from the ſervice of truth; but both while I was at ſea, and after I came to Barbadoes, before I was able to travel about, I gave forth ſeveral papers (having a friend to write for me) ſome of which I ſent by the firſt conveyance for England to be printed.

After I had reſted three or four days at Richard Forſtall's, where many friends came to viſit me, John Rous, having borrowed a coach T. Rous. of colonel Chamberlain, came to fetch me to his father Thomas Rous's. But it was late ere we could get thither, and little or no

reſt

reſt could I take that night. A few days, after colonel Chamberlain, who had ſo kindly lent his coach, came to give me a viſit, and carried himſelf very courteouſly towards me. 1671. Barbadoes.

Soon after I came into the iſland, I was informed of a remarkable paſſage, wherein the juſtice of God did eminently appear: It was thus. There was a young man of Barbadoes, whoſe name was John Drakes (a perſon of ſome note in the world's account, but a common ſwearer and a bad man) who, when he was in London, had a mind to marry a friend's daughter, left by her mother very young, with a conſiderable portion, to the care and government of ſeveral friends, whereof I was one. He made application to me, that he might have my conſent to marry this young maid. I told him, 'I was one 'of her overſeers appointed by her mother, who was a widow, to 'take care of her; that if her mother had intended her for a match 'to any man of another profeſſion, ſhe would have diſpoſed her ac-'cordingly; but ſhe committed her to us, that ſhe might be trained 'up in the fear of the Lord; and therefore I ſhould betray the truſt 'repoſed in me, if I ſhould conſent that he, who was out of the 'fear of God, ſhould marry her; which I would not do.' When he ſaw that he could not obtain his deſire, he returned to Barbadoes with great offence of mind againſt me, but without a juſt cauſe. Afterwards, when he heard I was coming to Barbadoes, he ſwore deſperately, and threatened, 'if he could poſſibly procure it, he 'would have me burned to death when I came there.' Which a friend hearing, aſked him, 'What I had done to him, that he was 'ſo violent againſt me?' He would not anſwer, but ſaid again, 'I'll have him burned.' Whereupon the friend replied, 'Do not 'march on too furiouſly, leſt thou come too ſoon to thy journey's 'end.' About ten days after, he was ſtruck with a violent burning fever, of which he died; by which his body was ſo ſcorched, that the people ſaid, 'It was as black as a coal;' and three days before I landed, his body was laid in the duſt. This was taken notice of as a ſad example.

While I continued ſo weak that I could not go abroad to meetings, the other friends that came over with me beſtirred themſelves in the Lord's work. The next day but one after we came on ſhore, they had a great meeting at the Bridge, and after that ſeveral meetings in different parts of the iſland; which alarmed the people of all ſorts, ſo that many came to our meetings, and ſome of the chiefeſt rank. For they had got my name, underſtanding I was come upon the iſland, and expected to have ſeen me, not knowing I was unable to go abroad. And indeed my weakneſs continued the longer on me, by reaſon that my ſpirit was much preſſed down at the firſt with the filth and dirt, the unrighteouſneſs of the people, which lay as an heavy weight and load upon me. But after I had been above a month upon the iſland, my ſpirit became ſomewhat eaſier, I began to recover my health and ſtrength, and get abroad among friends. In the mean time, having an opportunity to ſend to England, I wrote to friends there, to let them know how it was with me.

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'Dear friends,

'I HAVE been very weak theſe ſeven weeks paſt, and not able to write myſelf. My deſire is to you, and for you all, that ye may live in the fear of God, and in love one unto another, and be ſubject one to another in the fear of God. I have been weaker in my body than ever I was in my life that I remember, yea, my pains have been ſuch as I cannot expreſs; yet my heart and ſpirit is ſtrong. I have hardly ſweated theſe ſeven weeks paſt, though I am in a very hot climate, where hardly any but are well nigh continually ſweating; but as for me, my old bruiſes, colds, numbneſs, and pains ſtruck inwardly, even to my very heart. So that little reſt I have taken, and the chiefeſt things that were comfortable to my ſtomach were a little water and powdered ginger; but now I begin to drink a little beer as well as water, and ſometimes a little wine and water mixed. Great pains and travails I have felt, and in meaſure am under; but it is well, my life is over all. This iſland was to me as all on a fire ere I came to it, but now it is ſomewhat quenched and abated. I came in weakneſs amongſt thoſe that are ſtrong, and have ſo continued; but now I am got a little cheary, and over it. Many friends, and ſome conſiderable perſons of the world, have been with me. I tired out my body much when amongſt you in England; it is the Lord's power that helps me; therefore I deſire you all to prize the power of the Lord and his truth. I was but weak in body when I left you, after I had been in my great travail amongſt you; but after that it ſtruck all back again into my body, which was not well ſettled after ſuch ſore travails in England. Then I was ſo tired at ſea, that I could not reſt, and have had little or no ſtomach a long time. Since I came into this iſland, my life hath been very much burdened; but I hope, if the Lord gives me ſtrength to manage his work, I ſhall work thoroughly, and bring things that have been out of courſe into better order. So, dear friends, live all in the peaceable truth, and in the love of it, ſerving the Lord in newneſs of life; for glorious things and precious truths have been manifeſted among you plentifully, to you the riches of the kingdom have been reached. I have been almoſt a month in this iſland, but have not been able to go abroad or ride out; only very lately I rode out twice, a quarter of a mile at a time, which wearied me much. My love in the truth is to you all.

'G. F.'

Becauſe I was not well able to travel, the friends of the iſland concluded to have their men's and women's meeting for the ſervice of the church at Thomas Rous's, where I lay; by which means I was preſent at each of their meetings, and had very good ſervice for the Lord in both. For they had need of information in many things, divers diſorders being crept in for want of care and watchfulneſs. 'I exhorted them, more eſpecially at the men's meeting, 'to be careful with reſpect to marriages, to prevent friends marrying 'in near kindreds, and alſo to prevent over-haſty proceedings toward ſecond marriages after the death of a former huſband or wife; 'ad-

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'advising that a decent regard be had in such cases to the memory of the deceased husband or wife. As to friends children marrying too young, at thirteen or fourteen years of age, I shewed the unfitness thereof, and the inconveniencies and hurts that attend such childish marriages. I admonished them to purge the floor thoroughly, and to sweep their houses very clean, that nothing might remain that would defile; and that all should take care, that nothing be spoken out of their meetings to the blemishing or defaming one of another. Concerning registering of marriages, births, and burials, I advised them to keep exact records of each in distinct books for that only use; and also to record in a book for that purpose, the condemnations of such as went out from truth into disorderly practices, and the repentance and restoration of such as returned again. I recommended to their care the providing of convenient burying-places for friends, which in some parts were yet wanting. Some directions also I gave them concerning wills, and the ordering of legacies left by friends for publick uses, and other things relating to the affairs of the church. Respecting their negroes, I desired them to endeavour to train them up in the fear of God, as well those that were bought with their money, as them that were born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord; that so, with Joshua, every master of a family might say, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." I desired also, that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude they should make them free.' Many sweet and precious things were opened in these meetings, by the Spirit and in the power of the Lord, to the edifying, confirming, and building up of friends in the faith and holy order of the gospel.

After these meetings, the vessel bound for England not being gone, I was moved to write another epistle to friends there; the copy whereof follows:

'DEAR friends and brethren, to whom is my love in that which never changeth, but remains in glory, which is over all, the top and corner-stone. In this all have peace and life, as ye dwell in the blessed seed, wherein all is blessed, over that which brought the curse; where all shortness, narrowness of spirit, brittleness, and peevishness is. Therefore keep the holy order of the gospel. Keep in this blessed seed, where all may be kept in temperance, in patience, in love, in meekness, in righteousness and holiness, and in peace; in which the Lord may be seen amongst you, and no way dishonoured, but glorified by you all. In all your meetings, in cities, towns, and countries, men's meetings, women's meetings, and others, let righteousness flow among you, the holy truth be uppermost, the pure Spirit your guide and leader, and the holy wisdom from above your orderer, that is pure, gentle, and easy to be intreated. Keep in the religion that preserves from the spots of the world, which is pure and undefiled in God's sight. Keep in the pure and holy worship, in which the pure and holy God is worshipped, viz. in

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'the Spirit, and in the truth, which the devil is out of, who is the 'author of all unholineſs, and of that which diſhonours God. Be 'tender of God's glory, of his honour, and of his bleſſed and holy 'name, in which ye are gathered. All who profeſs the truth, ſee 'that ye walk in it, in righteouſneſs, holineſs, and godlineſs; for "holineſs becomes the houſe of God, the houſhold of faith." That 'which becomes God's houſe, God loves. He loves righteouſneſs. 'That is the ornament which becomes his houſe and all his family. 'Therefore ſee that righteouſneſs run down in all your aſſemblies, 'that it flow, to drive away all unrighteouſneſs. This preſerves 'your peace with God; for in righteouſneſs ye all have peace with 'the righteous God of peace, and one with another. Every one 'that bears the name of the Anointed, that high title of being a 'Chriſtian, named after the Heavenly Man, ſee that ye be in the 'divine nature made conformable unto his image, even the image 'of the Heavenly Divine Man, who was before that image which 'Adam and Eve got from Satan in the fall; ſo that in none of you 'that fallen image may appear, but his image, and you made con-'formable unto him. Here tranſlation is ſhewed forth in life and 'converſation, not in words only; yea, and converſion and re-'pentance, which is a change of the nature, of the mind, and of 'the heart, of the ſpirit and affections, which have been below, and 'come to be ſet above; and ſo receive the things that are from 'above, and have the converſation in heaven, not that converſation 'which is according to the power of the prince of the air, that now 'rules in the diſobedient. So be faithful; this is the word of the 'Lord God unto you all. See, that godlineſs, holineſs, righteouſ-'neſs, truth, and virtue, the fruits of the good Spirit, flow over the 'bad and its fruits, that ye may anſwer that which is of God in all; 'for your Heavenly Father is glorified, in that you bring forth much 'fruit. Therefore ye, who are plants of his planting, his trees of 'righteouſneſs, ſee that every tree be full of fruit. Keep in true 'humility, and in the true love of God, which doth edify his body, 'that the true nouriſhment from the head, the refreſhings, ſprings, 'and rivers of water, and bread of life may be plenteouſly known 'and felt amongſt you, that ſo praiſes may aſcend to God. Be faith-'ful to the Lord God, and juſt and true in all your dealings and 'doings with and towards men. Be not negligent in your men's 'meetings to admoniſh, exhort, and reprove, in the ſpirit of love 'and of meekneſs, and to ſeek that which is loſt, and to bring back 'again that which hath been driven away. Let all minds, ſpirits, 'ſouls, and hearts, be bended down under the yoke of Chriſt Jeſus, 'the power of God. Much I could write, but am weak, and have 'been moſtly ſince I left you. Burdens and travails I have been under, 'and gone through many ways; but it is well. The Lord Almighty 'knows my work, which he hath ſent me forth to do by his ever-'laſting arm and power, which is from everlaſting to everlaſting. 'Bleſſed be his holy name, which I am in, and in which my love is 'to you all.

'G. F.'

After

After I was able to go abroad, and had been a little amongſt friends, I went to viſit the governor; Lewis Morrice, Thomas Rouſe, and ſome other friends being with me. He received us very civilly, and treated us very kindly; making us dine with him, and keeping us moſt part of the day before he let us go away. 1671. Barbadoes.

The ſame week I went to Bridge Town. There was to be a general meeting of friends that week; and the viſit I had made to the governor, and the kind reception I had with him, being generally known to the officers, civil and military, many came to this meeting from moſt parts of the iſland, and thoſe not of the meaneſt rank; divers of them being judges or juſtices, colonels or captains; ſo that a very great meeting we had of friends and others. The Lord's bleſſed power was plentifully with us, and though I was ſomewhat ſtraitned for time, three other friends having ſpoken before me, the Lord opened things through me to the general and great ſatisfaction of thoſe preſent. Colonel Lewis Morrice came to this meeting, and with him a judge in the country, whoſe name was Ralph Fretwell; who was well ſatisfied, and received the truth. Bridge Town.

Paul Gwin, a jangling Baptiſt, came into the meeting, and aſked me, 'How I ſpelt Cain? and whether I had the ſame 'ſpirit as the apoſtles had?' I told him, Yes. And he bade the judge take notice of it. I told him, 'He that had not a mea-'ſure of the ſame Holy Ghoſt as the apoſtles had, was poſſeſſed 'with an unclean ſpirit.' And then he went his way.

I went home with Lewis Morrice that night, being about nine or ten miles; going part of the way by boat, the reſt on horſeback. The place were his plantation was I thought to be the fineſt air of the iſland. Next day Thomas Briggs and William Edmundſon came to ſee me, they intending to leave the iſland the day following, and to go upon the Lord's ſervice to Antigua and Nevis. Lewis Morrice went with them. At Antigua they had ſeveral good meetings, to which there was a great reſort of people; and many were convinced. But when they went to Nevis, the governor, an old perſecutor, ſent ſoldiers on board the veſſel, to ſtop them, and would not ſuffer them to land. Wherefore, after friends of the place had been on board the veſſel with them, and they had been ſweetly refreſhed together, in feeling the Lord's power and preſence amongſt them, they returned to Antigua; where having ſtaid a while longer, they came again to Barbadoes; Thomas Briggs being very weak and ill.

Of the other friends that came over with me, James Lancaſter, John Cartwright, and George Pattiſon, were gone ſome time before to Jamaica, and others to other places; ſo that few remained in Barbadoes with me. We had many great and precious meetings, both for worſhip, and for the affairs of the church; to the former of which many of other ſocieties came. At one of theſe meetings, colonel Lyne, a ſober perſon, was ſo well ſatisfied with what I declared, that he ſaid, 'Now I can gainſay ſuch as I have heard ſpeak 'evil of you; who ſay you do not own Chriſt, nor that he died: 'whereas I perceive you exalt Chriſt in all his offices, beyond what

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'I have ever heard before.' This man, obſerving one to take in writing the heads of what I delivered, deſired him to let him have a copy of it; and ſtaid another day with us before he went away; ſo great a love was raiſed in him to the truth. A very great convincement there was in moſt parts of the iſland; which made the prieſt and ſome profeſſors fret and rage. Our meetings were very large, and free from diſturbance from the government; though the envious prieſts and ſome profeſſors endeavoured to ſtir up the magiſtrates againſt us. When they found they could not prevail that way, ſome Baptiſts came to the meeting at the town, which was full of people of ſeveral ranks and qualities. A great company came with them; and they brought a ſlanderous paper written by John Pennyman, with which they made a great noiſe. But the Lord gave me wiſdom and utterance to anſwer their cavils; ſo that the auditory generally received ſatisfaction, and thoſe quarrelſome profeſſors loſt ground. When they had wearied themſelves with clamour, they went away; but the people ſtaying, the meeting was continued; the things they cavilled about were further opened and cleared, and the life and power of God came over all. But the rage and envy in our adverſaries did not ceaſe; they endeavoured to defame friends with many falſe and ſcandalous reports, which they ſpread through the iſland. Whereupon I, with ſome other friends, drew up a paper, to go forth in the name of the people called Quakers, for the clearing truth and friends from thoſe falſe reports. It was after this manner:

'For the governor of Barbadoes, with his council and aſſembly, 'and all others in power, both civil and military, in this iſland; 'from the people called Quakers.

'WHEREAS many ſcandalous lies and ſlanders have been caſt 'upon us, to render us odious; as that "We deny God, "Chriſt Jeſus, and the ſcriptures of truth," &c. This is to inform 'you, That all our books and declarations, which for theſe many 'years have been publiſhed to the world, clearly teſtify the contrary. 'Yet, for your ſatisfaction, we now plainly and ſincerely declare, 'That we own and believe in the only Wiſe, Omnipotent, and 'Everlaſting God, the Creator of all things in heaven and earth, 'and the Preſerver of all that he hath made; who is God over all, 'bleſſed for ever; to whom be all honour, glory, dominion, praiſe 'and thankſgiving, both now and for evermore! And we own and 'believe in Jeſus Chriſt, his beloved and only begotten Son, in 'whom he is well pleaſed; who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, 'and born of the Virgin Mary; in whom we have redemption 'through his blood, even the forgiveneſs of ſins; who is the expreſs image of the Inviſible God, the firſt-born of every creature, 'by whom were all things created that are in heaven and in earth, 'viſible and inviſible, whether they be thrones, dominions, principalities, or powers; all things were created by him. And we 'own and believe that he was made a ſacrifice for ſin, who knew 'no ſin, neither was guile found in his mouth; that he was crucified

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'fied for us in the fleſh, without the gates of Jeruſalem; and that 'he was buried, and roſe again the third day by the power of his 'Father, for our juſtification; and that he aſcended up into hea-'ven, and now ſitteth at the right hand of God. This Jeſus, who 'was the foundation of the holy prophets and apoſtles, is our foun-'dation; and we believe there is no other foundation to be laid but 'that which is laid, even Chriſt Jeſus; who taſted death for every 'man, ſhed his blood for all men, is the propitiation for our ſins, 'and not for ours only, but alſo for the ſins of the whole world: 'according as John the Baptiſt teſtified of him, when he ſaid, "Be-"hold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the ſins of the world," 'John i. 29. We believe that he alone is our Redeemer and Sa-'viour, the captain of our ſalvation, who ſaves us from ſin, as well 'as from hell and the wrath to come, and deſtroys the devil and his 'works; he is the Seed of the woman that bruiſes the ſerpent's 'head, to wit, Chriſt Jeſus, the Alpha and Omega, the Firſt and 'the Laſt. He is (as the ſcriptures of truth ſay of him) our wiſ-'dom, righteouſneſs, juſtification, and redemption; neither is there 'ſalvation in any other, for there is no other name under heaven 'given among men, whereby we may be ſaved. He alone is the 'Shepherd and Biſhop of our ſouls: he is our Prophet, whom Moſes 'long ſince teſtified of, ſaying, "A prophet ſhall the Lord your "God raiſe up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him ſhall "ye hear in all things, whatſoever he ſhall ſay unto you: and it "ſhall come to paſs, that every ſoul that will not hear that prophet "ſhall be deſtroyed from among the people,' Acts ii. 22, 23. He 'is now come in Spirit, "and hath given us an underſtanding, that "we know him that is true." He rules in our hearts by his law 'of love and life, and makes us free from the law of ſin and death. 'We have no life, but by him; for he is the quickening Spirit, the 'ſecond Adam, the Lord from heaven, by whoſe blood we are 'cleanſed, and our conſciences ſprinkled from dead works, to ſerve 'the living God. He is our Mediator, who makes peace and recon-'ciliation between God offended and us offending; he being the 'Oath of God, the new covenant of light, life, grace, and peace, 'the author and finiſher of our faith. This Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the 'heavenly man, the Emanuel, God with us, we all own and believe 'in; he whom the high-prieſt raged againſt, and ſaid, he had 'ſpoken blaſphemy; whom the prieſts and elders of the Jews took 'counſel together againſt, and put to death; the ſame whom Judas 'betrayed for thirty pieces of ſilver, which the prieſts gave him as 'a reward for his treaſon; who alſo gave large money to the ſol-'diers to broach an horrible lye, namely, "That his diſciples came "and ſtole him away by night whilſt they ſlept." After he was 'riſen from the dead, the hiſtory of the Acts of the apoſtles ſets 'forth how the chief prieſts and elders perſecuted the diſciples of 'this Jeſus, for preaching Chriſt and his reſurrection. This, we 'ſay, is that Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whom we own to be our life and 'ſalvation.

'Concerning

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'Concerning the holy ſcriptures, we believe they were given 'forth by the Holy Spirit of God, through the holy men of God, 'who (as the ſcripture itſelf declares, 2 Pet. i. 21.) "ſpoke as "they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt." We believe they are to 'be read, believed, and fulfilled (he that fulfils them is Chriſt); 'and they are "profitable for reproof, for correction, and for in-"ſtruction in righteouſneſs, that the man of God may be perfect, "throughly furniſhed unto all good works," 2 Tim. 3. 19. and are "able to make wiſe unto ſalvation, through faith in Chriſt Jeſus." 'We believe the holy ſcriptures are the words of God; for it is ſaid 'in Exodus 20. 1. "God ſpake all theſe words, ſaying," &c. 'meaning the ten commandments given forth upon mount Sinai. 'And in Rev. xxii. 18. ſaith John, "I teſtify to every man that "heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man addeth "unto theſe, and if any man ſhall take away from the words of the "book of this prophecy" (not the Word) &c. So in Luke i. 20. "Becauſe thou believeſt not my words." And in John v. 47. xv. 7. 'xiv. 23. xii. 47. So that we call the holy ſcriptures, as Chriſt, the 'apoſtles, and holy men of God called them, viz. the words of God.

'Another ſlander they have caſt upon us, is, "That we teach "the negroes to rebel:" a thing we utterly abhor in our hearts, the 'Lord knows it, who is the ſearcher of all hearts, and knows all 'things, and can teſtify for us, that this is a moſt abominable un-'truth. That which we have ſpoken to them, is, To exhort and 'admoniſh them to be ſober, to fear God, to love their maſters 'and miſtreſſes, to be faithful and diligent in their ſervice and buſi-'neſs, and then their maſters and overſeers would love them, and 'deal kindly and gently with them; alſo that they ſhould not beat 'their wives, nor the wives their huſbands; neither ſhould the 'men have many wives; that they ſhould not ſteal, nor be drunk, 'nor commit adultery, nor fornication, nor curſe, ſwear, nor lye, 'nor give bad words to one another, nor to any one elſe; for there 'is ſomething in them that tells them they ſhould not practiſe theſe 'nor any other evils. But if they notwithſtanding ſhould do them, 'then we let them know there are but two ways, the one that leads 'to heaven, where the righteous go; and the other that leads to 'hell, where the wicked and debauched, whoremongers, adulte-'rers, murderers, and lyars go. To the one the Lord will ſay, "Come, ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared "for you from the foundation of the world;" to the other, "De-"part, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil and "his angels:" ſo the wicked go into "everlaſting puniſhment, but "the righteous into life eternal," Mat. xxv. Conſider, friends, it 'is no tranſgreſſion for a maſter of a family to inſtruct his family 'himſelf, or for others to do it in his behalf; but rather it is a very 'great duty incumbent upon them. Abraham and Joſhua did ſo: 'of the firſt, the Lord ſaid, Gen. xviii. 19. "I know that Abra-"ham will command his children, and his houſhold after him; and "they ſhall keep the way of the Lord, to do juſtice and judgment, "that the Lord may bring upon Abraham the things that he hath "ſpoken of him." And the latter ſaid, Joſh. xxiv. 15. "Chuſe "ye this day whom ye will ſerve—But as for me and my houſe,

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" we will ſerve the Lord." We declare, that we eſteem it a duty ' incumbent on us to pray with and for, to teach, inſtruct, and admoniſh thoſe in and belonging to our families; this being a command of the Lord, diſobedience thereunto will provoke his diſpleaſure; as may be ſeen in Jer. x. 25. " Pour out thy fury upon " the heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call " not upon thy name." Negroes, Tawnies, Indians, make up a ' very great part of the families in this iſland; for whom an account ' will be required by him who comes to judge both quick and dead ' at the great day of judgment, when every one ſhall be " rewarded according to the deeds done in the body, whether they " be good, or whether they be evil:" at that day, we ſay, of the ' reſurrection both of the good and of the bad, and of the juſt and ' the unjuſt, when " the Lord Jeſus ſhall be revealed from heaven " with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them " that know not God, and obey not the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus " Chriſt, who ſhall be puniſhed with everlaſting deſtruction from " the preſence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, when " he ſhall come to be glorified in his ſaints, and admired in all them " that believe in that day," 2 Theſſ. i. 8, &c. See alſo 2 Pet. iii. ' 3, &c.'

This wicked ſlander (of our endeavouring to make the Negroes rebel) our adverſaries took occaſion to raiſe, from our having ſome meetings amongſt the Negroes; for we had ſeveral meetings with them in divers plantations, wherein we exhorted them to juſtice, ſobriety, temperance, chaſtity, and piety, and to be ſubject to their maſters and governors. Which was altogether contrary to what our envious adverſaries maliciouſly ſuggeſted againſt us.

As I had been to viſit the governor, as ſoon as I was well able, after I came thither; ſo when I was at Thomas Rouſe's, the governor came to ſee me, carrying himſelf very courteouſly.

Having been three months or more in Barbadoes, and having viſited friends, thoroughly ſettled meetings, and diſpatched the ſervice for which the Lord brought me thither; I felt my ſpirit clear of that iſland, and found drawings to Jamaica. Which when I had communicated to friends, I acquainted the governor alſo, and divers of his council, with my intention; which I did, that as my coming thither was open and publick, ſo my departure alſo might be. Before I left the iſland, I wrote the following letter to my wife; that ſhe might underſtand both how it was with me, and how I proceeded in my travels.

' My dear Heart,

' TO whom is my love, and to all the children in the Seed of ' life that changeth not, but is over all; bleſſed be the Lord ' for ever! I have undergone great ſufferings in my body and ſpirit, ' beyond words; but the God of Heaven be praiſed, his truth is over ' all. I am now well; and, if the Lord permit, within a few days ' I paſs from Barbadoes towards Jamaica; and think to ſtay but ' little there. I deſire that ye may be all kept free in the Seed of

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'life, out of all cumbrances. Friends are generally well. Remember me to friends that enquire after me. So no more, but my love in the Seed and Life, that changeth not.

'G. F.

'Barbadoes, the 6th of the
'11th month, 1671.'

I ſet ſail from Barbadoes to Jamaica the eighth of the eleventh month, 1671, Robert Widders, William Edmundſon, Solomon Eccles, and Elizabeth Hooton going with me. Thomas Briggs and John Stubbs remained in Barbadoes; with whom were John Rouſe and William Baily. We had a quick and eaſy paſſage to Jamaica; where we met with James Lancaſter, John Cartwright, and George Pattiſon again, who had been labouring there in the ſervice of truth; into which we forthwith entered with them, travelling up and down through the iſland, which is large; and a brave country it is, though the people are many of them debauched and wicked. We had much ſervice. There was a great convincement, and many received the truth; ſome of which were people of account in the world. We had many meetings there, which were large, and very quiet. The people were civil to us, ſo that not a mouth was opened againſt us. I was twice with the governor, and ſome other magiſtrates, who all carried themſelves kindly towards me.

Jamaica.

About a week after we landed in Jamaica, Elizabeth Hooton, a woman of great age, who had travelled much in truth's ſervice, and ſuffered much for it, departed this life. She was well the day before ſhe died; and departed in peace, like a lamb, bearing teſtimony to truth at her departure.

When we had been about ſeven weeks in Jamaica, had brought friends into pretty good order, and ſettled ſeveral meetings amongſt them, we left Solomon Eccles there; the reſt of us embarked for Maryland; leaving friends and truth proſperous in Jamaica, the Lord's power being over all, and his bleſſed Seed reigning.

Before I left Jamaica, I wrote another letter to my wife, as followeth:

'My dear Heart,

'TO whom is my love, and to the children, in that which changeth not, but is over all; and to all friends in thoſe parts. I have been at Jamaica about five weeks. Friends are generally well; and here is a convincement: but things would be too large to write of. Sufferings in every place attend me; but the bleſſed Seed is over all: the great Lord be praiſed, who is Lord of ſea and land, and of all things therein. We intend to paſs from hence about the beginning of the next month, towards Maryland, if the Lord pleaſe. Dwell all of you in the Seed of God. In his truth I reſt in love to you all.

'Jamaica, 23d of the
'12th month, 1671.'

We

We went on board the 8th of the first month 1671-2; and, having contrary winds, were a full week sailing forwards and backwards, before we could get out of sight of Jamaica. A difficult voyage this proved, and pretty dangerous, especially in our passing through the gulf of Florida, where we met with many winds and storms. But the great God, who is Lord of sea and land, and who rideth upon the wings of the wind, did by his power preserve us through many and great dangers, when by extreme stress of weather our vessel was divers times like to be overset, and much of her tackling broken. And indeed we were sensible that the Lord was a God at hand, and that his ear was open to the supplications of his people. For when the winds were so strong and boisterous, and the storms and tempests so great, that the sailors knew not what to do, but let the ship go which way she would; then did we pray unto the Lord; who did graciously hear and accept us, and did calm the winds and seas, gave us seasonable weather, and made us to rejoice in his salvation; blessed and praised be the holy name of the Lord, whose power hath dominion over all, and whom the winds and the seas obey!

1671. Jamaica.

We were between six and seven weeks in this passage from Jamaica to Maryland. Some days before we came to land, after we had entered the bay of Potuxan river, a great storm arose, which cast a boat upon us for shelter; in which were divers men and women of account in the world. We took them in; but the boat was lost, with five hundred pounds worth of goods in it, as they said. They continued on board us several days, not having any means to get off; and we had a very good meeting with them in the ship. But provisions grew short, for they brought none in with them; and ours, by reason of the length of our voyage, were well nigh spent when they came to us: so that with their living upon it too, we had now little or none left. Whereupon George Pattison took a boat, and ventured his life to get to shore; the hazard was so great, that all but friends concluded he would be cast away. Yet it pleased the Lord to bring him safe to land; and in a short time after the friends of the place came to fetch us to land also, in a seasonable time, for our provisions were quite spent.

Potuxan River.

Maryland.

We partook also of another great deliverance in this voyage, thro' the good providence of the Lord, which we understood afterwards. When we were determined to come from Jamaica, we had our choice of two vessels, both bound for the same coast. One was a frigate, the other a yacht. The master of the frigate, we thought, asked unreasonably for our passage; which made us agree with the master of the yacht, who offered to carry us ten shillings a piece cheaper than the other. We went on board the yacht, and the frigate came out together with us, intending to be consorts during the voyage; and for several days we sailed together: but what with calms and contrary winds, we were in a while separated. After which, the frigate, losing her way, fell among the Spaniards; by whom she was plundered and robbed, and the master and mate made prisoners: afterwards, being retaken by the English, she was sent home to her owners in Virginia. Which when we came to understand,

1672. Maryland. ſtand, we ſaw and admired the Providence of God, who preſerved us out of our enemies hands; and he that was covetous fell among the covetous.

Here we found Burneyate, intending ſhortly to ſail for Old England; but upon our arrival he altered his purpoſe, and joined us in the Lord's ſervice. He had appointed a general meeting for all the friends in the province of Maryland, that he might ſee them together, and take his leave of them, before he departed out of the country; and it was ſo ordered by the good Providence of God, that we landed juſt time enough to reach that meeting; by which means we had a very ſeaſonable opportunity of taking the friends of the province together. A very large meeting this was, and held four days; to which, beſides friends, came many other people, divers of whom were of conſiderable quality in the world's account: for there were five or ſix juſtices of the peace, the ſpeaker of their aſſembly, one of their council, and others of note, who ſeemed well ſatisfied with the meeting. After the publick meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings began; wherein I opened to friends the ſervice thereof, to their great ſatisfaction. After this we went Cliffs. to the Cliffs, where another general meeting was appointed. We went ſome of the way by land, the reſt by water; and a ſtorm ariſing, our boat was run aground, in danger to be beaten to pieces, and the water came in upon us. I was in a great ſweat, having come very hot out of a meeting before, and now was wet with the water beſide: yet having faith in the divine power, I was preſerved from taking hurt, bleſſed be the Lord! To this meeting many came, who received the truth with reverence. We had alſo a men's meeting and a women's meeting. Moſt of the backſliders came in again; and ſeveral of thoſe meetings were eſtabliſhed for taking care of the affairs of the church.

After theſe two general meetings, we parted company, dividing ourſelves unto ſeveral coaſts, for the ſervice of truth. James Lancaſter and John Cartwright went by ſea for New England; William Edmundſon and three friends more ſailed for Virginia, where things were much out of order; John Burneyate, Robert Widders, George Pattiſon, and I, with ſeveral friends of the province, went over by Eaſtern ſhore. boat to the eaſtern ſhore, and had a meeting there on the firſt day; where many people received the truth with gladneſs, and friends were greatly refreſhed. A very large and heavenly meeting it was. Several perſons of quality in that country were at it, two of whom were juſtices of the peace. It was upon me from the Lord to ſend to the Indian emperor and his kings, to come to that meeting; the emperor came, and was at the meeting; but his kings, lying further off, could not reach thither time enough; yet they came after with their cockarooſes. I had in the evening two good opportunities with them; they heard the word of the Lord willingly, and confeſſed to it. 'What I ſpoke to them, I deſired them to ſpeak to 'their people; and let them know, that God was raiſing up his ta-'bernacle of witneſs in their wilderneſs-country, and was ſetting 'up his ſtandard and glorious enſign of righteouſneſs.' They carried themſelves very courteouſly and lovingly; and inquired, 'Where 'the

'the next meeting would be, and they would come to it.' Yet they said, 'They had a great debate with their council about their 'coming, before they came now.' 1672. Eaſtern ſhore.

The next day we began our journey by land to New England; a tedious journey through the woods and wilderneſs, over bogs and great rivers. We took horſe at the head of Tredaven Creek, and travelled through the woods till we came a little above the head of Miles River; by which we paſſed, and rode to the head of Wye River, and ſo to the head of Cheſter River; where, making a fire, we took up our lodging in the woods. Next morning we travelled the woods till we came to Saxifrax River, which we went over in canoes (or Indian boats) cauſing our horſes to ſwim by. Then we rode to Bohemia River; where in like manner ſwimming our horſes, we ourſelves went over in canoes. We reſted a little at a plantation by the way, but not long, for we had thirty miles to ride that afternoon, if we would reach a town; which we were willing to do, and therefore rode hard for it. I, with ſome others, whoſe horſes were ſtrong, got to the town that night, exceedingly tired, and wet to the ſkin; but George Pattiſon and Robert Widders, being weaker-horſed, were obliged to lay in the woods that night alſo. The town we went to was a Dutch town, called Newcaſtle; whither Robert Widders and George Pattiſon came to us next morning. We departed thence, and got over the river Delaware, not without great danger of ſome of our lives. When we were over, we were troubled to procure guides; which were hard to get, and very chargeable. Then had we that wilderneſs country to paſs through, ſince called Weſt Jerſey, not then inhabited by Engliſh; ſo that we have travelled a whole day together without ſeeing man or woman, houſe or dwelling-place. Sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire, and ſometimes in the Indians wigwams or houſes. We came one night to an Indian town, and lay at the king's houſe, who was a very pretty man. Both he and his wife received us very lovingly, and his attendants (ſuch as they were) were very reſpectful to us. They laid us mats to lie on; but proviſion was very ſhort with them, having caught but little that day. At another Indian town, where we ſtaid, the king came to us, and he could ſpeak ſome Engliſh. I ſpoke to him much, and alſo to his people; and they were very loving to us. At length we came to Middle Town, an Engliſh plantation in Eaſt Jerſey; and there were ſome friends: but we could not ſtay to have a meeting at that time, being earneſtly preſſed in our ſpirits to get to the half-year's meeting of friends at Oiſter Bay in Long Iſland, which was near at hand. We went with a friend, Richard Hartſhorn, brother to Hugh Hartſhorn, the upholſterer in London, who received us gladly to his houſe, where we refreſhed ourſelves, and then he carried us and our horſes in his own boat over a great water, which held us moſt part of the day in getting over, and ſet us upon Long Iſland. We got that evening to friends at Graveſand, with whom we tarried that night. Next day we got to Fluſhing. The day following we reached Oiſter Bay; ſeveral friends both of Graveſand and Fluſhing accompanying us. The half-year's meeting began next day, which laſted

Tredaven Creek. Miles River. Wye River. CheſterRiver. Saxifrax River. Bohemia River. Newcaſtle. Delaware River. Weſt Jerſey. Eaſt Jerſey. Middle Town. Long Iſland. Graveſand. Fluſhing. Oiſter Bay half year's meeting.

1672. Oiſter Bay half-yearly meeting.

laſted four days. The firſt and ſecond days we had publick meetings for worſhip, to which people of all ſorts might and did come. On third day were the men's and women's meetings, wherein the affairs of the church were taken care of. Here we met with ſome bad ſpirits, who were run out from truth into prejudice, contention, and oppoſition to the order of truth, and to friends therein. Theſe had been very troubleſome to friends in their meetings there and thereabouts formerly, and it is like would have been ſo now; but I would not ſuffer the ſervice of our men's and women's meetings to be interrupted and hindered by their cavils. I let them know, 'if they had any thing to object againſt the order of truth 'which we were in, we would give them a meeting another day on 'purpoſe.' And indeed I laboured the more, and travelled the harder to get to this meeting, where it was expected many of theſe contentious people would be; becauſe I underſtood they had reflected much upon me when I was far from them. The men's and women's meetings being over, on the fourth day we had a meeting with thoſe diſcontented people, to which as many of them as would did come, and as many friends as had a deſire were preſent alſo; and the Lord's power broke forth gloriouſly, to the confounding of the gainſayers. Then ſome, that had been chief in the miſchievous work of contention and oppoſition againſt the truth, began to fawn upon me, and caſt the blame upon others; but the deceitful ſpirit was judged down and condemned, and the glorious truth of God was exalted and ſet over all; and they were all brought down and bowed under. Which was of great ſervice to truth, and great ſatisfaction and comfort to friends; glory to the Lord for ever!

After friends were gone to their ſeveral habitations, we ſtaid ſome days upon the iſland, had meetings in ſeveral parts thereof, and good ſervice for the Lord. When we were clear of the iſland, we returned to Oiſter Bay, waiting for a wind to carry us to Rhode Iſland, computed to be about two hundred miles. As ſoon as the wind ſerved we ſet ſail, and arrived in Rhode Iſland the thirtieth of the third month; where we were gladly received by friends. We went to Nicholas Eaſton's, who was governor of the iſland; where we lay, being weary with travelling. On firſt day following we had a large meeting; to which the deputy-governor and ſeveral juſtices came, and were mightily affected with the truth. The week following the yearly meeting for friends of New England, and other colonies adjacent, was held in this iſland; to which, beſides many friends who lived in thoſe parts, came John Stubbs from Barbadoes, and James Lancaſter and John Cartwright from another way. This meeting laſted ſix days. The firſt four were ſpent in general publick meetings for worſhip; to which abundance of other people came. For having no prieſts in the iſland, and no reſtriction to any particular way of worſhip; and the governor and deputy-governor, with ſeveral juſtices of the peace, daily frequenting meetings; it ſo encouraged the people, that they flocked in from all parts of the iſland. Very good ſervice we had amongſt them, and truth had good reception. I have rarely obſerved a people, in the ſtate wherein they ſtood, to hear with more attention, diligence, and affection, than generally

Rhode Iſland.

Yearly meeting.

generally they did, during the four days; which was alſo taken notice of by other friends. Theſe publick meetings over, the men's meeting began, which was large, precious, and weighty. The day following was the women's meeting, which alſo was large and very ſolemn. Theſe two meetings being for ordering the affairs of the church, many weighty things were opened, and communicated to them, by way of advice, information, and inſtruction in the ſervices relating thereunto; that all might be kept clean, ſweet, and ſavoury amongſt them. In theſe, ſeveral men's and women's meetings for other parts were agreed and ſettled, to take care of the poor, and other affairs of the church, and to ſee that all who profeſs truth walk according to the glorious goſpel of God. When this great general meeting was ended, it was ſomewhat hard for friends to part; for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and his bleſſed truth and life flowing amongſt them, had ſo knit and united them together, that they ſpent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the friends of the iſland; and then, being mightily filled with the preſence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their ſeveral habitations, in the ſeveral colonies where they lived.

1672. Rhode Iſland yearly meeting.

When friends had taken their leave one of another, we, who travelled amongſt them, diſperſed ourſelves into our ſeveral ſervices, as the Lord ordered us. John Burneyate, John Cartwright, and George Pattiſon went into the eaſtern parts of New England, in company with the friends that came from thence, to viſit the particular meetings there; whom John Stubbs and James Lancaſter intended to follow a while after, in the ſame ſervice; but they were not yet clear of this iſland. Robert Widders and I ſtaid longer upon this iſland; finding ſervice ſtill here for the Lord, through the great openneſs, and the daily coming in of freſh people from other colonies, for ſome time, after the general meeting; ſo that we had many large and ſerviceable meetings among them.

During this time, a marriage was celebrated amongſt friends in this iſland, and we were preſent. It was at a friend's houſe, who had formerly been governor of the iſland; and three juſtices of the peace, with many others not in profeſſion with us, and friends alſo ſaid, They never ſaw ſuch a ſolemn aſſembly on ſuch an occaſion, ſo weighty a marriage, and ſo comely an order. Thus truth was ſet over all. This might ſerve for an example to others; for there were ſome preſent from many other places.

After this I had a great travail in ſpirit concerning the Ranters in thoſe parts, who had been rude at a meeting which I was not at. Wherefore I appointed a meeting amongſt them, believing the Lord would give me power over them; which he did, to his praiſe and glory; bleſſed be his name for ever! There were at this meeting many friends, and divers other people; ſome of whom were juſtices of the peace, and officers, who were generally well affected with the truth. One, who had been a juſtice twenty years, was convinced, ſpoke highly of the truth, and more highly of me than is fit for me to mention or take notice of.

We

1672. Providence. We had a meeting at Providence, which was very large, conſiſting of many ſorts of people: I had a great travail upon my ſpirit, that it might be preſerved quiet, and that truth might be brought over the people, and might gain entrance and have place in them; for they were generally above the prieſts, in high notions; and ſome came on purpoſe to diſpute. But the Lord, whom we waited upon, was with us, his power went over them all; and his bleſſed Seed was exalted and ſet above all. The diſputers were ſilent, and the meeting quiet, and ended well; praiſed be the Lord! The people went away mightily ſatisfied, much deſiring another meeting. This place (called Providence) was about thirty miles from Rhode Iſland; we went to it by water. The governor of Rhode Iſland, and many others, went with me thither; and we had the meeting in a great barn, which was thronged with people, ſo that I was exceeding hot, and in a great ſweat; but all was well; the glorious power of the Lord ſhined over all, glory to the great God for ever!

Narraganſet. After this we went to Narraganſet, about twenty miles from Rhode Iſland; and the governor went with us. We had a meeting at a juſtice's, where friends never had any before. The meeting was very large, for the country generally came in; and people from Connecticut, and other parts round about. There were four juſtices of peace. Moſt of theſe people were ſuch as had never heard friends before; but they were mightily affected, and a great deſire there is after the truth amongſt them. So that meeting was of very good ſervice; bleſſed be the Lord for ever! The juſtice, at whoſe houſe it was, and another juſtice of that country, invited me to come again; but I was then clear of thoſe parts, and was going towards Shelter Iſland. John Burnyeate and John Cartwright, being come out of New England into Rhode Iſland before I was gone, I laid this place before them, and they felt drawings thither, and went to viſit them. At another place, I heard ſome of the magiſtrates ſaid among themſelves, 'If they had money enough, they 'would hire me to be their miniſter.' This was, where they did not well underſtand us, and our principles: but when I heard of it, I ſaid, 'It was time for me to be gone; for if their eye was ſo much to me, or any of us, they would not come to their own 'teacher.' For this thing (hiring miniſters) had ſpoiled many, by hindering them from improving their own talents; whereas our labour is, to bring every one to their own teacher in themſelves.

I went from hence towards Shelter Iſland, having with me Robert Widders, James Lancaſter, George Pattiſon, and John Jay, a planter in Barbadoes. We went off in a ſloop; and paſſing by Point Juda and Block Iſland, we came to Fiſhers Iſland, where at night we went on ſhore. but were not able to ſtay for the muſquetoes (a ſort of gnats, or little flies) which abound there, and are very troubleſome. Wherefore we went into our ſloop again, put off from the ſhore, caſt anchor, and lay in our ſloop that night. Next day we went into the Sound, but finding our ſloop was not able to live in that water, we returned again, and came to anchor before Fiſhers Iſland, where we lay in our ſloop that night alſo. There fell abundance of rain, and our ſloop being open, we were exceeding wet.

Point Juda. Block Iſland. Fiſhers Iſland.

The Sound.

wet. Next day we paſſed over the waters called the Two Horſe Races, and then by Garner's-iſland; after which we paſſed by Gull's-iſland, and got at length to Shelter-iſland, which tho' it was but about twenty-ſeven leagues from Rhode-iſland, through the difficulty of paſſage, we were three days in getting thither. The day after, being firſt-day, we had a meeting there. In the ſame week, I had a meeting among the Indians, at which were their king, with his council, and about an hundred Indians more. They ſat down like friends, and heard very attentively, while I ſpoke to them by an interpreter, an Indian that could ſpeak Engliſh well. After the meeting they appeared very loving, and confeſſed what was ſaid to them was truth. The next firſt-day we had a great meeting on the iſland, to which many people came who had never heard friends before. They were well ſatisfied with the meeting, and would not go away when it was done till they had ſpoke with me. I went amongſt them, and found they were much taken with the truth; good deſires were raiſed in them, and great love. Bleſſed be the Lord, his name ſpreads, and will be great among the nations, and dreadful among the heathen.

1672.
The Two Horſe Races.
Garner's-iſland.
Gull's iſland.
Shelter-iſland.

While we were in Shelter-iſland, William Edmundſon came to us, who had been labouring in the work of the Lord in Virginia. From whence he travelled through the Deſert-country, through difficulties and many trials, till he came to Roan-oak, where he met with a tender people. After ſeven weeks ſervice in thoſe parts, ſailing to Maryland, and ſo to New-York, he came from thence to Long-iſland; where we met with him, and were very glad to hear from him the good ſervice he had for the Lord in the ſeveral places where he had travelled ſince he parted from us.

Roan-oak.

We ſtaid not long in Shelter-iſland, but entering our ſloop again, put to ſea for Long-iſland. We had a very rough paſſage; the tide run ſo ſtrong for ſeveral hours, that I have not ſeen the like; and being againſt us, we could hardly get forward though we had a gale. We were upon the water all that day and the night following, but found ourſelves next day driven back near Fiſher's-iſland. For there was a great fog, and towards day it was very dark, ſo that we could not ſee what way we made. Beſides, it rained much in the night, which in our open ſloop made us very wet. Next day a great ſtorm aroſe, ſo that we were fain to go over the Sound, and did get over with much ado. We paſſed by Faulcon-iſland, and came to the Main, where we caſt anchor till the ſtorm was over. Then we croſſed the Sound, all very wet, and much difficulty we had to get to land, the wind being ſtrong againſt us. But bleſſed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, and of the ſeas and waters, all was well. We got ſafe to Oyſter-bay in Long-iſland, the ſeventh of the ſixth month, very early in the morning, which, they ſay, is about two hundred miles from Rhode-iſland. At Oyſter-bay we had a very large meeting. The ſame day James Lancaſter and Chriſtopher Holder went over the bay to Rye, on the continent, in governor Winthrop's government, and had a meeting there. From Oyſter-bay we paſſed about thirty miles to Fluſhing, where we had a very large meeting, many hundreds of people being there; ſome of whom came about

At ſea.
Faulcon-iſland.
Sound.
Long-iſland.
Oyſter-bay.
Fluſhing.

1672. thirty miles to it. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was (praiſed be the Lord God!) and the people were much ſatisfied. Mean while Chriſtopher Holder and ſome other friends went to a town in Long-iſland, called Jamaica, and had a meeting there. We paſſed from Fluſhing to Graveſands, about twenty miles, and there had three precious meetings; to which many would have come from New-York, but that the weather hindered them. Being clear of this place, we hired a ſloop, and, the wind ſerving, ſet out for the new country now called Jerſey. Paſſing down the bay by Conny-iſland, Natton-iſland, and Stratton-iſland, we came to Richard Hartſhorn's at Middletown-harbour, about break of day, the twenty-ſeventh of the ſixth month. Next day we rode about thirty miles into that country, through the woods, and over very bad bogs, one worſe than all the reſt; the deſcent into which was ſo ſteep that we were fain to ſlide down with our horſes, and then let them lie and breathe themſelves before they could go on. This place the people of the country called Purgatory. We got at length to Shrewſbury, in Eaſt-Jerſey, and on firſt-day had a precious meeting there; to which friends and other people came far, and the bleſſed preſence of the Lord was with us. The ſame week we had a men's and women's meeting out of moſt parts of New-Jerſey. They are building a meeting-place in the midſt of them, and there is a monthly and general meeting ſet up, which will be of great ſervice in thoſe parts, in 'keeping up the goſpel-order, and govern-'ment of Chriſt Jeſus (of the increaſe of which there is no end) that 'they who are faithful may ſee that all who profeſs the holy truth 'live in the pure religion, and walk as becometh the goſpel.'

Fluſhing. Graveſands. Jerſey. Conny-iſland. Stratton-iſland. Natton-iſland. Middletown-harbour. Shrewſbury. Eaſt-Jerſey.

While we were at Shrewſbury, an accident befell, which for the time was a great exerciſe to us; John Jay, a friend of Barbadoes, who came with us from Rhode-iſland, and intended to accompany us through the Woods to Maryland, being to try a horſe, got upon his back, and the horſe fell a running, caſt him down upon his head, and broke his neck, as the people ſaid. Thoſe that were near him took him up as dead, carried him a good way, and laid him on a tree. I got to him as ſoon as I could; and, feeling him, concluded he was dead. As I ſtood pitying him and his family, I took hold of his hair, and his head turned any way, his neck was ſo limber. Whereupon I took his head in both my hands, and ſetting my knees againſt the tree, I raiſed his head, and perceived there was nothing out or broken that way. Then I put one hand under his chin, and the other behind his head, and raiſed his head two or three times with all my ſtrength, and brought it in. I ſoon perceived his neck began to grow ſtiff again, and then he began to rattle in his throat, and quickly after to breathe. The people were amazed; but I bade them have a good heart, be of good faith, and carry him into the houſe. They did ſo, and ſet him by the fire. I bid them get him ſomething warm to drink, and put him to bed. After he had been in the houſe a while, he began to ſpeak; but did not know where he had been. The next day we paſſed away (and he with us, pretty well) about ſixteen miles, to a meeting at Middle-town, through woods and bogs, and over a river; where we ſwam our horſes, and got

Middletown.

over

over ourſelves upon a hollow tree. Many hundred miles did he travel with us after this. 1672.

To this meeting came moſt of the people of the town. A glorious meeting we had, and the truth was over all; bleſſed be the great Lord God for ever! After the meeting we went to Middle-town-harbour, about five miles, in order to take our long journey next morning, through the woods towards Maryland, having hired Indians for our guides. I determined to paſs through the woods, on the other ſide of Delaware-bay, that we might head the creeks and rivers as much as poſſible. The ninth of the ſeventh month we ſet forward, paſſed through many Indian towns, and over ſome rivers and bogs. When we had rid about forty miles, we made a fire at night, and lay by it. As we came among the Indians, we declared the day of the Lord to them. Next day we travelled fifty miles, as we computed; and at night finding an old houſe, which the Indians had forced the people to leave, we made a fire, and lay there, at the head of Delaware-bay. The next day we ſwam our horſes over a river about a mile, at twice, firſt to an iſland called Upper Dinidock, and then to the main land, having hired Indians to help us over in their canoes. This day we could reach but about thirty miles, and came to a Swede's houſe, where we got a little ſtraw, and lay that night. Next day, having hired another guide, we travelled about forty miles through the woods, and made a fire at night, by which we lay, and dried ourſelves; for we were often wet in our travels. Next day we paſſed over a deſperate river, which had in it many rocks and broad ſtones, very hazardous to us and our horſes. From thence we came to Chriſtian-river, where we ſwam our horſes over, and went ourſelves in Canoes; but the ſides of the river were ſo miry, that ſome of the horſes had like to have been laid up. From thence we came to Newcaſtle, heretofore called New-Amſterdam; and being very weary, and inquiring in the town where we might buy ſome corn for our horſes, the governor came and invited me to his houſe, and afterwards deſired me to lodge there; telling me, he had a bed for me, and I ſhould be welcome. So I ſtaid, the other friends being taken care of alſo. This was on a ſeventh-day, and he offering his houſe for a meeting, we had the next day a pretty large one; for moſt of the town were at it. Here had never been a meeting before, nor any within a great way; but this was a very precious one, many were tender, and confeſſed to the truth, and ſome received it; bleſſed be the Lord for ever!

Middletown-harbour.

Indian towns.

Delaware-bay.

Upper Dinidock.

Chriſtian-river.

Newcaſtle, or New-Amſterdam.

The ſixteeenth of the ſeventh month we ſet forward, and travelled, as near as we could compute, about fifty miles, through the woods and over the bogs, heading Bohemia-river and Saxifrax-river. At night we made a fire in the woods, and lay there all night. It being rainy weather, we got under ſome thick trees for ſhelter, and afterwards dried ourſelves again by the fire. Next day we waded through Cheſter-river, a very broad water, and afterwards paſſing through many bad bogs, lay that night alſo in the woods by a fire, not having gone above thirty miles that day. The day following we travelled hard, though we had ſome troubleſome bogs in our way; we rode about fifty miles, and got ſafe that night to Robert

Bohemia-river.

Saxifrax-river.

Cheſter-river.

1672. bert Harwood's, at Miles-river in Maryland. This was the eighteenth of the ſeventh month; and though we were very weary, and much dirtied with the bogs, yet hearing of a meeting next day, we went to it, and from it to John Edmundſon's; from whence we went three or four miles by water to a meeting on the firſt-day following. Here was a judge's wife, who had never been at any of our meetings before, who was reached, and ſaid after the meeting, 'She had rather hear us once, than the prieſts a thouſand times.' Many others alſo were well ſatisfied; for the power of the Lord was eminently with us. Bleſſed for ever be his holy name! We paſſed from thence about twenty-two miles, and had a good meeting upon the Kentiſh ſhore, to which one of the judges came. After another good meeting hard-by at William Wilcock's, where we had good ſervice for the Lord, we went by water about twenty miles to a very large meeting, where were ſome hundreds of people, and four juſtices of peace, the high-ſheriff of Delaware, and others from thence; there was an Indian emperor or governor, and two others of the chief men among the Indians. With theſe Indians I had a good opportunity. I ſpoke to them by an interpreter; they heard the truth attentively, and were very loving. A bleſſed meeting this was, of great ſervice both for convincing, and eſtabliſhing in the truth thoſe that were convinced of it. Bleſſed be the Lord, who cauſeth his bleſſed truth to ſpread! After the meeting a woman came to me, whoſe huſband was one of the judges of that country, and a member of the aſſembly there. She told me, 'Her huſband was ſick, not 'likely to live, and deſired me to go home with her to ſee him.' It was three miles to her houſe, and I being juſt come hot out of the meeting, it was hard for me then to go; yet conſidering the ſervice, I got an horſe, went with her, viſited her huſband, and ſpoke what the Lord gave me to him. The man was much refreſhed, and finely raiſed up by the power of the Lord; and afterwards came to our meetings. I went back to the friends that night, and next day we departed thence about nineteen or twenty miles to Tredhaven-creek, to John Edmundſon's again; from whence, the third of the eighth month, we went to the general meeting for all Maryland friends.

Maryland. Miles-river.

Kentiſh ſhore:

Tredhaven-creek.

General meeting.

This meeting held five days. The firſt three we had meetings for publick worſhip, to which people of all ſorts came; the other two were ſpent in the men's and women's meetings. To thoſe publick meetings came many Proteſtants of divers ſorts, and ſome Papiſts; amongſt whom were ſeveral magiſtrates and their wives, with other perſons of chief account in the country. Of the common people, it was thought there were ſometimes a thouſand at one of thoſe meetings; ſo that though they had enlarged their meeting-place, and made it as big again as it was before, it could not contain the people. I went by boat every day four or five miles to the meeting, and there were ſo many boats at that time paſſing upon the river, that it was almoſt like the Thames. The people ſaid, 'There were 'never ſo many boats ſeen there together before;' and one of the juſtices ſaid, 'He never ſaw ſo many people together in that country.' It was a very heavenly meeting, wherein the preſence of the Lord

was

was gloriouſly manifeſted, friends were ſweetly refreſhed, the people generally ſatisfied, and many convinced; for the bleſſed power of the Lord was over all: everlaſting praiſes to his holy name for ever! After the publick meetings were over, the men's and women's began, and were held the other two days; for I had ſomething to impart to them, which concerned the glory of God, the order of the goſpel, and the government of Chriſt Jeſus. When theſe meetings were over, we took our leave of friends in thoſe parts, whom we left well eſtabliſhed in the truth. The tenth of the eighth month we went about thirty miles by water, paſſing by Cranes-iſland, Swan-iſland, and Kent-iſland, in very foul weather and much rain; whereby, our boat being open, we were not only very much wetted, but in great danger of being overſet; inſomuch that ſome thought we could not have eſcaped being caſt away, till they ſaw us come to ſhore next morning. But bleſſed be God we were very well. Having got to a little houſe, dried our cloaths by the fire, and refreſhed ourſelves a little, we took to our boat again, and put off from land, ſometimes ſailing, and ſometimes rowing; but having very foul weather, we could not get above twelve miles forward. At night we got to land, made us a fire, by which ſome lay, and others by a fire at a houſe a little way off. Next morning we paſſed over the Great-bay, and ſailed about forty miles that day. Making to ſhore at night, we lay there, ſome in the boat, and ſome at an ale-houſe. Next morning, being firſt-day, we went ſix or ſeven miles to a friend's houſe, a juſtice of the peace; where we had a meeting. This was a little above the head of the Great-bay. We were almoſt four days upon water, weary with rowing, yet all was very well; bleſſed and praiſed be the Lord! We went next day to another friend's over the head of Hatton's-iſland, where we had good ſervice; as we had alſo the day following at George Wilſon's, a friend, that lived about three miles further, where we had a very precious meeting, there being great tenderneſs amongſt the people.

1672. General meeting. Cranes-iſland. Swan-iſland. Kent-iſland. Great-bay. Hatton's-iſland.

After this we ſailed about ten miles to James Frizby's, a juſtice of peace; where, the ſixteenth of the eighth month, we had a very large meeting, at which, beſides friends, were ſome hundreds of people, as it was ſuppoſed. Amongſt them were ſeveral juſtices, captains, and the ſheriff, with other perſons of note. A bleſſed heavenly meeting this was; a powerful, thundering teſtimony for truth was born therein; a great ſenſe there was upon the people, and much brokenneſs and tenderneſs amongſt them. We ſtaid till about the eleventh hour in the night, that the tide turned for us; then taking boat, we paſſed that night and the next day about fifty miles to another friend's houſe. The two next days we made ſhort journies, viſiting friends. The twentieth we had a great meeting at a place called Severn, where there was a meeting-place, but not large enough to hold the people. Divers chief magiſtrates were at it, with many other conſiderable people, and it gave them generally great ſatisfaction. Two days after we had a meeting with ſome that walked diſorderly, and had good ſervice in it. Then ſpending a day or two in viſiting friends, we paſſed to the Weſtern-ſhore, and the twenty-fifth had a large and precious meeting at William Coale's, where

Severn. Weſtern-ſhore.

1672. the ſpeaker of their aſſembly, with his wife, a juſtice of peace, and ſeveral people of quality, were preſent. Next day we had a meeting, ſix or ſeven miles further, at Abraham Birkhead's, where many of the magiſtrates and upper ſort were; and the ſpeaker of the aſſembly for that country was convinced. A bleſſed meeting it was; praiſed be the Lord! We travelled next day; and the day following, the twenty-eighth of the eighth month, had a large and very precious meeting at Peter Sharp's, on the Clifts, between thirty and forty miles diſtant from the former. Many of the magiſtrates and upper rank of people were preſent, and a heavenly meeting it was. One of the governor's council's wives was convinced; and her huſband was very loving to friends. A juſtice of peace from Virginia was convinced, and hath a meeting ſince at his houſe. Some Papiſts were at this meeting, one of whom threatened, before he came, to diſpute with me; but he was reached, and could not oppoſe. Bleſſed be the Lord, the truth reached into the hearts of people beyond words, and it is of a good ſavour amongſt them! After the meeting we went about eighteen miles to James Preſton's, a friend that lived on Pattuxen River. Thither came an Indian king, with his brother, to whom I ſpoke, and I found they underſtood the thing I ſpoke of. Having finiſhed our ſervice in Maryland, and intending for Virginia, we had a meeting at Pattuxen the fourth of the ninth month, to take our leave of friends. Many people of all ſorts were at it, and a powerful meeting it was.

Weſtern ſhore.

Clifts.

Pattuxen River.

Pattuxen.

The fifth of the ninth month we ſet ſail for Virginia, and in three days came to Nancemum, about two hundred miles from Maryland. In this voyage we met with foul weather, ſtorms, and rain, and lay in the woods by a fire in the night. Here lived a friend, called the widow Wright. Next day we had a great meeting at Nancemum, of friends and others. There came to this meeting colonel Dewes, with ſeveral other officers and magiſtrates, who were much taken with the declaration of truth. After the meeting, we haſtened towards Carolina; yet had ſeveral meetings by the way, wherein we had good ſervice for the Lord: one about four miles from Nancemum Water, which was very precious; and there was a men's and a women's meeting ſettled, for the affairs of the church. Another very good meeting we had at William Yarrow's, at Pagan Creek; which was ſo large that we were fain to be abroad, the houſe not being big enough to contain the people. A great openneſs there was, the ſound of truth ſpread abroad, and had a good ſavour in the hearts of people: the Lord have the glory for ever!

Virginia. Nancemum.

Pagan Creek.

After this, our way to Carolina grew worſe, being much of it plaſhy, and pretty full of great bogs and ſwamps; ſo that we were commonly wet to the knees, and lay abroad a-nights in the woods by a fire: ſaving one of the nights we got to a poor houſe at Sommertown, and lay by the fire. The woman of the houſe had a ſenſe of God upon her. The report of our travel had reached thither, and drawn ſome that lived beyond Sommertown to that houſe, in expectation to have ſeen and heard us; but they miſſed us. Next day, the twenty-firſt of the ninth month, having travelled hard through the woods, and over many bogs and ſwamps, we reached Bonner's Creek;

Sommertown.

Bonner's Creek.

Creek; there we lay that night by the fire-ſide, the woman lending us a mat to lie on. 1672.

This was the firſt houſe we came to in Carolina: here we left our horſes, over-wearied with travel. From hence we went down the creek in a canoe to Macocomocock River, and came to Hugh Smith's, where people of other profeſſions came to ſee us (no friends inhabiting that part of the country) and many of them received us gladly. Amongſt others, came Nathaniel Batts, who had been governor of Ronoack. He went by the name of captain Batts, and had been a rude, deſperate man. He aſked me about a woman in Cumberland, who, he ſaid, he was told, had been healed by our prayers and laying on of hands, after ſhe had been long ſick, and given over by the phyſicians: he deſired to know the certainty of it. I told him, we did not glory in ſuch things, but many ſuch things had been done by the power of Chriſt. Carolina. Macocomocock River.

Not far from hence we had a meeting among the people; and they were taken with the truth; bleſſed be the Lord! Then paſſing down the river Maratick in a canoe, we went down the bay Connie-oak, to a captain's, who was loving to us, and lent us his boat (for we were much wetted in the canoe, the water flaſhing in upon us). With this boat we went to the governor's; but the water in ſome places was ſo ſhallow, that the boat, being loaden, could not ſwim; ſo that we put off our ſhoes and ſtockings, and waded through the water a pretty way. The governor, with his wife, received us lovingly; but a doctor there would needs diſpute with us. And truly his oppoſing us was of good ſervice, giving occaſion for the opening of many things to the people concerning the Light and Spirit of God, which he denied to be in every one; and affirmed it was not in the Indians. Whereupon I called an Indian to us, and aſked him, 'Whether or no, when he did lye, or do wrong to any one, 'there was not ſomething in him that did reprove him for it?' He ſaid, 'There was ſuch a thing in him, that did ſo reprove him; 'and he was aſhamed when he had done wrong, or ſpoken wrong.' So we ſhamed the doctor before the governor and people; inſomuch that the poor man ran out ſo far, that at length he would not own the ſcriptures. We tarried at the governor's that night; and next morning he very courteouſly walked with us himſelf about two miles through the woods, to a place whither he had ſent our boat about to meet us. Taking leave of him, we entered our boat, and went about thirty miles to Joſeph Scot's, one of the repreſentatives of the country. There we had a ſound, precious meeting; the people were tender, and much deſired after meetings. Wherefore at an houſe about four miles further, we had another meeting; to which the governor's ſecretary came, who was chief ſecretary of the province, and had been formerly convinced. Maratick River. Connie-oak Bay.

I went from this place among the Indians, and ſpoke to them by an interpreter, ſhewing them, 'That God made all things in ſix 'days, and made but one woman for one man; and that God did 'drown the old world becauſe of their wickedneſs. Afterwards I 'ſpoke to them concerning Chriſt, ſhewing them, that he died for 'all men, for their ſins, as well as for others; and had enlightened

'them

1672. Carolina.

'them as well as others; and that if they did that which was evil 'he would burn them; but if they did well they ſhould not be 'burned.' There was among them their young king and others of their chief men, who ſeemed to receive kindly what I ſaid to them.

Having viſited the north part of Carolina, and made a little entrance for truth upon the people there, we began to return again towards Virginia, having ſeveral meetings in our way, wherein we had good ſervice for the Lord, the people being generally tender and open; bleſſed be the Lord! We lay one night at the ſecretary's, to which we had much ado to get; for the water being ſhallow, we could not bring our boat to ſhore. But the ſecretary's wife, ſeeing our ſtreight, came herſelf in a canoe (her huſband being from home) and brought us to land. By next morning our boat was ſunk, and full of water; but we got her up, mended her, and went away in her that day about twenty-four miles, the water being rough, and the winds high: but the great power of God was ſeen, in carrying us ſafe in that rotten boat. In our return we had a very precious meeting at Hugh Smith's; praiſed be the Lord for ever! The people were very tender, and very good ſervice we had amongſt them. There was at this meeting an Indian captain, who was very loving; and acknowledged it to be truth that was ſpoken. There was alſo one of the Indian prieſts, whom they called a Pauwaw, who ſat ſoberly among the people. The ninth of the tenth month we got back to Bonner's Creek, where we had left our horſes; having ſpent about eighteen days in the north of Carolina.

Bonner's Creek.

Virginia.

Our horſes having reſted, we ſet forward for Virginia again, travelling through the woods and bogs as far as we could well reach that day, and at night lay by a fire in the woods. Next day we had a tedious journey through bogs and ſwamps, and were exceeding wet and dirty all the day, but dried ourſelves at night by a fire. We got that night to Sommertown. When we came near the houſe, the woman of the houſe ſeeing us, ſpoke to her ſon to keep up their dogs (for both in Virginia and Carolina they generally keep great dogs to guard their houſes, living lonely in the woods) but the ſon ſaid, 'He need not, for their dogs did not uſe to meddle with 'theſe people.' Whereupon, when we were come into the houſe, ſhe told us, 'We were like the children of Iſrael, whom the dogs 'did not move their tongues againſt.' Here we lay in our clothes by the fire, as we had done many a night before. Next day we had a meeting; for the people, having been informed of us, had a great deſire to hear us; and a very good meeting we had among them, where we never had one before: praiſed be the Lord for ever! After the meeting we haſted away. When we had rid about twenty miles, calling at a houſe to enquire the way, the people deſired us to tarry all night with them; which we did. Next day we came among friends, after we had travelled about an hundred miles from Carolina into Virginia: in which time we obſerved great variety of climates, having paſſed in a few days from a very cold to a warm and ſpring-like country. But the power of the Lord is the ſame in all, is over all, and doth reach the good in all; praiſed be the Lord for ever!

Sommer-town.

We

1672.

We ſpent about three weeks in travelling through Virginia, moſtly amongſt friends, having large and precious meetings in ſeveral parts of the country; as at the widow Wright's, where many of the magiſtrates, officers, and other high people came. A moſt heavenly meeting we had; wherein the power of the Lord was ſo great, that it ſtruck a dread upon the aſſembly, chained all down, and brought reverence upon the people's minds. Among the officers was a major, kinſman to the prieſt, who told me, 'The prieſt threatened 'to come and oppoſe us.' But the Lord's power was too ſtrong for him, and ſtopped him, and we were quiet and peaceable. The people were wonderfully affected with the teſtimony of truth; bleſſed be the Lord for ever! Another very good meeting we had at Cricka-trough, at which many conſiderable people were, who had never heard a friend before; and they were greatly ſatisfied, praiſed be the Lord! We had alſo a very good and ſerviceable meeting at John Porter's, which conſiſted moſtly of other people, in which the power of the Lord was gloriouſly ſeen and felt, and it brought the truth over all the bad walkers and talkers; bleſſed be the Lord! Divers other meetings we had, and many opportunities of ſervice for the Lord amongſt the people where we came. The laſt week that we ſtaid we ſpent ſome time and pains among friends, ſweeping away that which was to be ſwept out, and working down a bad ſpirit that was got up in ſome: and bleſſed for ever be the name of the Lord! he it is that gives victory over all.

Virginia.

Cricka-trough.

Having finiſhed what ſervice lay upon us at Virginia, the thirtieth of the tenth month we ſet ſail in an open ſloop for Maryland. But having a great ſtorm, and being much wetted, we were glad to get to ſhore before night; and, walking to an houſe at Willoughby-Point, we got lodging there that night. The woman of the houſe was a widow, a very tender perſon. She had never received friends before; but ſhe received us very kindly, with tears in her eyes. We returned to our boat in the morning, and hoiſted ſail, getting forward as faſt as we could; but towards evening a ſtorm riſing, the wind being high, we had much ado to get to ſhore; and our boat being open, the water flaſhed often in, and ſometimes over us, ſo that we were ſufficiently wetted. Being got to land, we made a fire in the woods, to warm and dry us; and there we lay all that night, the wolves howling about us. The firſt of the eleventh month we ſailed again, but the wind being againſt us, we made but little way; and were fain to get to ſhore at Point Comfort, where yet we found but ſmall comfort; for the weather was ſo cold, that though we made a good fire in the woods to lie by, our water that we had got for uſe was frozen near the fire-ſide. We made to ſea next day; but the wind being ſtrong againſt us, we advanced but little; and were glad to get to land again, and travel about to find ſome houſe where we might buy proviſions, for our ſtore was ſpent. That night alſo we lay in the woods; ſo extreme cold was the weather, the wind blowing high, and the froſt and ſnow great, that it was hard for ſome to abide it. The third of the eleventh month, the wind ſetting pretty fair, we fetched it up by ſailing and rowing, and got to Milford Haven, where we lay at Richard Long's near Quince's

Maryland.

Willoughby-Point.

Point Comfort.

Milford-Haven.

1672. Quince's Iſland. Next day we paſſed by Raphahannock River, where dwell much people; and friends had a meeting there-away at a juſtice's, who had formerly been at a meeting where I was. We paſſed over Potomack River alſo, the winds being high, the water very rough, the weather extreme cold; and having a meeting there-away, ſome were convinced; and when we parted thence, ſome of our company went amongſt them. We ſteered our courſe for Pattuxen River. I ſat at the helm moſt part of the day, and ſome of the night. About the firſt hour in the morning we reached James Preſton's on Pattuxen River, which is accounted about two hundred miles from Nancemum in Virginia. We were very weary; yet the next day, being the firſt of the week, we went to the meeting not far from thence. The ſame week we went to an Indian king's cabbin, where ſeveral Indians were, with whom we had a pretty opportunity to diſcourſe, and they carried themſelves very lovingly. We went alſo that week to a general meeting; from thence about eighteen miles further to John Geary's, where we had a very precious meeting; praiſed be the Lord God for ever! After this the cold grew ſo exceeding ſharp, ſuch extreme froſt and ſnowy weather beyond what was uſual in that country, that we could hardly endure to be in it. Neither was it eaſy or ſafe to ſtir abroad: yet we got with ſome difficulty ſix miles through the ſnow to John Mayor's, where we met with ſome friends that were come from New England, whom we had left there when we came away; and glad we were to ſee each other, after ſuch long and tedious travels. By theſe friends we underſtood William Edmundſon, having been at Rhode Iſland and New England, was gone from thence for Ireland; that Solomon Eccles coming from Jamaica, and landing at Boſton in New England, was taken at a meeting there, and baniſhed to Barbadoes; that John Stubbs and another friend were gone into New Jerſey, and ſeveral other friends to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Leeward Iſlands. It was matter of joy to us to underſtand the work of the Lord went on and proſpered, and that friends were unwearied and diligent in the ſervice.

Raphahannock River.

Potomack River.

Pattuxen River.

The twenty-ſeventh of the eleventh month we had a very precious meeting in a tobacco-houſe. The next day we returned to James Preſton's, about eighteen miles diſtant. When we came there, we found his houſe was burnt down to the ground the night before, thro' the careleſſneſs of a maid-ſervant; ſo we lay three nights on the ground by the fire, the weather being very cold. We made an obſervation, which was ſomewhat ſtrange, but certainly true; that one day in the midſt of this cold weather, the wind turning into the ſouth, it grew ſo hot, that we could hardly bear the heat; and the next day and night, the wind chopping back into the north, we could hardly endure the cold.

Pattuxen. Clifts. The ſecond of the twelfth month we had a glorious meeting at Pattuxen; and after it went to John Geary's again, where we waited for a boat to carry us to the monthly meeting at the Clifts; to which we went, and a living meeting it was; praiſed be the Lord! This was on the ſixth of the twelfth month. Another meeting we had on

on the ninth, wherein the glory of the Lord ſhined over all; bleſſed and magnified be his holy name for ever! 1672. Clifts.

The twelfth of the twelfth month we ſet forward in our boat, and, travelling by night, we run our boat on ground in a creek near Manaco River. There we were fain to ſtay till morning, that the tide came and lifted her off. In the mean time ſitting in an open boat, and the weather being bitter cold, ſome had like to have loſt the uſe of their hands, they were ſo frozen and benumbed. In the morning, when the tide ſet our boat a-float, we got to land, and made a good fire, at which we warmed ourſelves well, and then took boat and paſſed about ten miles farther to a friend's houſe, where next day we had a very precious meeting, at which ſome of the chief of the place were. I went after the meeting to a friend's about four miles off, at the head of Anameſſy River, where the day following the judge of the country and a juſtice with him came to me, and were very loving, and much ſatisfied with friends order. The next day we had a large meeting at the juſtice's in his barn, for his houſe could not hold the company. There were ſeveral of the great folks of that country, and among the reſt an oppoſer; but all was preſerved quiet and well. A precious meeting it was; the people were much affected with the truth; bleſſed be the Lord! We went next day to ſee captain Colburn, a juſtice of peace, and there we had ſome ſervice. Then returning again, we had a very glorious meeting at the juſtice's where we met before, to which came many people of account in the world, magiſtrates, officers, and others. It was a large meeting, and the power of the Lord was much felt, ſo that the people were generally well ſatisfied and taken with the truth; and there being ſeveral merchants and maſters of ſhips from New England, the truth was ſpread abroad; bleſſed be the Lord!

Manaco River.

Anameſſy River.

A day or two after we travelled about ſixteen miles through the woods and bogs heading Anameſſy River and Amoroca River, part of which we went over in a canoe, and came to Manaoke, to a friendly woman's houſe, where on the twenty-fourth of the twelfth month we had a large meeting in a barn. The Lord's living preſence was with us and among the people; bleſſed be his holy name for evermore! Friends never had a meeting in thoſe parts before. After this, we paſſed over the river Wicocomaco, and through many bad watry ſwamps and marſhy way, and came to James Jones's, a friend and a juſtice of the peace, where we had a large and very glorious meeting; praiſed be the Lord God! Then paſſing over the water in a boat, we took horſe, and travelled about twenty-four miles through woods and troubleſome ſwamps, and came to another juſtice's houſe, where we had a very large meeting, much people and many of conſiderable account being preſent; and the living preſence of the Lord was amongſt us; praiſed for ever be his holy name! This was the third of the firſt month 1672-3. The fifth of the ſame we had another living and heavenly meeting, at which divers juſtices with their wives and many others were; amongſt whom we had very good ſervice for the Lord; bleſſed be his holy name! At this meeting was a woman that lived at Anameſſy, who had been

Amoroca River. Manaoke.

Wicocomaco River.

1672-3. Maryland. many years in trouble of mind, and ſometimes would ſit moping near two months together, and hardly ſpeak or mind any thing. When I heard of her, I was moved of the Lord to go to her, and tell her, 'That ſalvation was come to her houſe.' After I had 'ſpoken the word of life to her, and intreated the Lord for her, ſhe mended, went up and down with us to meetings, and is ſince well; bleſſed be the Lord!

Hunger River. We left Anameſſy the ſeventh of the firſt month; and paſſing by water about fifty miles, came to a friendly woman's houſe at Hunger River. We had very rough weather in our paſſage to this place, and were in great danger, for the boat had like to have been turned over. But through the good providence of God we got ſafe thither; praiſed be his name! At this place we had a meeting. Amongſt the people were two Papiſts, a man and a woman; the man was very tender, and the woman confeſſed to the truth. I had no friend with me but Robert Widders, the reſt having diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral parts of the country in the ſervice of truth.

Little Choptanck River. So ſoon as the wind would permit, we paſſed from hence about forty miles by water, rowing moſt part of the way, and came to the head of Little Choptanck River, to Dr. Winſmore's, a juſtice of peace, lately convinced. Here we met with ſome friends, with whom we ſtaid a while, and then went on by land and water, and had a large meeting abroad, for the houſe we were at could not receive the people. Divers of the magiſtrates and their wives were preſent; and a good meeting it was; bleſſed be the Lord, who is making his name known in that wilderneſs country! We went from thence to William Stephen's, where we met with thoſe friends that had been travelling in other parts; and were much refreſhed in the Lord together, when we imparted to each other the good ſucceſs we had in the Lord's work, and the proſperity and ſpreading of truth in the places where we travelled. John Cartwright and another friend had been at Virginia, where were great deſires in people after the truth; and being now returned, they ſtaid a little with us here, and then ſet forward for Barbadoes. Before we left this place, we had a very glorious meeting, at which were many people; amongſt others, the judge of that country, three juſtices of the peace, and the high-ſheriff, with their wives. Of the Indians, was one called their emperor, an Indian king, and their ſpeaker, who ſat very attentive, and carried themſelves very lovingly. An eſtabliſhing, ſettling meeting it was. This was the twenty-third of the firſt month.

The twenty-fourth we went by water ten miles to the Indian town where this emperor dwelt; whom I had acquainted before with my coming, and deſired to get their kings and councils together. In the morning the emperor came himſelf, and had me to the town; where they were generally come together, their ſpeaker and other officers being with them, and the old empreſs ſat among them. They ſat very grave and ſober, and were all very attentive, beyond many called Chriſtians. I had ſome with me that could interpret to them. We had a very good meeting with them, and of conſiderable ſervice

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it was; for it gave them a good eſteem of truth and friends; bleſſed be the Lord! 1673. Maryland.

After this we had meetings in ſeveral parts of that country; one at William Stephens's, which was a general meeting once a month; another at Tredhaven Creek, another at Wye, another at Reconow Creek, and another at Thomas Taylor's in the Iſland of Kent. Moſt of theſe were large, there being many people at them, and divers of the moſt conſiderable in the world's account. The Lord's power and living preſence was with us, and plenteouſly manifeſted amongſt the people, by which their hearts were tendered, and opened to receive the truth, which had a good ſavour amongſt them; bleſſed be the Lord God over all for ever! Being clear of that ſide, we paſſed over the bay about fourteen miles to a friend's houſe, where we met with ſeveral friends. I ſent for Thomas Thurſton thither, and had a meeting with him, to bring the truth over his bad actions.

Having travelled through moſt parts of that country, and viſited moſt of the plantations, having alarmed people of all ſorts where we came, and proclaimed the day of God's ſalvation amongſt them, we found our ſpirits began to be clear of thoſe parts of the world, and to draw towards Old England again. Yet we were deſirous and felt freedom from the Lord to ſtay till the general meeting for the province of Maryland was over (which drew nigh) that we might ſee friends generally together before we departed. Wherefore ſpending our time in the interim in viſiting friends and friendly people, in attending meetings about the Clifts and Pattuxen, in writing anſwers to ſome cavilling objections which adverſaries had raiſed and ſpread abroad to hinder people from receiving the truth; we were not idle, but laboured in the work of the Lord until that general provincial meeting, which began the ſeventeenth of the third month, and laſted four days. The firſt of theſe days the men and women had their meetings for buſineſs, wherein the affairs of the church were taken care of, and many things relating thereto were opened to their edification and comfort. The other three days were ſpent in publick meetings for the worſhip of God, at which divers of conſiderable account in the government, and many others were preſent; who were generally ſatisfied, and many of them reached; for it was a wonderful glorious meeting, and the mighty preſence of the Lord was ſeen and felt over all; bleſſed and praiſed be his holy name for ever, who over all giveth dominion!

Clifts. Pattuxen. General provincial meeting.

After this meeting we took our leave of friends, parting in great tenderneſs, in the ſenſe of the heavenly life and virtuous power of the Lord that was livingly felt amongſt us, and went by water to the place where we were to take ſhipping; many friends accompanying us thither and tarrying with us that night. Next day, the twenty-firſt of the third month, 1673, we ſet ſail for England: the ſame day Richard Covell came on board our ſhip, his own being taken from him by the Dutch. We had foul weather and contrary winds, which cauſed us to caſt anchor often, ſo that we were till the thirty-firſt of the third month ere we paſſed the capes of Virginia into the main ſea. But after this we made good ſpeed, and the twenty-eighth of the fourth month caſt anchor at King's Road, the

England. King's Road.

1673. the harbour for Briſtol. We had in our paſſage very high winds and tempeſtuous weather, which made the ſea exceeding rough, the waves riſing like mountains, ſo that the maſters and ſailors wondered, and ſaid, 'They never ſaw the like before.' But though the wind was ſtrong, it ſat for the moſt part with us, ſo that we ſailed before it; and the great God who commands the winds, who is lord of heaven, earth, and the ſeas, and whoſe wonders are ſeen in the deep, ſteered our courſe, and preſerved us from many imminent dangers. The ſame good hand of Providence that went with us, and carried us ſafely over, watched over us in our return, and brought us ſafely back again. Thankſgivings and praiſes be to his holy name for ever! Many ſweet and precious meetings we had on board the ſhip during this voyage (commonly two a week) wherein the bleſſed preſence of the Lord did greatly refreſh us, and often break in upon and tender the company. When we came into Briſtol harbour, there lay a man of war, and the preſs-maſter came on board to impreſs our men. We had a meeting at that time in the ſhip with the ſeamen, before we went to ſhore; and the preſs-maſter ſat down with us, ſtaid the meeting, and was well ſatisfied with it. After the meeting I ſpoke to him to leave two of the men he had impreſſed in our ſhip (for he had impreſſed four) one of which was a lame man; he ſaid, 'At my requeſt he would.'

Briſtol harbour.

Shearhampton. We went on ſhore that afternoon, and got to Shearhampton. We procured horſes, and rode to Briſtol that night, where friends received us with great joy. In the evening I wrote a letter to my wife, to give her notice of my landing.

'Dear heart,

'THIS day we came into Briſtol near night, from the ſea; glory 'to the Lord God over all for ever, who was our convoy, 'and ſteered our courſe! who is the God of the whole earth, of 'the ſeas and winds, and made the clouds his chariots, beyond all 'words, bleſſed be his name for ever! He is over all in his great 'power and wiſdom, Amen. Robert Widders and James Lancaſter 'are with me, and we are well. Glory to the Lord for ever, who 'hath carried us through many perils, perils by water, and in 'ſtorms, perils by pirates and robbers, perils in the wilderneſs and 'amongſt falſe profeſſors; praiſes to him whoſe glory is over all for 'ever, Amen! Therefore mind the freſh life, and all live to God in 'it. I intend (if the Lord will) to ſtay a while this way. It may 'be till the fair. So no more, but my love to all friends.

'G. F.'

'Briſtol, the 28th of the
'4th month, 1673.'

Briſtol. Between this and the fair my wife came out of the north to Briſtol, and her ſon-in-law Thomas Lower with two of her daughters with her. Her other ſon-in-law John Rouſe, W. Penn and his wife, and Gerard Roberts came from London, and many friends from ſeveral parts of the nation to the fair, and glorious powerful meetings

meetings we had there; for the Lord's infinite power and life was over all. In the freſh openings whereof I was moved to declare of Three Eſtates and Three Teachers, viz. 'God was the firſt teacher 'of man and woman in paradiſe; and as long as they kept to and 'under his teaching, they kept in the image of God, in his likeneſs, 'in righteouſneſs and holineſs, and in dominion over all that God 'had made; in the bleſſed ſtate, in the paradiſe of God. But 'when they hearkened to the ſerpent's falſe teaching (who was out 'of truth) diſobeyed God, and obeyed the ſerpent, in feeding upon 'that which God forbad; they loſt the image of God, the righte-'ouſneſs and holineſs, came under the power of Satan, and were 'turned out of paradiſe, out of the bleſſed into the curſed ſtate. Then 'the promiſe of God was, "That the Seed of the woman ſhould "bruiſe the ſerpent's head," break his power that man and woman 'were under, and deſtroy his works. So here were Three States 'and Three Teachers. God was the Firſt Teacher in paradiſe; 'and whilſt man kept under his teaching, he was happy. The 'ſerpent was the ſecond teacher; and when man followed his teach-'ing, he fell into miſery, into the fall from the image of God, 'righteouſneſs, and holineſs, and from the power that he had over 'all that God had made; and came under the ſerpent whom he 'had power over before. Chriſt Jeſus was the Third Teacher; of 'whom God ſaith, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well "pleaſed, hear ye him:" and who himſelf ſaith, "Learn of me." 'This is the true goſpel-teacher, who bruiſes the head of the ſer-'pent the falſe teacher, and the head of all falſe teachers and falſe 'religions, falſe ways, falſe worſhips, and falſe churches. Chriſt, 'who ſaid, "Learn of me," and of whom the Father ſaid, "Hear "ye him," ſaid, "I am the way to God, I am the truth, I am "the life, and the true light." So as man and woman come to 'God, and are renewed up into his image, righteouſneſs, and holi-'neſs by Chriſt, thereby they come into the paradiſe of God, the 'ſtate which man was in before he fell; and into an higher ſtate 'than that, to ſit down in Chriſt who never fell. Therefore the 'Son of God is to be heard in all things, who is the Saviour and 'the Redeemer; who hath laid down his life, and bought his ſheep 'with his precious blood. We can challenge all the world. Who 'hath any thing to ſay againſt our way? our Saviour? our Re-'deemer? our Prophet, whom God hath raiſed up that we may 'hear, and whom we muſt hear in all things? Who hath any 'thing againſt our Shepherd, Chriſt Jeſus, who leads and feeds us, 'and we know his heavenly voice? Who hath any thing againſt our 'Biſhop, in whoſe mouth was never guile found, who doth overſee 'us in his paſture of life, that we do not go aſtray out of his fold? 'Who hath any thing againſt our Prieſt, Chriſt Jeſus, made higher 'than the heavens, who gives us freely, and commands us to give 'freely? Who hath any thing to ſay againſt our Leader and Coun-'ſellor, Chriſt Jeſus, who never ſinned, but is holy, harmleſs, and 'ſeparate from ſinners? God hath commanded us to hear him, and 'he ſaith, "Learn of me;" and if we ſhould diſobey God's and 'Chriſt's command, we ſhould be like our father Adam and mother

1677. Briſtol.

'Eve,

1673. Briſtol.

'Eve, who diſobeyed God's command, and hearkened to the ſerpent's teaching. Man commands, and would force us to hear the hirelings, who plead for ſin and the body of death to the grave; which doctrine ſavours of the devil's teaching, not of Chriſt's; but we reſolve to hear the Son, as both the Father and he command; and in hearing the Son, we hear the Father alſo, as the ſcripture teſtifies. For the author to the Hebrews ſays, "God, "who at ſundry times and in divers manners ſpake in time paſt unto "the fathers by the prophets, hath in theſe laſt days ſpoken unto us "by his Son:" Mark that, God hath ſpoken unto us (his apoſtles, diſciples, and church) by his Son. And whereas ſome have objected, "That although Chriſt did ſpeak both to his diſciples and "to the Jews in the days of his fleſh, yet ſince his reſurrection and "aſcenſion he doth not ſpeak now"; the anſwer is, as God did then ſpeak by his Son in the days of his fleſh, ſo the Son, Chriſt Jeſus, doth now ſpeak by his Spirit. Wherefore John ſaith in the Revelations, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit "ſaith to the churches," Rev. ii. And Chriſt is ſaid to "ſpeak "from heaven," Heb. xii. 25. "See that ye refuſe not him that "ſpeaketh; for if they eſcaped not who refuſed him that ſpake on "earth, much more ſhall not we eſcape if we turn away from him "that ſpeaketh from heaven." They that reſiſted Moſes's law (who ſpake on earth) died for it without mercy, which was a natural death; but they that refuſe him that ſpeaks from heaven, neglect and ſlight their own ſalvation, and ſo die a ſpiritual death, through unbelief and hardneſs of heart. Therefore was the exhortation given of old, "To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your "hearts, as in the provocation," &c. Heb. iii. 15. &c. They, who neglect or refuſe to hear the voice of Chriſt now ſpeaking from heaven in this his goſpel-day, harden their hearts. Therefore let all mark well theſe three ſtates and teachers: the God of truth was the firſt teacher, while man was in paradiſe and in innocence. The ſerpent was the ſecond teacher, the falſe teacher, who by his falſe teaching came to be the god of the world which lies in wickedneſs. Chriſt Jeſus, that bruiſes the ſerpent's head, is the third teacher, who ſaith, "Learn of me;" of whom God ſaith, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed, "hear ye him;" and of whom the teſtimony of the ſaints of old was, "That God hath in theſe laſt days ſpoken unto us by his "Son." Thus they, that come to be renewed up again into the divine heavenly image in which man was at firſt made, will know the ſame God, that was the firſt teacher of Adam and Eve in paradiſe, to ſpeak to them now by his Son, who changes not; glory be to his name for ever!'

Glouceſterſhire.

Many deep and precious things were opened in thoſe meetings, by the eternal Spirit which ſearcheth and revealeth the deep things of God. After I had finiſhed my ſervice for the Lord in that city, I departed into Glouceſterſhire, where we had many large and precious meetings; and the Lord's everlaſting power flowed over all. From Glouceſterſhire I paſſed into Wiltſhire, where alſo we had many bleſſed meetings. At Slattenford in Wiltſhire we had a very good meeting,

Wiltſhire.

Slattenford

meeting, though we met with much oppoſition from ſome, who had ſet themſelves againſt women's meetings; which I was moved of the Lord to recommend to friends, for the benefit of the church of Chriſt. 'That faithful women, called to the belief of the truth, 'made partakers of the ſame precious faith, and heirs of the ſame 'everlaſting goſpel of life and ſalvation as the men are, might in 'like manner come into the poſſeſſion and practice of the goſpel-'order, and therein be meet helps unto the men in the reſtoration, 'in the ſervice of truth, in the affairs of the church, as they are 'outwardly in civil or temporal things. That ſo all the family of 'God, women as well as men, might know, poſſeſs, perform, and 'diſcharge their offices and ſervices in the houſe of God, whereby 'the poor might be the better taken care of; the younger ſort in-'ſtructed, informed, and taught in the way of God; the looſe and 'diſorderly reproved and admoniſhed in the fear of the Lord; the 'clearneſs of perſons propoſing marriage, more cloſely and ſtrictly 'inquired into in the wiſdom of God; and all the members of the 'ſpiritual body the church might watch over and be helpful to each 'other in love.' After theſe oppoſers had run into much contention and wrangling, the power of the Lord ſtruck down one of the chief of them, ſo that his ſpirit ſunk, and he came to be ſenſible of the evil he had done, in oppoſing God's heavenly power, confeſſed his error before friends, and afterwards gave forth a paper of condemnation, wherein he declared, 'That he did wilfully oppoſe (although 'I often warned him to take heed) until the fire of the Lord did 'burn within him, and he ſaw the angel of the Lord with his ſword 'drawn in his hand, ready to cut him off,' &c.

1673. Slattenford. The ſervice of women's meetings.

Notwithſtanding the oppoſition was made at the meeting, yet a very good and ſerviceable meeting it was; for occaſion was thereby adminiſtered to anſwer their objections and cavils, and to open the ſervices of women in and for the church. At this meeting the women's meetings for that county were eſtabliſhed in the bleſſed power of God.

After this I went to Marlborough, and had a meeting there, to which ſome of the magiſtrates came, and were civil and moderate. Then paſſing to Bartholomew Maylin's, I had a very precious meeting there. From thence went a little beyond Ore, where we had a bleſſed meeting, and very large, as we had alſo ſoon after upon the border of Hampſhire. Then turning into Oxfordſhire, we viſited friends there; then went to Reading, where we had a large meeting. From thence paſſing into Buckinghamſhire, we had many precious meetings in that county. After which we viſited friends till we came to Kingſton upon Thames, where my wife and her daughter Rachel met me.

Marlborough. Ore. Hampſhire. Oxfordſhire. Reading. Buckinghamſhire. Kingſton upon Thames.

I made no long ſtay at Kingſton, but went to London, where I found the Baptiſts and Socinians, with ſome old apoſtates, grown very rude, having printed many books againſt us: ſo I had a great travail in the Lord's power, before I could get clear of that city. But bleſſed be the Lord, his power came over them, and all their lying, wicked, ſcandalous books were anſwered. I made a ſhort journey into ſome parts of Eſſex and Middleſex, viſiting friends at their

London. Eſſex. Middleſex.

1673. their meetings, and their children at the ſchools, and returned ſoon to London. After ſome ſervice there among friends, I went to Kingſton, and from thence to Stephen Smith's, in Surrey, where was a very large meeting, many hundreds of people attending it. I ſtaid in thoſe parts till I had cleared myſelf of the ſervice the Lord had given me to do there, and then returned by Kingſton to London, whither I felt my ſpirit drawn; having heard, that many friends were taken before the magiſtrates, and divers impriſoned, both in London and in other parts of the nation, for opening their ſhop-windows upon holy-days and faſt-days (as they were called) and for bearing teſtimony againſt all ſuch obſervation of days. Which friends could not but do, knowing that the true Chriſtians did not obſerve the Jews holy-days in the apoſtles times, neither could we obſerve the Heathens and Papiſts holy-days (ſo called) which have been ſet up amongſt thoſe called Chriſtians ſince the apoſtles days. For we were redeemed out of days by Chriſt Jeſus, and brought into the day which hath ſprung from on high, and are come into him, who is Lord of the Jewiſh ſabbath, and the ſubſtance of the Jews ſigns.

London. Kingſton. Surrey. Kingſton. London.

After I had ſtaid ſome time in London, labouring for ſome relief and eaſe to friends in this caſe, I went with my wife, and her daughter Rachael, to Hendon, in Middleſex, and from thence to William Penn's at Rickmanſworth, in Hertfordſhire, whither Thomas Lower, who married another of my wife's daughters, came the next day to accompany us in our journey northward. After we had viſited friends thereabouts, we paſſed to a friend's houſe near Ayleſbury; and from thence to Bray Doily's at Adderbury, in Oxfordſhire, where, on firſt-day, we had a large and precious meeting. Truth being well ſpread, and friends in thoſe parts much increaſed in number, two or three new meetings were then ſet up thereabouts.

Middleſex. Hendon. Hertfordſh. Rickmanſworth. Ayleſbury. Oxfordſhire. Adderbury.

At night, as I was ſitting at ſupper, I felt I was taken; yet I ſaid nothing to any body of it then. But, getting out next morning, we travelled into Worceſterſhire, and went to John Halford's at Armſcot, in Tredington pariſh; where we had a very large and precious meeting in his barn, the Lord's powerful preſence being eminently with and amongſt us. After the meeting, friends being moſt of them gone, as I was ſitting in the parlour, diſcourſing with ſome friends, Henry Parker, a juſtice, came to the houſe, and with him Rowland Hains, a prieſt of Hunniton, in Warwickſhire. This juſtice came to know of the meeting by means of a woman-friend, who, being nurſe to a child of his, aſked leave of her miſtreſs to go to the meeting to ſee me; and ſhe ſpeaking of it to her huſband, he and the prieſt plotted together to break up the meeting, and apprehend me. But by means of their ſitting long at dinner, it being the day on which his child was ſprinkled, they came not till the meeting was over, and friends moſtly gone. But though there was no meeting when they came, yet I being in the houſe, who was the perſon they aimed at, Henry Parker took me, and Thomas Lower for company with me, and though he had nothing to lay to our charge, ſent us both to Worceſter gaol, by a ſtrange ſort of mittimus; a copy of which here followeth:

Worceſterſh. Tredington pariſh. Armſcot.

1673.

Worceſterſh.

'To the conſtables of Tredington, in the ſaid county of Worceſter, 'and to all conſtables and tithing-men of the ſeveral townſhips 'and villages within the ſaid pariſh of Tredington, and to the 'keeper of the gaol for the county of Worceſter.

'COMPLAINT being made to me, being one of his majeſty's 'juſtices of the peace for the ſaid county of Worceſter, that 'within the ſaid pariſh of Tredington, in the ſaid county, there 'has of late been ſeveral meetings of divers perſons, to the number 'of four hundred perſons and upwards at a time, upon pretence of 'exerciſe of religion, otherwiſe than what is eſtabliſhed by the 'laws of England. And many of the ſaid perſons, ſome of them 'were teachers, and came from the north, and others from the re-'mote parts of the kingdom, which tends to the prejudice of the 'reformed and eſtabliſhed religion, and may prove prejudicial to the 'publick peace. And it appearing to me, that there was this pre-'ſent day ſuch a meeting as aforeſaid, to the number of two hun-'dred or thereabouts, at Armſcot, in the ſaid Pariſh of Tredington; 'and that George Fox, of London, and Thomas Lower, of the 'pariſh of Creed, in the county of Cornwall, were preſent at the 'ſaid meeting; and the ſaid George Fox was teacher or ſpeaker of 'the ſaid meeting; and no ſatisfactory account of their ſettlement 'or place of habitation appearing to me; and foraſmuch as the ſaid 'George Fox and Thomas Lower refuſed to give ſureties to appear 'at the next ſeſſions of the peace to be holden for the ſaid county, 'to anſwer the breach of the common laws of England, and what 'other matters ſhould be objected againſt them: Theſe are there-'fore, in his majeſty's name, to will and require you or either of 'you forthwith to convey the bodies of the ſaid George Fox and 'Thomas Lower to the county gaol of Worceſter aforeſaid, and 'there ſafely to be kept until they ſhall be from thence delivered by 'due courſe of law: for which this ſhall be your ſufficient warrant 'in that behalf. Dated the 17th day of December, in the 25th 'year of his majeſty's reign over England, &c.

'Henry Parker.'

Being thus made priſoners, without any probable appearance of being releaſed before the quarter-ſeſſions at ſooneſt, we got ſome friends to accompany my wife and her daughter into the north, and we were conveyed to Worceſter gaol. From whence, by that time I thought my wife could be got home, I wrote her the following letter.

Worceſter gaol.

'Dear heart,

'THOU ſeemedſt to be a little grieved when I was ſpeaking of 'priſons, and when I was taken. Be content with the will of 'the Lord God. For when I was at John Rous's at Kingſton, I 'had a ſight of my being taken priſoner; and when I was at Bray 'Doily's, in Oxfordſhire, as I ſat at ſupper, I ſaw I was taken,

'and

1673. Worceſter gaol.

'and I ſaw I had a ſuffering to undergo. But the Lord's power 'is over all; bleſſed be his holy name for ever!

'G. F.'

When we had been ſome time in the gaol, we thought fit to lay our caſe before the lord Windſor, lord-lieutenant of Worceſterſhire, and before the deputy-lieutenants, and other magiſtrates; which we did by the following letter:

'THESE are to inform you, the lord-lieutenant (ſo called) the 'deputy-lieutenants, and the juſtices of the county of Wor-'ceſterſhire, how unchriſtianly and inhumanly we have been dealt 'withal by Henry Parker, a juſtice (ſo called) in our journey to-'wards the north. We coming to our friend John Halford's, the '17th of the 10th month, 1673, ſome friends bringing us on the 'way, and others coming to viſit us there; towards night came the 'aforeſaid juſtice, and a prieſt called Rowland Hains, of Hunniton, 'in Warwickſhire, and demanded our names and places of abode. 'And though we were not in any meeting, but were diſcourſing to-'gether when they came in, he made a mittimus to ſend us to Wor-'ceſter gaol. Now whereas he ſays in his mittimus, "That com-"plaint had been made to him of ſeveral by-paſt meetings of many "hundreds at a time;" we know nothing of that, nor do we think 'that concerns us. And whereas he ſays further, "That no ſatis-"factory account of our ſettlement or place of habitation appeared "unto him." This he contradicts in his own mittimus, mentioning 'therein the places of our abode and habitation; the account of 'which we ſatisfactorily and fully gave him. And one of us '(Thomas Lower) told him, that he was going down with his 'mother-in-law (who is George Fox's wife) and with his ſiſter, to 'fetch up his own wife and child out of the north into his own 'country. And the other of us (George Fox) told him, that he 'was bringing forward his wife on her journey towards the north '(who had been at London to viſit one of her daughters, who had 'lately laid in). And having received a meſſage from his mother, 'an ancient woman in Leiceſterſhire, that ſhe earneſtly deſired to 'ſee him before ſhe died, he intended, as ſoon as he had brought 'his wife on her journey as far as Cauſal, in Warwickſhire, to turn 'into Leiceſterſhire, to viſit his mother and relations there, and 'then to have returned to London. But by his interrupting us in 'our journey, taking the huſband from his wife, the ſon from his 'mother and ſiſter, and ſtopping him from viſiting his wife and 'child ſo remote, we were forced to get ſtrangers, or whom we 'could, to help them on their journey, to our great damage and 'their hindrance. We aſked the prieſt, "whether this was his goſ-"pel, and their way of entertaining ſtrangers?" And we deſired 'the juſtice to conſider, whether this was doing "as he would be "done by?" But he ſaid, "He had ſaid it, and he would do it." 'And whereas he ſays, "We refuſed to give ſureties." He aſked 'only George Fox for ſureties; who replied, "He was an innocent "man, and knew no law he had broken;" but he did not aſk

'Thomas

'Thomas Lower for any, as if it had been crime and cauſe enough 1673.
'for his commitment that he came out of Cornwall. If we were Worceſter
'at a meeting, as he ſays in his mittimus, he might have proceeded gaol.
'otherwiſe, than by ſending us to gaol, to anſwer the breach of the
'common laws; though he ſhewed us no breach of any, as may be
'ſeen in the mittimus. We thought fit to lay before you the ſub-
'ſtance of his proceedings againſt us, hoping there will more mo-
'deration and juſtice appear in you towards us, that we may proſe-
'cute our intended journey.

'George Fox.
'Thomas Lower.'

But no enlargement did we receive by our application to the lord Windſor (ſo called). And although Thomas Lower received ſeveral letters from his brother Dr. Lower, who was one of the king's phyſicians, concerning his liberty, and one, by his procurement, from Henry Savil, who was of the king's bed-chamber, to his brother called the lord Windſor to the ſame effect; yet ſeeing it related only to his enlargement, not mine, ſo great was his love and regard to me, that he would not ſeek his own liberty ſingly, but kept the letter by him unſent; ſo we were continued priſoners till the next general quarter ſeſſions of the peace. At which time divers friends from ſeveral places being in town, did ſpeak to the juſtices concerning us; who ſpoke fair, and ſaid we ſhould be diſcharged. For many of the juſtices ſeemed to diſlike the ſeverity of Parker's proceedings againſt us, and declared an averſeneſs to enſnare us by the tender of the oaths. Some friends alſo had ſpoken with lord Windſor, who likewiſe ſpoke them fair; ſo that it was the general diſcourſe we ſhould be diſcharged. We heard alſo, that Dr. Lower had procured a letter from colonel Sands at London, to ſome of the juſtices in our favour. Some of the juſtices alſo ſpoke to ſome friends, to aquaint us, that they would have us ſpeak but little in the court, leſt we ſhould provoke any of the bench, and they would warrant we ſhould be diſcharged.

Worceſter general quarter-ſeſſions.

We were not called till the laſt day of the ſeſſions, which was the twenty-firſt of the eleventh month, 1673. When we came in, they were ſtruck with paleneſs in their faces, and it was ſome time before any thing was ſpoken; inſomuch that a butcher in the hall ſaid, 'What! are they afraid? Dare not the juſtices ſpeak to them?' At length, before they ſpoke to us, juſtice Parker made a long ſpeech on the bench, much to the ſame effect as was contained in the mittimus, often mentioning the common laws, but not inſtancing any we had broken. Adding, 'That he thought it a milder courſe to ſend 'us two to gaol, than to put his neighbours to the loſs of two 'hundred pounds, which they muſt have ſuffered if he had put the 'law in execution againſt conventicles.' But in this he was either very ignorant, or very deceitful; for there being no meeting when he came, nor any to inform, he had no evidence to convict us, or his neighbours by.

When Parker had ended his ſpeech, the juſtices began with Thomas Lower, whom they examined of the cauſe of his coming

1673. Worceſter general quarter-ſeſſions.

into that country; of which he gave them a full and plain account. Sometimes I put in a word while they were examining him, and then they told me, 'They were upon his examination, when it 'came to my turn, I ſhould have free liberty to ſpeak, for they 'would not hinder me; but I ſhould have full time, and they would 'not enſnare us.' When they had done with him, they aſked me an account of my travel, which I gave them, as is mentioned before, but more largely. And whereas juſtice Parker, to aggravate the caſe, had made a great noiſe of 'there being ſome from London, ſome 'from the north, ſome from Cornwall, and ſome from Briſtol, at 'the houſe when I was taken.' I told him, 'This was in a manner 'all but one family. For there was none from London, but myſelf; 'none from the north, but my wife and her daughter; none from 'Cornwall, but my ſon-in-law Thomas Lower; nor any from Briſtol, 'but one friend, a merchant there, who met us, as it were, provi-'dentially, to aſſiſt my wife and her daughter in their journey home-'wards, when by our impriſonment they were deprived of our com-'pany and help.' When I had ſpoken, the chairman, whoſe name was Simpſon, an old Preſbyterian, ſaid, 'Your relation or account 'is very innocent.' Then he and Parker whiſpered a while together, and after that the chairman ſtood up, and ſaid: 'You, Mr. Fox, 'are a famous man, and all this may be true which you have ſaid; 'but that we may be the better ſatisfied, will you take the oaths of 'allegiance and ſupremacy?' I told them, 'They had ſaid, "They "would not enſnare us;" but this was a plain ſnare: for they knew 'we could not take any oath.' However, they cauſed the oath to be read; and when they had done, I told them, 'I never took an 'oath in my life, but I had always been true to the government: 'that I was caſt into priſon at Derby, and kept a priſoner ſix months 'there, becauſe I would not take up arms againſt king Charles at 'Worceſter-fight; and for going to meetings, was carried up out of 'Leiceſterſhire, and brought before Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter 'to bring in king Charles. And ye know,' ſaid I, 'in your own con-'ſciences, that we, the people called Quakers, cannot take an oath, 'nor ſwear in any caſe, becauſe Chriſt hath forbidden it. But as to 'the matter or ſubſtance contained in the oaths, this I can and do 'ſay, that I do own and acknowledge the king of England to be 'lawful heir and ſucceſſor to the realm of England, and do abhor 'all plots and plotters, and contrivances againſt him; and I have 'nothing in my heart, but love and good-will to him and all men, 'and deſire his and their proſperity; the Lord knows it, before 'whom I ſtand an innocent man. And as to the oath of ſupremacy, 'I deny the pope, his power, and his religion, and abhor it with 'my heart.' While I was ſpeaking, they cried, 'Give him the 'book.' I ſaid, 'The book ſaith, "Swear not at all." Then they cried, 'Take him away, gaoler;' and I ſtill ſpeaking on, they were urgent upon the gaoler, crying, 'Take him away, we ſhall 'have a meeting here. Why do you not take him away? That 'fellow (meaning the gaoler) loves to hear him preach.' Then the gaoler drew me away; and as I was turning from them, I ſtretched out my arm, and ſaid, 'The Lord forgive you, who caſt me into

'priſon

'prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ.' Thus they apparently broke their promise in the face of the country; for they promised I should have free liberty to speak, but now they would not give it me; and they promised they would not ensnare us, yet now they tendered me the oaths on purpose to ensnare me. 1673. Worcester general quarter-sessions.

After I was had away, Thomas Lower was stayed behind in the court; and they told him, 'He was at liberty.' Then he would have reasoned with them, asking them, 'Why I might not be 'set at liberty as well as he, seeing we were both taken together, 'and our case was alike?' But they told him, 'They would not 'hear him;' saying, 'You may be gone about your business, for 'we have nothing more to say to you, seeing you are discharged.' This was all he could get from them. Wherefore after the court was risen, he went to speak with them at their chamber, desiring to know, 'What cause they had to detain his father, seeing they had 'discharged him?' and wishing them to consider, whether this was not partiality, and would be a blemish to them. Whereupon Simpson threatened him, saying, 'If you be not content we will 'tender you the oaths also, and send you to your father.' To which he replied, 'They might do that, if they thought fit; but whether 'they sent him or no, he intended to go and wait upon his father 'in prison; for that was now his business in that country.' Then said justice Parker to him, 'Do you think, Mr. Lower, that I had 'not cause to send your father and you to prison, when you had such 'a great meeting that the parson of the parish complained to me, 'that he hath lost the greatest part of his parishioners; so that when 'he comes amongst them he has scarce any auditors left?' 'I have 'heard,' replied Thomas Lower, 'that the priest of that parish 'comes so seldom to visit his flock (but once, it may be, or twice in 'in a year, to gather up his tithes) that it was but charity in my 'father to visit such a forlorn and forsaken flock; therefore thou 'hadst no cause to send my father to prison for visiting them, or for 'teaching, instructing, and directing them to Christ, their true 'teacher, who had so little comfort or benefit from their pretended 'pastor, who comes amongst them only to seek for his "gain from "his quarter." Upon this the justices fell a laughing; for it seems Dr. Crowder, the priest they spoke of, was then sitting among them, though Thomas Lower did not know him; and he had the wit to hold his tongue, and not undertake to vindicate himself in a matter so notoriously known to be true. But when Thomas Lower was come from them, the justices did so play upon Dr. Crowder, that he was pitifully ashamed, and so nettled with it, that he threatened to sue Thomas Lower in the bishop's court, upon an action of defamation. Which when Thomas Lower heard of, he sent him word, he would answer his suit, let him begin it when he would; and would bring his whole parish in evidence against him. This cooled the doctor. Yet some time after he came to the prison, pretending he had a mind to dispute with me, and to talk with Thomas Lower about that business; and he brought another with him, he himself being then a prebendary at Worcester. Worcester gaol.

1673. Worceſter gaol.

When he came in, he aſked me, 'What I was in priſon for?' 'Doſt not thou know that,' ſaid I? 'Waſt not thou upon the bench, 'when juſtice Simpſon and Parker tendered the oath to me? And 'hadſt not thou an hand in it?' Then he ſaid, 'It is lawful to 'ſwear; and Chriſt did not forbid ſwearing before a magiſtrate; but 'ſwearing by the ſun and the like.' I bid him prove that by the ſcriptures, but he could not. Then he brought that ſaying of Paul's, 'All things are lawful unto me,' 1 Cor. vi. 12. 'And if,' ſaid he, 'all things were lawful unto him, then ſwearing was law-'ful unto him.' 'By this argument,' ſaid I, 'thou mayſt alſo 'affirm, that drunkenneſs, adultery, and all manner of ſin and 'wickedneſs is lawful alſo, as well as ſwearing.' 'Why,' ſaid Dr. Crowder, 'do you hold that adultery is unlawful?' 'Yes,' ſaid I, 'that I do.' 'Why then,' ſaid he, 'this contradicts the ſaying of 'St. Paul.' Thereupon I called to the priſoners and the gaoler, to hear what doctrine Dr. Crowder had laid down for orthodox, viz. 'that drunkenneſs, ſwearing, adultery, and ſuch like things were 'lawful.' Then he ſaid, 'He would give it under his hand;' and took a pen, but wrote another thing than what he had ſpoken. Then turning to Thomas Lower, he aſked him, 'Whether he 'would anſwer what he had there written?' Who undertook it. Whereupon, when he had threatened Thomas Lower to ſue him in the biſhop's court for ſpeaking ſo abuſively (as he called it) of him before the juſtices, and Thomas had bid him begin when he pleaſed, for he would anſwer him, and bring his pariſhioners in evidence againſt him, he went away in a great fret, grumbling to himſelf as he went. A few days after Thomas Lower ſent him an anſwer to the paper he had wrote and left with him; which anſwer a friend of Worceſter carried to him, and he read it, and ſaid, 'He would re-'ply to it;' but he never did, though he often ſent him word he would do it.

Soon after the ſeſſions, the term coming on, an Habeas Corpus was ſent to Worceſter for the ſheriff to bring me up to the king's-bench-bar. Whereupon the under-ſheriff, having made Thomas Lower his deputy to convey me to London, we ſet out the twenty-ninth of the eleventh month, 1673, and came to London the ſecond of the twelfth month; the ways being very deep, and the waters out. Next day, notice being given that I was brought up, the ſheriff was ordered to bring me into court. I went accordingly, and did appear in court before judge Wild; and both he and the lawyers were pretty fair, ſo that I had time to ſpeak, to clear my innocency, and ſhew my wrong impriſonment. After the return of the writ was entered, I was ordered to be brought into court again next day; the order of court being as followeth:

London.

King's-bench bar.

'Worceſter.

1673.

London. King's Bench bar.

'Worceſter. 'The King 'againſt 'George Fox. } Thurſday, next after the morrow of the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary, in the 26th Year of King Charles the Second.

'THE defendant being brought here into court, upon a writ of 'Habeas Corpus ad ſubjiciend' &c. under the cuſtody of the 'ſheriff of the county aforeſaid; it is ordered, That the Return un- 'to the Habeas Corpus be filed, and the Defendant is committed 'unto the marſhal of this court, to be ſafely kept until, &c.

'By motion of Mr. G. STROUDE.

'By the Court.'

Accordingly I went in the morning, and walked in the hall till the ſheriff came to me (for he truſted me to go whither I would) and it being early, we went into the court of King's Bench, and ſat among the lawyers almoſt an hour, till the judges came in, when the ſheriff took off my hat; and after a while I was called. The Lord's preſence was with me, and his power I felt was over all. I ſtood and heard the king's attorney, whoſe name was Jones, who indeed ſpoke notably on my behalf, as did alſo another counſellor after him; and the judges, who were three, were all very moderate, not caſting any reflecting words at me. I ſtood ſtill in the power and Spirit of the Lord, ſeeing how the Lord was at work, and the earth was helping the woman. But when they had done, I applied myſelf to the chief juſtice, deſiring, 'That I might ſpeak:' and he ſaid, I might. 'Then I related the cauſe of our journey, the manner of our being 'taken and committed, and the time of our impriſonment until 'the ſeſſions; with a brief account of our trial at the ſeſſions, and 'what I had offered to the juſtices then, as a declaration that I could 'make or ſign, inſtead of the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy.' When I had done, the chief juſtice ſaid, 'I was to be turned over 'to the King's Bench, and the ſheriff of Worceſter to be diſcharged 'of me.' He ſaid alſo, 'That they would conſider further of it; 'and if they found any error in the record, or in the juſtices pro- 'ceedings, I ſhould be ſet at liberty.' So a tipſtaff was called to take me into cuſtody, and he delivered me to the keeper of the King's Bench, who let me go to a friend's houſe, where I lodged, and appointed to meet me at Edward Man's in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet the next day. But after this, juſtice Parker, or ſome other of my adverſaries, moved the court, that I might be ſent back to Worceſter. Whereupon another day was appointed for another hearing, and they had four counſel that pleaded againſt me. George Stroude, a counſellor, pleaded for me, and was pleading before I was brought into the court; but they bore him down, and prevailed with the judges to give judgment, 'That I ſhould be ſent down to Worceſter 'ſeſſions.' Only they told me I might put in bail to appear at the ſeſſions, and to be of good behaviour in the mean time. I told them, 'I never was of ill behaviour in my life; and that they, the four 'judges, might as well put the oath to me there, as ſend me to Wor-

1673. King's Bench bar.

'ceſter to be enſnared by the juſtices, in their putting the oath to 'me, and then premuniring me, who never took oath in my life. 'I told them, if I broke my Yea or Nay, I was content to ſuffer 'the ſame penalty which they ſhould that break their oaths.' This alteration of the judges minds in my caſe proceeded, as was thought, from ſome falſe informations that my adverſary juſtice Parker had given againſt me: for between the times of my former appearance and this, he had ſpread abroad a very falſe and malicious ſtory, viz. 'That there were many ſubſtantial men with me out of ſeveral parts 'of the nation when he took me, and that we had a deſign or plot 'in hand; and that Thomas Lower ſtaid with me in priſon long 'after he was ſet at liberty, to carry on our deſign.' This was ſpoken in the parliament-houſe; inſomuch that if I had not been brought up to London when I was, I had been ſtopped at Worceſter, and Thomas had been re-committed with me. But although theſe lyes were eaſily diſproved and laid open to Parker's ſhame, yet would not the judges alter their laſt ſentence, but remanded me to Worceſter gaol; only this favour was granted, that I might go down my own way, and at my own leiſure; provided I would be without fail there by the aſſize, which was to begin the ſecond of the ſecond month following.

I ſtaid in and about London till toward the latter end of the firſt month 1674, and then went down leiſurely (for I was not able to abide haſty and hard travelling) and came into Worceſter the laſt of the firſt month 1674, being the day before the judges came to town. The ſecond day of the ſecond month I was brought from the gaol to an inn near the hall, that I might be in readineſs if I ſhould be called. But not being called that day, the gaoler came at night, and told me, 'I might go home,' meaning to the gaol. Gerard Roberts of London being with me, he and I walked down together to the gaol without any keeper. Next day being brought up again, they ſet a little boy about eleven years old to be my keeper. I came to underſtand juſtice Parker and the clerk of the peace had given order that I ſhould not be put into the calendar, that I might not be brought before the judge; wherefore I got the judge's ſon to move in court, 'That I might be called:" whereupon I was called and brought to the bar before judge Turner, my old adverſary, who had tendered me the oaths, and premunired me once before at Lancaſter. After ſilence made, he aſked me, 'What I did deſire?' I anſwered, 'My liberty, according to juſtice.' He ſaid, 'I lay upon the oath;" and aſked, 'If I would take it?' 'I deſired he would hear the 'manner of my being taken and committed;' and being ſilent, I gave him an account thereof at large, as is before ſet down, letting him alſo know, 'That ſince my impriſonment I had underſtood my 'mother, who was an ancient, tender woman, and had deſired to 'ſee me before ſhe died, hearing that I was ſtopped and impriſoned 'in my journey, ſo that I was not likely to come to ſee her, it 'ſtruck her ſo, that ſhe died ſoon after, which was a very hard thing 'to me.' When I had done ſpeaking, he again aſked me, 'To 'take the oaths.' I told him, 'I could not take any oath, for con-'ſcience-ſake; and I did believe he and they all knew in their con-

Worceſter gaol.

Worceſter aſſizes.

'ſciences

'sciences that it was for conscience-sake I could not swear at all. 'I declared amongst them what I could say and what I could sign, 'in owning of the king's right to the government, and in denying 'the pope and his pretended power, and all plotters, plots, and con-'spiracies against the government.' Some thought the judge had a mind to set me at liberty, for he saw they had nothing justly against me; but Parker, who committed me, endeavoured to incense him, telling him, 'That I was a ringleader; that many of the nation followed 'me, and he knew not what it might come to;' with many more envious words, which some took notice of; who also observed, that the judge gave him never a word in answer. However, the judge, willing to ease himself, referred me and my case to the sessions again, bidding the justices make an end of it there, and not trouble the assizes any more with me. So I was continued prisoner, chiefly (as it seemed) through the means of justice Parker, who in this case was as false as envious; for he had promised Richard Cannon of London, who had acquaintance with him, 'That he would endeavour to 'have me set at liberty;' yet he was the worst enemy I had in court, as some of the court observed and reported. Other justices were very loving, and promised, 'That I should have the liberty of the town, 'and to lodge at a friend's house till the sessions;' which accordingly I had, and the people were very civil and respectful to me.

1674. Worcester assizes.

Between this time and the sessions I had some service for the Lord, with several that came to visit me. At one time came three nonconformist priests and two lawyers to discourse with me; and one of the priests undertook to prove, 'That the scriptures are the only 'rule of life.' After I had defeated his proof, I had a fit opportunity to open to them, 'The right and proper use, service, and 'excellency of the scriptures; and also to shew, that the Spirit of 'God, which was given to every one to profit withal, the grace of 'God which bringeth salvation, and which hath appeared to all 'men, and teacheth them that obey it to deny ungodliness and 'worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; that this, I say, is the most fit, proper, and uni-'versal rule which God hath given to all mankind to rule, direct, 'govern, and order their lives by.'

Worcester prisoner.

Another time came a common-prayer priest, and some people with him. He asked me, 'If I was grown up to perfection?' I told him, 'What I was, I was by the grace of God.' He replied, 'It 'was a modest and civil answer.' Then he urged the words of John, 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the 'truth is not in us.' He asked, 'What did I say to that?' 'I said 'with the same apostle, "If we say that we have not sinned, we "make him a liar, and his word is not in us;" who came to destroy 'sin, and to take away sin. So there is a time for people to see that 'they have sinned, and there is a time for them to see that they have 'sin; and there is a time for them to confess their sin, and to for-'sake it, and to know the blood of Christ to cleanse from all sin.' Then the priest was asked, 'Whether Adam was not perfect before 'he fell? and whether all God's works were not perfect?' The priest said, 'There might be a perfection as Adam had, and a falling 'from

1674. Worceſter priſoner.

'from it.' But I told him, 'There is a perfection in Chriſt above 'Adam, and beyond falling; and that it was the work of the mi-'niſters of Chriſt to preſent every man perfect in Chriſt; for the per-'fecting of whom they had their gifts from Chriſt; therefore they 'that denied perfection, denied the work of the miniſtry, and the 'gifts which Chriſt gave for the perfecting of the ſaints.' The prieſt ſaid, 'We muſt always be ſtriving.' I anſwered, 'It was a ſad and 'comfortleſs ſort of ſtriving, to ſtrive with a belief that we ſhould 'never overcome.' I told him alſo, that 'Paul, who cried out of the 'body of death, did alſo "thank God, who gave him the victory "through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt." So there was a time of crying 'out for want of victory, and a time of praiſing God for the victory. 'And Paul ſaid, "There is no condemnation to them that are in "Chriſt Jeſus." The prieſt ſaid, 'Job was not perfect.' I told him, 'God ſaid Job was a perfect man, and that he did ſhun evil; 'and the devil was forced to confeſs, that "God had ſet an hedge "about him;" which was not an outward hedge, but the inviſible, 'heavenly power.' The prieſt ſaid, 'Job ſaid, "He chargeth his "angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his ſight." I told him, 'That was his miſtake, it was not Job ſaid ſo, but Eli-'phaz, who contended againſt Job.' 'Well, but,' ſaid the prieſt, 'what ſay you to that ſcripture, "The juſteſt man that is ſinneth "ſeven times a day?" 'Why truly,' ſaid I, 'I ſay there is no ſuch 'ſcripture;' and with that the prieſt's mouth was ſtopped. Many other ſervices I had with ſeveral ſorts of people between the aſſizes and the ſeſſions.

Worceſter ſeſſions.

The next quarter-ſeſſions began the twenty-ninth of the ſecond month, and I was called before the juſtices. The chairman's name was —— Street, he was a judge in the Welſh circuit, and he miſre-preſented me and my caſe to the country, telling them 'That we had 'a meeting at Tredington from all parts of the nation, to the terri-'fying of the king's ſubjects, for which we had been committed to 'priſon: that for the trial of my fidelity the oaths were put to me; 'and, having had time to conſider of it, he aſked me if I would 'now take the oaths?' 'I deſired liberty to ſpeak for myſelf; and, 'having obtained that, began firſt to clear myſelf from thoſe falſe-'hoods he had charged on me and friends; declaring, that we had 'not any ſuch meeting from all parts of the nation, as he had repre-'ſented it; but that (except the friend from whoſe houſe we came, 'and who came with us to guide us thither, and one friend of Briſ-'tol, who came accidentally, or rather providentially, to aſſiſt my 'wife homewards, after we were taken) they that were with me 'were in a ſenſe part of my own family, being my wife, her daugh-'ter, and her ſon-in-law. And we did not meet in any way or 'manner that would occaſion terror to any of the king's ſubjects; for 'we met peaceably and quietly, without arms; and I did not believe 'there could be any one produced that could truly ſay he was terri-'fied with our meeting. Beſides, I told them we were but in our 'journey, the occaſion whereof I now related as before. As to the 'oaths, I ſhewed why I could not take them (ſeeing Chriſt hath 'forbidden all ſwearing) and what I could ſay or ſign in lieu of 'them,

'them, as I had done before. Yet they cauſed the oaths to be read 1674.
'to me, and afterwards read an indictment, which they had drawn Worceſter
'up in readineſs, having a jury ready alſo.' When the indictment quarter-ſeſ-
was read, the judge aſked me, 'If I was guilty?' I ſaid, 'Nay; ſions.
'for it was a great bundle of lyes; which I ſhewed and proved to
'the judge in ſeveral particulars, which I inſtanced; aſking him,
'if he did not know in his conſcience they were lyes?' He ſaid,
'It was their form.' I ſaid, 'It was not a true form.' He aſked
me again, 'Whether I was guilty?' I told him, 'Nay, I was not
'guilty of the matter, nor of the form; for I was againſt the pope
'and popery, and did acknowledge and ſhould ſet my hand to that.'
Then the judge told the jury what they ſhould ſay and do, and what
they ſhould write on the backſide of the indictment; and as he ſaid,
they did. But before the jury gave in their verdict, I told them,
'It was for Chriſt's ſake, and in obedience to his and his apoſtle's
'command, that I could not ſwear; therefore,' ſaid I, 'take heed
'what ye do, for before his judgment-ſeat ye ſhall all be brought.'
The judge ſaid, 'This is canting.' I ſaid, 'If to confeſs Chriſt
'our Lord and Saviour, and to obey his command, be called cant-
'ing by a judge of a court, it is to little purpoſe for me to ſay
'more among you; yet ye ſhall ſee that I am a chriſtian, and ſhall
'ſhew forth chriſtianity, and my innocency ſhall be manifeſt.' So
the gaoler led me out of the court; and the people were generally
tender, as if they had been in a meeting. Soon after I was brought
in again, and the jury found the bill againſt me, which I traverſed.
Then I was aſked to put in bail till the next ſeſſions, and the gaoler's
ſon offered to be bound for me. But I ſtopped him, and warned
friends not to meddle; for I told them, 'There was a ſnare in that;'
yet I told the juſtices, I could promiſe to appear if the Lord gave
health and ſtrength, and I was at liberty. Some of the juſtices were
loving, and would have ſtopped the reſt from indicting me or put-
ting the oath to me; but judge Street the chairman ſaid, 'He muſt
'go according to law.' So I was ſent to priſon again; yet within Worceſter
two hours after, through the moderation of ſome of the juſtices, I priſon.
had liberty given me till next quarter-ſeſſions. Theſe moderate juſ-
tices, as it was ſaid, deſired juſtice Parker to write to the king for
my liberty, or for a Noli proſequi, becauſe they were ſatisfied I was
not ſuch a dangerous perſon as I had been repreſented. This, it
was ſaid, he promiſed to do, but did it not.

After I had got a copy of the indictment, I went to London, vi- London.
ſiting friends as I went. When I came there, ſome that were earneſt
to get me out of the hands of thoſe envious juſtices that ſought to
premunire me at Worceſter, would needs be tampering again, to
bring me before the judges of the King's Bench; whereupon I was King's Bench
brought again by an Habeas Corpus before them. I tendered them bar.
a paper, in which was contained what I could ſay inſtead of the oaths
of allegiance and ſupremacy, as followeth:

1674. King's Bench bar.

'THIS I do in the truth and in the preſence of God declare, 'That king Charles the Second is lawful king of this realm, 'and of all other his dominions; that he was brought in and ſet 'up king over this realm by the power of God; and I have nothing 'but love and good-will to him and all his ſubjects, and deſire his 'proſperity and eternal good. I do utterly abhor and deny the pope's 'power and ſupremacy, and all his ſuperſtitions and idolatrous in-'ventions; and do affirm, that he hath no power to abſolve ſin. I 'do abhor and deteſt his murdering of princes, or other people, by 'plots or contrivances. And likewiſe I do deny all plots and con-'trivances, and plotters and contrivers againſt the king and his ſub-'jects; knowing them to be the works of darkneſs, the fruits of an 'evil ſpirit, againſt the peace of the kingdom, and not from the 'Spirit of God, the fruit of which is love. I dare not take an 'oath, becauſe it is forbidden by Chriſt and the apoſtle; but if I 'break my Yea or Nay, let me ſuffer the ſame penalty as thoſe that 'break their oaths.

'GEORGE FOX.'

But the buſineſs being ſo far proceeded in at Worceſter, they would not meddle in it, but left me to appear again before the juſtices at the next general quarter-ſeſſions at Worceſter.

London. Yearly meeting.

Mean while the yearly meeting of friends came on, at which I was preſent; and exceeding glorious the meetings were, beyond expreſſion; bleſſed be the Lord!

Worceſter.

Worceſter ſeſſions.

After the yearly meeting, I ſet forward for Worceſter, the ſeſſions drawing on, which were held in the fifth month. When I was called to the bar, and the indictment read, ſome ſcruple ariſing among the jury concerning it, the judge of the court, juſtice Street, cauſed the oaths to be read and tendered to me again. I told him, 'I came 'now to try the traverſe of my indictment; and that his tendering 'me the oaths anew, was a new ſnare. I deſired him to anſwer me 'a queſtion or two; and aſked him, Whether the oaths were to be 'tendered to the king's ſubjects, or to the ſubjects of foreign princes?' He ſaid, 'To the ſubjects of this realm.' 'Then' ſaid I, 'you have 'not named me a ſubject in the indictment, and therefore have 'not brought me within the ſtatute.' The judge cried, 'Read the 'oath to him.' I ſaid, 'I require juſtice.' Again I aſked him, 'Whether the ſeſſions ought not to have been holden for the king, 'and the body of the county?' He ſaid, 'Yes.' 'Then,' ſaid I, 'you have there left the king out of the indictment; how then can 'you proceed upon this indictment to a trial between the king 'and me, ſeeing the king is left out?' He ſaid, 'The king was in 'before.' But I told him, 'The king's name being left out, here 'was a great error in the indictment, and ſufficient, as I was in-'formed, to quaſh it. Beſides, I told him that I was committed 'by the name of George Fox of London, but now I was indicted 'by the name of George Fox of Tredington in the county of Wor-'ceſter. I wiſhed the jury to conſider how they could find me 'guilty upon that indictment, ſeeing I was not of the place the in-'dictment mentioned.' The judge did not deny but there were errors

in

in the indictment; but ſaid, 'I might take my remedy in its 'proper place.' I anſwered, 'You know that we are a people that 'ſuffer all things, and bear all things; and therefore ye thus uſe us, 'becauſe we cannot revenge ourſelves; but we leave our cauſe to 'the Lord.' The judge ſaid, 'The oath hath been tendered to 'you ſeveral times, and we will have ſome ſatisfaction from you 'concerning the oath.' I offered them the ſame declaration inſtead of the oath, which I had offered to the judges above; but it would not be accepted. Then I deſired to know, ſeeing they put the oath anew to me, whether the indictment was quaſhed or no? Inſtead of anſwering me, the judge told the jury, 'They might go out.' Some of the jury were not ſatisfied; whereupon the judge told them, 'They had heard a man ſwear that the oath was tendered to me the 'laſt ſeſſions;' and then directed what they ſhould do. I told him, 'He ſhould leave the jury to their own conſciences.' However, the jury, being put on by him, went forth, and ſoon after came in again, and found me guilty. I aſked them, 'How they could ſatisfy them-'ſelves to find me guilty upon that indictment, which was laid ſo 'falſe, and had ſo many errors in it?' They could make but little anſwer; yet one, who ſeemed to be the worſt of them, would have taken me by the hand: but I put him by, ſaying, 'How now, 'Judas, haſt thou betrayed me, and doſt thou now come with a 'kiſs?' So I bid him and them repent. Then the judge began to tell me, 'How favourable the court had been to me.' I aſked him, 'How he could ſay ſo? Was ever any man worſe dealt by than I had 'been in this caſe, who was ſtopped in my journey when travelling 'upon my lawful occaſions, and impriſoned without cauſe; and now 'had the oaths put to me only for a ſnare? I deſired him to anſwer 'me in the preſence of the Lord, in whoſe preſence we all are, whe-'ther this oath was not tendered to me in envy?' He would not anſwer that; but ſaid, 'Would you had never come here, to trouble 'us and the country!' I anſwered, 'I came not thither of myſelf, 'but was brought, being ſtopped in my journey. I did not trouble 'them, but they had brought trouble upon themſelves.' Then the judge told me, 'What a ſad ſentence he had to tell me.' I aſked him, 'Whether what he was going to ſpeak was by way of paſſing 'ſentence, or for information? For I told him I had many things 'to ſay, and more errors to aſſign in the indictment, beſides thoſe I 'had already mentioned, to ſtop him from giving ſentence againſt 'me upon that indictment.' He ſaid, 'He was going to ſhew me 'the danger of a premunire, which was the loſs of my liberty and 'of all my goods and chattels, and to ſuffer impriſonment during 'life.' But he ſaid, 'He did not deliver this as the ſentence of the 'court upon me, but as an admonition to me.' Then he bid the gaoler 'Take me away.' I expected to have been called again to hear the ſentence; but when I was gone, the Clerk of the peace (whoſe name was Twittey) aſked him, as I was informed, 'Whe-'ther that which he had ſpoken to me ſhould ſtand for ſentence?' And he, conſulting with ſome of the juſtices, told him, 'Yes, that 'was the ſentence, and ſhould ſtand.' This was done behind my back, to ſave himſelf from ſhame in the face of the country. Many

1674. Worceſter ſeſſions.

of

1674. Worceſter aſſizes.

of the juſtices, and the generality of the people, were moderate and civil; and John Aſhley, a lawyer, was very friendly both the time before and now, ſpeaking on my behalf, and pleading the errors of the indictment for me; but juſtice Street, the judge of the court, would not regard, but over-ruled all. This juſtice Street ſaid to ſome friends in the morning before my trial, 'That if he had been upon the bench 'the firſt ſeſſions, he would not have tendered me the oath; but if 'I had been convicted of being at a conventicle, he would have 'proceeded againſt me according to that law; and that he was ſorry 'that ever I came before him;' yet he maliciouſly tendered the oath to me in the court again, when I was to have tried my traverſe upon the indictment. But the Lord pleaded my cauſe, and met with both him and juſtice Simpſon, who firſt enſnared me with the oath at the firſt ſeſſions; for Simpſon's ſon was arraigned not long after at the ſame bar for murder. And Street, who, as he came down from London, after the judges had returned me back from the King's Bench to Worceſter, ſaid, 'Now I was returned to them, I ſhould 'lie in priſon and rot;' had his daughter (whom he ſo doted on that ſhe was called his idol) brought dead from London in an hearſe to the ſame inn where he ſpoke thoſe words, and brought to Worceſter to be buried within a few days after. People took notice of the hand of God, how ſudden it was upon him; but it rather hardened than tendered him, as his carriage afterwards ſhewed.

Worceſter priſon.

After I was returned to priſon, ſeveral came to ſee me; amongſt others, the earl of Saliſbury's ſon, who was very loving, and troubled that they had dealt ſo wickedly by me. He ſtaid about two hours with me, and took a copy of the errors of the indictment in writing.

The ſeſſions being now over, and I fixed in priſon by a premunire, my wife came out of the north to be with me; and the aſſizes coming on in the ſixth month, the ſtate of my caſe being drawn up in writing, ſhe and Thomas Lower delivered it to judge Wild. In it was ſet forth the occaſion of my journey, the manner of my being taken and impriſoned, the proceedings of the ſeveral ſeſſions againſt me, and the errors in the indictment by which I was premunired. When the judge had read it, he ſhook his head, and ſaid, 'We might try the va-'lidity or invalidity of the errors, if we would;' which was all they could get from him.

While I lay in priſon, it came upon me to ſtate our principle to the king; not with particular relation to my own ſufferings, but for his better information concerning our principle, and us as a people.

To the KING.

'THE principle of the Quakers is the Spirit of Chriſt, who 'died for us, and is riſen for our juſtification; by which we 'know we are his. He dwelleth in us by his Spirit, and by the 'Spirit of Chriſt we are led out of unrighteouſneſs and ungodlineſs. 'It brings us to deny all plottings and contrivings againſt the king, 'or any man. The Spirit of Chriſt brings us to deny all manner of

1674. Worceſter priſon.

'ungodlineſs, as lying, theft, murder, adultery, fornication, all un-
'cleanneſs, debauchery, malice, hatred, deceit, cozening and cheat-
'ing whatſoever, and the devil and his works. The Spirit of Chriſt
'brings us to ſeek the peace and good of all men, and to live peace-
'ably, and leads us from ſuch evil actions as the magiſtrate's ſword
'takes hold upon. Our deſire and labour is, that all who profeſs
'themſelves Chriſtians may walk in the Spirit of Chriſt; that they
'through the Spirit may mortify the deeds of the fleſh, and by the
'ſword of the Spirit may cut down ſin and evil in themſelves. Then
'the judges and other magiſtrates would not have ſo much work in
'puniſhing ſin in the kingdom; neither then need kings or princes
'fear any of their ſubjects, if they all walked in the Spirit of Chriſt,
'for the fruits of the Spirit are love, righteouſneſs, goodneſs, tem-
'perance, &c. If all that profeſs themſelves Chriſtians did walk in
'the Spirit of Chriſt, and by it did mortify ſin and evil, it would be
'a great eaſe to the magiſtrates and rulers, and would free them from
'a great deal of trouble, for it would lead all "to do unto others as
"they would have others do unto them," and ſo the royal law of
'liberty would be fulfilled. For if all called Chriſtians did walk in
'the Spirit of Chriſt, by it to have the evil ſpirit and its fruits mor-
'tified and cut down in them, then, not being led by the evil ſpirit,
'but by the good Spirit of Chriſt, the fruits of the good Spirit would
'appear in all. For as people are led by the good Spirit of Chriſt,
'it leads them out of ſin and evil, which the magiſtrate's ſword takes
'hold of, and ſo would be an eaſe to the magiſtrates. But as people
'err from this good Spirit of Chriſt, and follow the evil ſpirit,
'which leads them into ſin and evil; that ſpirit brings the magiſ-
'trate into a great deal of trouble, to execute the law upon the
'ſinners and tranſgreſſors of the good Spirit. That Spirit, which
'leads people from all manner of ſin and evil, is one with the ma-
'giſtrate's power, and with the righteous law; for the law being
'added becauſe of tranſgreſſion, that Spirit which leads out of tranſ-
'greſſion muſt needs be one with that law which is againſt tranſ-
'greſſors. So that Spirit which leads out of tranſgreſſion is the good
'Spirit of Chriſt, and is one with the magiſtrates in the higher
'power, and owns it and them; but that ſpirit which leads into
'tranſgreſſion is the bad ſpirit, is againſt the law, againſt the ma-
'giſtrates, and makes them a great deal of troubleſome work. The
'manifeſtation of the good Spirit is given to every man to profit
'withal; and no man can profit in the things of God but by the
'Spirit of God, which brings to deny all ſin and evil. It is ſaid of
'Iſrael, Nehem. ix. "The Lord gave them his good Spirit to in-
"ſtruct them, yet they rebelled againſt it." If all people did mind
'this manifeſtation of the Spirit which God hath given to inſtruct
'them, it would lead them to forſake all manner of ſin and evil,
'enmity, hatred, malice, unrighteouſneſs and ungodlineſs, and to
'mortify it. Then in the Spirit of Chriſt they would have fellow-
'ſhip and unity, which is the bond of peace; then would love and
'peace, which are the fruits of the good Spirit, flow among all that
'are called Chriſtians.

1674. Worceſter priſon.

'We are a people, who, in tenderneſs of conſcience to the com-
'mand of Chriſt and his apoſtle, cannot ſwear; for we are com-
'manded in Matth. v. and James v. to keep to Yea and Nay, and
"not to ſwear at all; neither by heaven, nor by the earth, nor by
"any other oath, leſt we go into evil, and fall into condemnation."
'The words of Chriſt are theſe: "Ye have heard that it hath been
"ſaid by (or to) them of old time, Thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf,
"but ſhalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths." Theſe were true
'and ſolemn oaths, which thoſe who made ought to have per-
'formed in old time; but theſe Chriſt and his apoſtle forbad in the
'goſpel-times, as well as falſe and vain oaths. If we could take
'any oath at all, we could take the oath of allegiance, knowing that
'king Charles was by the power of God brought into England, and
'ſet up king of England, &c. over the heads of our old perſecu-
'tors; and as for the pope's ſupremacy, we utterly deny it. And
'the apoſtle having commanded us not to ſwear, but to keep to
'Yea and Nay, we dare not break their commands; therefore many
'knowing this, have put the oaths to us as a ſnare, that they might
'make a prey of us. Our denying to ſwear is not in wilfulneſs,
'ſtubbornneſs, or contempt, but only in obedience to the command
'of Chriſt and his apoſtle; and we are content, if we break our
'Yea and Nay, to ſuffer the ſame penalty as they ſhould that break
'their oaths. We deſire therefore that the king would take this into
'conſideration, alſo how long we have ſuffered in this caſe. This
'is from one who deſires the eternal good and proſperity of the king
'and of all his ſubjects in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

'G. F.'

About this time I had a fit of ſickneſs, which brought me very low and weak in my body; and I continued ſo a pretty while, inſomuch that ſome friends began to doubt of my recovery. I ſeemed to myſelf to be amongſt the graves and dead corpſes; yet the inviſible power did ſecretly ſupport me, and conveyed refreſhing ſtrength into me, even when I was ſo weak, that I was almoſt ſpeechleſs. One night, as I was lying awake upon my bed in the glory of the Lord which was over all, it was ſaid unto me, 'That the Lord had a 'great deal more work for me to do for him, before he took me 'to himſelf.'

Endeavours were uſed to get me releaſed, at leaſt for a time till I ſhould grow ſtronger; but the way of effecting it proving difficult and tedious (for the king was not willing to releaſe me by any other way than a pardon, being told he could not legally do it; and I was not willing to accept of a pardon, which he would readily have given me, becauſe I did not look upon that way as agreeable with the innocence of my cauſe) Edward Pitway, having occaſion to ſpeak with juſtice Parker upon buſineſs, deſired him to give order to the gaoler, That, in regard of my weakneſs, I might have liberty to go out of the gaol into the city. Whereupon juſtice Parker wrote the following letter to the gaoler, and ſent it to the friend to deliver.

'Mr.

1674.

'Mr. Harris,

'I HAVE been much importuned by ſome friends to George Fox, Worceſter
'to write to you. I am informed by them, that he is in a very priſon.
'weak condition, and very much indiſpoſed: what lawful favour
'you can do, for the benefit of the air for his health, pray ſhew
'him. I ſuppoſe, the next term they will make application to the
'king. I am, Sir,

'Your loving friend,

'Eveſham, the 8th of 'HENRY PARKER.'
'Octob. 1674.

After this, my wife went to London, and ſpoke to the king; 'laying before him my long and unjuſt impriſonment, with the 'manner of my being taken, and the juſtices proceedings againſt 'me, in tendering me the oath as a ſnare, whereby they had pre-'munired me: ſo that I being now his priſoner, it was in his power 'and at his pleaſure to releaſe me; which ſhe deſired.' The king ſpoke kindly to her, and referred her to the lord keeper; to whom ſhe went, but could not obtain what ſhe deſired; for he ſaid, 'The 'king could not releaſe me otherwiſe than by a pardon;' and I was not free to receive a pardon, knowing I had not done evil. If I would have been freed by a pardon, I needed not have laid ſo long; for the king was willing to have given me one long before; and told Thomas Moore, 'That I need not ſcruple being releaſed by a par-'don, for many a man that was as innocent as a child had had a 'pardon granted him:' yet I could not conſent to accept one. For I had rather have lain in priſon all my days, than come out in any way diſhonourable to truth: wherefore I choſe to have the validity of my indictment tried before the judges. Having firſt the opinion of a counſellor upon it (Thomas Corbet of London, whom Richard Davis of Welchpool was well acquainted with, and recommended to me) an Habeas Corpus was ſent to Worceſter, to bring me up once more to the King's Bench bar, for the trial of the errors in my indictment. The under-ſheriff ſet forward with me the fourth of the twelfth month, there being alſo in the coach the clerk of the peace, and ſome others. The clerk had been my enemy all along, and now ſought to enſnare me in diſcourſe; but I ſaw, and ſhunned him. He aſked me, 'What I would do with the errors in the indictment?' I told him, 'They ſhould be tried, and every action ſhould crown 'itſelf.' He quarrelled with me for calling their miniſters prieſts. I aſked him, 'If the law did not call them ſo?' He aſked me, 'What I thought of the church of England? Were there no Chriſ-'tians among them?' I ſaid, 'They are all called ſo, and there 'are many tender people amongſt them.' We came to London the London.
eighth of the twelfth month, and the eleventh I was brought be-
fore the four judges at the King's Bench, where counſellor Corbet King's Bench
ſtarted a new plea. He told the judges, 'They could not impriſon bar.
'any man upon a premunire.' Whereupon the chief juſtice Hale ſaid, 'Mr. Corbet, you ſhould have come ſooner, at the beginning 'of the term, with this plea.' He anſwered, 'We could not get 'a copy of the return and the indictment.' The judge replied,

1674. King's Bench bar.

'You ſhould have told us, and we would have forced them to have 'made a return ſooner.' Then ſaid judge Wild, 'Mr. Corbet, you 'go upon general terms; and if it be ſo as you ſay, we have com-'mitted many errors at the Old Bailey, and in other courts.' Corbet was poſitive that by law they could not impriſon upon a premunire. The judge ſaid, 'There is ſummons in the ſtatute.' 'Yes,' ſaid Corbet, 'but ſummons is not impriſonment, for ſummons is in 'order to a trial.' 'Well,' ſaid the judge, 'we muſt have time to 'look in our books, and conſult the ſtatutes.' So the hearing was put off till next day.

The next day they choſe rather to let this plea fall, and begin with the errors of the indictment; and when they came to be opened, they were ſo many and groſs, that the judges were all of opinion the 'indictment was quaſhed and void, and that I ought to have my 'liberty.' There were that day ſeveral great men, Lords and others, who had the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy tendered to them in open court, juſt before my trial came on; and ſome of my adverſaries moved the judges that the oaths might be tendered again to me, telling them, 'I was a dangerous man to be at liberty.' But judge Hale ſaid, 'He had indeed heard ſome ſuch reports, but he had 'alſo heard many more good reports of me;' ſo he, with the reſt of the judges, ordered me to be freed by proclamation. Thus after I had ſuffered impriſonment a year and almoſt two months for nothing, I was fairly ſet at liberty upon a trial of the errors of my indictment, without receiving any pardon, or coming under any obligation or engagement at all; and the Lord's everlaſting power went over all, to his glory and praiſe. Counſellor Corbet got great fame by it; many of the lawyers told him, 'He had brought that to light which had 'not been known before, as to the not impriſoning upon a premu-'nire;' and after the trial a judge ſaid to him, 'You have obtained a 'great deal of honour by pleading George Fox's cauſe ſo in court.'

During the time of my impriſonment in Worceſter (notwithſtanding my want of health, and being ſo often hurried to and fro to London and back) I wrote ſeveral books for the preſs, one whereof was called, 'A warning to the England;' another was, 'To the Jews, 'proving by the prophets, that the Meſſiah is come;' another, 'Concerning inſpiration, revelation, and prophecy;' another, 'Againſt all vain diſputes;' another, 'For all biſhops and miniſters 'to try themſelves by the ſcriptures;' another, 'To ſuch as ſay, 'We love none but ourſelves;' another, intituled, 'Our teſ-'timony concerning Chriſt;' and another little book concerning 'Swearing,' being the firſt of thoſe two given to the parliament. Beſides theſe, I wrote many papers and epiſtles to friends, to encourage and ſtrengthen them in their ſervices for God, which ſome (who made profeſſion of truth, but had given way to a ſeducing ſpirit, and were departed from the unity and fellowſhip of the goſpel, in which friends ſtand) endeavoured to diſcourage them from; eſpecially in their diligent and watchful care for the well-ordering and managing the affairs of the church of Chriſt.

London. Kingſton.

Being at liberty, I viſited friends in London; and having been very weak, and not yet well recovered, I went to Kingſton; and having

having viſited friends there, returned to London, wrote a paper to the parliament, and ſent ſeveral books to them. A great book againſt ſwearing had been delivered to them a little before; the reaſonableneſs whereof had ſo much influence, that it was thought they would have done ſomething towards our relief if they had ſat longer. I ſtaid in and near London till the yearly meeting, to which friends came from moſt parts of the nation, and ſome from beyond ſea. A glorious meeting we had in the everlaſting power of God. 1675. London yearly meeting.

This meeting over, and the parliament riſen (who had done nothing for nor againſt friends) I was clear of my ſervice for the Lord at London. And having taken my leave of friends there, and had a glorious meeting with ſome of them at John Elſon's in the morning, I ſet forward with my wife and her daughter Suſan by coach (for I was not able to travel on horſeback) towards the north, many friends accompanying us as far as Highgate, and ſome to Dunſtable, where we lodged that night. We viſited friends and were viſited by them at Newport-Pagnel, Northampton, and Coſſel, where, amongſt others, came a woman, and brought her daughter for me to ſee how well ſhe was; putting me in mind, 'That when I was there before, 'ſhe had brought her to me much troubled with the king's evil, 'and had then deſired me to pray for her.' Which I did, and ſhe mended upon it; praiſed be the Lord! From Coſſel we went by John Simcock's and William Gandy's to Warrington, Preſton, and Lancaſter. Highgate. Dunſtable. Newport-Pagnel. Northampton. Coſſel. Warrington. Preſton. Lancaſter.

I had not been at Lancaſter ſince I was carried priſoner from thence by the under-ſheriff and gaoler, towards Scarborough caſtle in Yorkſhire. I found the town full of people; for it was fair time, and the trained bands were met upon a general muſter. Many friends were alſo in town from ſeveral parts of the county, becauſe the quarterly meeting was to be there next day. I ſtaid two nights and a day at Lancaſter, and viſited friends both at their men's and women's meetings, which were very full, large, and peaceable; for the Lord's power was over all, and none meddled with us. Here met us Thomas Lower and his wife, Sarah Fell, James Lancaſter, and Leonard Fell. The next day after the meeting, the twenty-fifth of the fourth moth, we went over the ſands, with ſeveral other friends, to Swarthmore.

After I had been a while at Swarthmore, ſeveral friends from divers parts of the nation came to viſit me, and ſome out of Scotland; by whom I underſtood, four young ſtudents of Aberdeen were convinced there this year, at a diſpute held by Robert Barclay and George Keith with ſome of the ſcholars of that univerſity. Swarthmore.

Among others, colonel Kirby paid me a viſit, who had been one of my great perſecutors; but now he ſaid he came to bid me welcome into the country, and carried himſelf in appearance very lovingly; yet before I left Swarthmore he ſent for the conſtables of Ulverſtone, and ordered them to tell me, 'That we muſt have no 'more meetings at Swarthmore; for if we had, they were commanded 'by him to break them up, and were to come the next firſt day.' That day we had a very precious meeting, the Lord's preſence was

1675. Swarthmore. wonderful amongſt us, and the conſtables did not come to diſturb us. The meetings have been quiet ſince, and have increaſed.

The illneſs I got in my impriſonment at Worceſter had ſo much weakened me, it was long before I recovered my natural ſtrength again. For which reaſon, and as I had many things lay upon me to write for publick and private ſervice, I did not ſtir much abroad during the time I now ſtaid in the north; but when friends were not with me, ſpent pretty much time in writing books and papers for truth's ſervice. While I was at Swarthmore, I gave ſeveral to be printed; viz.

One, 'Concerning ſwearing.'

Another, ſhewing, 'That none are ſucceſſors to the prophets and 'apoſtles, but who ſucceed them in the ſame power and Holy Ghoſt 'that they were in.'

Another, ſhewing, 'That poſſeſſion is above profeſſion; and how 'the profeſſors now do perſecute Chriſt in ſpirit, as the profeſſing 'Jews did perſecute him outwardly in the days of his fleſh.'

Another little book, 'To the magiſtrates of Dantzick.'

Another, called, 'Cain againſt Abel; or, An anſwer to the New 'England men's laws.'

Another, 'To friends at Nevis, concerning watching.'

Another, 'A general epiſtle to all friends in America.'

Another, 'Concerning Cæſar's due, and God's due, &c."

Another, 'Concerning ordering of families.'

Another, intituled, 'The ſpiritual man judgeth all things.'

Another, 'Concerning the higher power.'

Beſides theſe, I wrote ſeveral epiſtles to friends, both in England and beyond the ſeas; and anſwers to divers papers concerning the 'running out of ſome who had oppoſed the order of the goſpel,' had ſtirred up a great deal of ſtrife and contention in Weſtmoreland. Wherefore I was moved to write a few lines particularly to friends there.

'This is for friends in Weſtmoreland:

'ALL live in the power of God, in his light and Spirit, which 'did firſt convince you; that in it ye may keep in the ancient 'unity, in humility, in the fear of the Lord, and his gentle and 'peaceable wiſdom, which is eaſy to be intreated, That in the 'ſame power, light, and Spirit of God, ye may be ſerviceable in 'your men's and women's meetings, in the poſſeſſion of the goſpel-'order; which goſpel, the power of God, hath brought life and 'immortality to light; that in this ye may ſee over him that hath 'darkened you. In this power no apoſtates can come; for the power 'of God was before apoſtates were, or the fall of man and woman 'was, or the devil either, and will be when he is gone. There-'fore praiſe God in the eternal fellowſhip of the everlaſting goſpel 'of Jeſus Chriſt, which is not of man, nor by man. And all 'friends in Weſtmoreland, keep in the power of God, which will 'and muſt preſerve and cover you, if ye be preſerved. Let your 'faith ſtand in the power of God, and not in the wiſdom of men's

'words, leſt ye fall. In God's power ye have peace, life, and unity; 1676.
'and for want of keeping in God's power, in his righteouſneſs and Swarthmore
'Holy Ghoſt, is all this ſtrife come among you.

'G. F.'

I alſo wrote the following general epiſtle to friends at the yearly meeting in London:

'My dear friends and brethren,

'WHOM the Lord hath preſerved by his eternal power to this 'day, over and through many troubles, ſtorms, tempeſts, and 'priſons. Let every one's faith ſtand in the power of God, which 'is over the devil, and was before him. Your faith ſtanding in the 'inviſible power of God, it ſtands in that which does not change; 'and the faith that Chriſt Jeſus, the power of God, is the author 'of, muſt ſtand in the power of God; ſo then it ſtands in that which 'is over all, in which they are eſtabliſhed. This the apoſtle brought 'the church, the true Chriſtians, to: and ſo ought all the true Chriſ-'tians faith now, which Chriſt is the author of, to ſtand in the power 'of God, in which the everlaſting kingdom ſtands. As every one's 'faith ſtands in this power, it keeps all in the power of godli-'neſs.

'For as it was in the days of the apoſtles, when ſome were cry-'ing up Paul and Apollos, and ſo forth, he judged them as carnal; 'and exhorted and admoniſhed them that their faith ſhould not 'ſtand in men, nor in the words of man's wiſdom, but in the power 'of God. He ſaid, "He would not know the ſpeech of them, but "the power amongſt them; for the kingdom of God is not in "word, but in power." So it is to be now. Every one's faith 'muſt ſtand in the power of God, and not in men, nor their 'ſpeeches upon the good words. For we have ſeen by experience, 'when they begin to cry up men, and their faith ſtands in them; 'ſuch as would have people's faith to ſtand in them, love popularity, 'and bring not people's faith to ſtand in the power of God. Such 'cannot exalt Chriſt; and when ſuch fall, they draw a great com-'pany after them. Therefore the apoſtle would not know ſuch 'after the fleſh, but them that were in the power and Spirit; and 'ſtruck down every one's faith that ſtood in the words of man's 'wiſdom, that they might ſtand in the power of God. So it muſt 'be now. They whoſe faith doth not ſtand therein, cannot exalt 'his kingdom, that ſtands in power; therefore every one's faith muſt 'ſtand in the power of God.

'The apoſtle denied popularity, when he judged the Corinthians 'for looking at Paul and Apollos, to be carnal: ſuch are carnal ſtill. 'Therefore all ſhould know one another in the Spirit, life, and power, 'and look at Chriſt; this keeps all in humility. They, whoſe faith 'ſtands in men, will make ſects; as in the days of J. N. J. P. and 'others. The faith of ſuch, Chriſt is not the author of; if he hath 'been, they have erred from it, and made ſhipwreck of it. All 'that are in the true faith, that ſtands in the power of God, will 'judge them as carnal, and judge down that carnal part in them,

'that

1676. Swarthmore.

'that cries up Paul or Apollos; that their faith may ſtand in the 'power of God, and that they may exalt Chriſt, the author of it. 'For every one's eye ought to be to Jeſus, and every juſt man and 'woman may live by their faith, which Chriſt is the author and 'finiſher of. By this faith every man may ſee God, who is in-'viſible; which faith gives the victory, and thereby he hath acceſs 'to God. So every one's faith and hope ſtanding in the power of 'God, therein all have unity, victory, and acceſs to God's throne 'of grace; in which faith they pleaſe God. By this faith they are 'ſaved, obtain the good report, and ſubdue all the mountains be-'twixt them and God.

'This power hath preſerved friends over their perſecutors, over 'the wrath of men, above the ſpoiling of their goods, and impri-'ſonments; as ſeeing God, that "created all, gives the increaſe of "all, and upholds all by his word and power." Therefore let 'every one's faith be in his power. In this no ſchiſm nor ſect can 'come, for it is over them, before they were, and will be when they 'are gone. But perfect unity is in the truth, in the Spirit, that cir-'cumciſeth the body of death, puts off the ſins of the fleſh, and 'plunges it down with the Spirit. In the Spirit of God there is 'perfect fellowſhip; and Chriſt is the miniſter of this circumciſion 'and baptiſm.

'This is upon me from the Lord to write unto you, that every 'one of you, whoſe faith Jeſus is the author of, may ſtand in the 'power of God. From the Lord I warn you, and all every where 'of the ſame; for if a ſtar ſhould fall, which has been a light, 'either the earth or the ſea does receive it; that is, the earthly mind, 'or the foaming, raging people: though neither the ſeed, light, 'power, nor truth ever fell, nor the faith itſelf, the gift of God; 'but men going from it, become unſavoury.

'Adam, whilſt he kept in truth, and obeyed the command of 'God, was happy; but when he diſobeyed the Lord, he fell under 'the power of Satan, and became unhappy, though he might talk 'after of his experiences in paradiſe; but he had loſt his image, 'and his power and dominion, that God created him in.

'The Jews, after they received the law, as long as they kept the 'law of God, which was juſt, holy, good, and perfect, it kept 'them good, juſt, holy, and ſavoury; but when they turned their 'backs on the Lord, and forſook his law, they came under the power of darkneſs, under the powers of the earth, and were 'trodden under as unſavoury.

'The Chriſtians were called a "city ſet on a hill, the light of "the world, and the ſalt of the earth;" but when they forſook the 'power of God, and their faith ſtood in words and men, and not in 'the power; then their walls fell down, though the power in itſelf 'ſtood; and they loſt their hill, their ſaltneſs, and their ſhining. 'And as Chriſtendom now confeſſeth, they are not in the ſame 'power and ſpirit the apoſtles were in, ſo not in the ſame ſalt, nor 'upon the ſame hill. So they came to be trod under, and the beaſt, 'the whore, and the falſe prophet are uppermoſt, the unſavoury. 'Their dead faith is in men, and in words; therefore they are full 'of ſects, and one againſt another.

'And

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'And now the everlaſting goſpel, the power of God, is preached again, which was before the devil was, that darkened man; and by this power of God life and immortality is come to light again; therefore every one's faith is to ſtand in this power that hath brought life and immortality to light in them, and ſo to be heirs of the power of God, the goſpel. Herein all have a right to the power of God, which is the authority of men's and women's meetings, and of all other meetings ſet up thereby.

'As the goſpel is preached again, if your faith doth not ſtand in the power, but in men, and in the wiſdom of words, you will grow carnal; and ſuch are for judgment, who cry up Paul or Apollos, and not Chriſt, the author of your faith. Thoſe that love to be popular would have people's faith ſtand in them; ſuch do not preach Chriſt, but themſelves. But ſuch as preach Chriſt and his goſpel would have every man and woman to be in the poſſeſſion of it, and every man and woman's faith to ſtand in Chriſt, the author of it, and in the power of God, in which, as their faith ſtands, nothing can get betwixt them and God; for if any ſhould fall amongſt us, as too many have done, that leads its followers either into the waters or into the earth.

'If any ſhould go from the ſpirit of prophecy, that did open them, and from the power, they may ſpeak thoſe experiences the power opened to them formerly. So might Adam and Eve ſpeak of what they ſaw and enjoyed in paradiſe; ſo might Cain and Balaam, of what they ſaw; and alſo the Jews, Corah, and Dathan, who praiſed God on the banks, ſaw the victory over Pharaoh, ate of the manna, drank of the rock, came to mount Sinai, and ſaw the glory of the Lord. So might the falſe apoſtles ſpeak of their experiences, and all thoſe falſe Chriſtians that turned from the apoſtles and Chriſt. So may ſuch do now, that err from the Spirit, that are come out of ſpiritual Egypt and Sodom, and have known the raging of the Sodomites, as Lot did the outward; and the purſuit of the ſpiritual Egyptians, as the outward Jew did the outward Egyptians; yet if they do not walk in the Spirit of God, in the light, and in the grace, which keeps their hearts eſtabliſhed, their words ſeaſoned, and their faith in the power of God, in which the kingdom ſtands, they may go forth like the falſe Chriſtians, like the Jews, like Adam and Eve, Cain, Corah, and Balaam, and be wandering ſtars, trees without fruit, wells without water, and clouds without rain; and ſo come to be unſavoury, trodden down, and as Adam who loſt paradiſe, and the Jews who loſt the Holy Land, not walking in the law, and keeping the command of God; and as the Chriſtians who loſt the city, the hill, the ſalt, and the light, ſince the apoſtles days, and came to be unſavoury, and to be trodden under foot of men.

'Therefore let every one's faith ſtand in the Lord's power, which is over all, through which they may be built upon the rock, the foundation of God, the ſeed Jeſus Chriſt. So all in Chriſt may be ever freſh and green; for he is the green tree that never withers, all are freſh and green that are grafted in him, abide in him, and bring forth heavenly, freſh fruits to the praiſe of God. And tho'

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'Adam and Eve fell from paradiſe, the Jews fell from the law of 'God, many of the Chriſtians fell from their prophecies, erred from 'the faith, the Spirit, and the grace; and the ſtars have fallen, as 'was ſpoken in the Revelations; yet the Spirit, grace, faith, and 'power of God remains.

'Many ſuch ſtates have I ſeen within theſe twenty-eight years; 'though there is a ſtate that ſhall never fall, nor be deceived, in the 'Elect before the world began; who are come to the end of the 'prophecies, and are in him, where they end, renewed up into the 'image of God (by Chriſt) which man was in before he fell; in that 'power, where he had dominion over all that God made; and not 'only ſo, but "attain to a perfect man, unto the meaſure of the "ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt," who never fell. In him is the 'ſitting down in life eternal, where their feet ſtand ſure and faſt in 'the goſpel, his power. Here their bread is ſure; and he that eats 'this bread lives for ever.

'And all friends and brethren, that declare God's eternal truth and 'word of life, live in it, be ſeaſoned with grace, and ſalted with the 'heavenly ſalt, that your lives and converſations may preach where-'ever you come; that there be no rawneſs, nor no quenching of the 'Spirit, nor deſpiſing prophecy either in men or women. For all 'muſt meet in the faith that Jeſus is the author of, and in the light 'that comes from him, and be ſo grafted into the life, that your know-'ledge may be there one of another in Chriſt; and that there may 'be none ſlothful, nor ſitting down in earthly things, minding them, 'like Demas of old, leſt you cloath yourſelves with another cloath-'ing than you had at firſt; but all keep chaſte, for the chaſte fol-'low the Lamb.

'And friends that are miniſters, poſſeſs as if ye did not; be mar-'ried as if ye were not; be looſe to the world in the Lord's power; 'for God's oil will be a-top of all viſible things, which makes his 'lamps burn, and give light afar off. Let none ſtrive nor covet to 'be rich in this world, in theſe changeable things that will paſs 'away; but let your faith ſtand in the Lord God, who changes 'not, created all, and gives the increaſe of all.

'Now friends, concerning faithful men and women's meetings, 'which were ſet up in God's counſel, whoever oppoſe them, op-'poſe the power of God, which is the authority of them. They 'are no miniſters of the goſpel, nor of Chriſt, that oppoſe his 'power, which all are to poſſeſs. For the true miniſters of Chriſt, 'that preach his goſpel (which is to be preached to all nations) as 'deceit is gone over all nations, and all nations have drunk the 'whore's cup, and ſhe hath them in her cage, her unclean power 'from the beaſt and dragon, out of the power of God, and out of 'truth and the Spirit of God, the apoſtles were in; the power of 'God muſt come over all this again; and all true miniſters, that 'preach the goſpel, muſt bring people into the poſſeſſion of it 'again. I ſay, whoſoever preaches the goſpel of Chriſt and him to 'people and nations, thoſe people and nations receiving the goſpel, 'they receive the power of God, that brings life and immortality to 'light in them; and they ſee over the devil that hath darkened

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'them, and the beaſt, the whore, and her cage. So by the power 'of God, life and immortality is brought to light in them; then 'theſe men and women, being heirs of this power, the goſpel, are 'heirs of authority and power over the devil, beaſt, whore, and 'dragon.

'It is their poſſeſſion and portion, and they are to labour in their 'poſſeſſion and portion, to do God Almighty's buſineſs and ſervice 'in the poſſeſſion of the power of God, the goſpel, which is a joy-'ful, glorious, everlaſting order. Here is the authority of our 'men's and women's meetings, and other meetings in the name of 'Jeſus, the goſpel of Chriſt, the power of God, which is not of 'man, nor by man. In this are all to meet, and to worſhip God. 'By this are all to act, and in this have all fellowſhip, a joyful fel-'lowſhip, a joyful and comfortable aſſembly. All faithful men and 'women in every country, city, and nation, whoſe faith ſtands in 'the power of God, the goſpel of Chriſt, who have received the 'goſpel, and are in the poſſeſſion thereof, have all right to the 'power in theſe meetings, for they are heirs of the power, which is 'the authority of the men's and women's meetings.

'So here is God's choice (and not man's) by his power, of his 'heirs; and they have all freedom therein to go to the meetings, the 'men to the men's, and the women to the women's; for they are 'heirs of the power, which is received in the Holy Ghoſt; and 'they ſee over enmity, and before it was, by the light, the life, and 'immortality, which is brought to light in them.

'The devil, the author of enmity, cannot get into this authority, 'power, order, nor fellowſhip of the goſpel, nor life, nor light, nor 'into the unity of the faith, which gives victory over him that hath 'ſeparated man from God. Into the unity of this faith the ſerpent 'cannot come, nor into the worſhip of God in ſpirit and truth the 'devil cannot come, nor any enmity. And they that are in this, 'are in unity over him. Therefore, let every one's faith ſtand in 'the power of God, the glorious goſpel; all walk as becomes the 'goſpel and the order of it. As every one hath received Chriſt 'Jeſus, the Lord, ſo walk in him, and let him be their Lord and 'orderer. For the preaching of the goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus is to the 'intent that all might come to be heirs of the goſpel, into the poſ-'ſeſſion of it, to be heirs of Chriſt and of his government, to the 'increaſe of which there is no end; who is over all in his righteouſ-'neſs, and over all in his light, life, power, and dominion. There-'fore know one another in his power, his goſpel; know one an-'other in Chriſt Jeſus, who is able to reſtore man out of the ſtate 'of the fall into the image of God, and into that power and domi-'nion that man had before he fell, and into himſelf that never fell, 'whence they ſhall go no more forth. Here is the rock and foun-'dation of God that ſtands ſure.

'And, friends, be tender to the tender principle of God in all. 'Shun the occaſion of vain diſputes and janglings, both amongſt 'yourſelves and others; for that many times is like a bluſtering 'wind, that hurts and bruiſes the tender buds and plants. For the 'world, though they have the words, are out of the life; and the

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'apoſtle's diſputing with them was to bring them to the life. And 'thoſe diſputers amongſt the Chriſtians about genealogies, circum-'ciſion, the law, meats, drinks, and days, came to be the worſt 'ſort of diſputers, whom the apoſtles judged; for ſuch deſtroyed 'people from the faith. Therefore did the apoſtles exhort the 'churches, that every one's faith ſhould ſtand in the power of God, 'and to look at Jeſus, the author of it. There every graft ſtands in 'Chriſt, the vine, quiet, where no bluſtering ſtorms can hurt 'them; there is the ſafety. There all are of one mind, one faith, 'one ſoul, one ſpirit, baptized into one body with the one ſpirit, 'and made all to drink into one ſpirit, one church, one head, that 'is heavenly and ſpiritual; and one faith in this head, Chriſt, who 'is the author of it, and hath the glory of it; one Lord to order all, 'who is the baptizer into this one body. So Chriſt hath the glory 'of his faith out of every man and woman; and the Father through 'him hath his glory, the Creator of all in his power, the goſpel, 'that hath brought life and immortality to light in them; and their 'faith ſtanding in it, they know the immortal God, ſerve and wor-'ſhip him in his ſpirit and in his truth; by which they are made 'God's free men and women, from him that is out of the truth.

'Now, friends, you that have been ancient labourers, and have 'known the dealings of the Lord theſe twenty years (more or leſs) 'as I have often ſaid to you, draw up what you can of that which 'the Lord hath carried you through by his power, the paſſages and 'ſufferings, and how by the Lord ye have been ſupported from the 'firſt; ſo that he may be exalted by his power now, and in ages to 'come, who hath been the only ſupport, defence, and ſtay of his 'people all along, over all to himſelf; to whom be all glory and 'praiſe for ever and ever. Amen. He deſerves it in his church 'throughout all ages, from his living members, who return the 'praiſe to the living God, who lives and reigns over all, bleſſed for 'ever; who is the life, ſtrength, health, and length of the days of 'his people. Therefore let there be no boaſting, but in the Lord, 'in his power and kingdom; that keeps all in humility.

'And friends, in the Lord's power and truth, what good you can 'do for friends in priſon, or ſufferers, by informing or helping 'them, every one bend yourſelves to the Lord's power and ſpirit, to 'do his will and his buſineſs; and in that all will have a fellow-'feeling of one another's conditions in bonds, or in what trials or 'tribulations ſoever; you will have a fellow-feeling one of another, 'having one head, one Lord, and being one body in him. For 'God's heavenly flail hath brought out his ſeed, his heavenly plough 'hath turned up the fallow ground, his heavenly ſeed is ſown by the 'heavenly man, which brings forth fruits to the heavenly ſower, in 'ſome fifty, ſixty, and an hundred fold in his life-time; and ſuch 'in the world without end will have life everlaſting. Oh! there-'fore all keep within; let your lights ſhine, and your lamps burn, 'that you may be wells full of the living water, and trees full of 'the living fruit of God's planting, whoſe fruit is unto holineſs, and 'end is everlaſting life.

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'The Lord God of power preſerve you all in his power. Let your 'faith ſtand therein, that you may have unity in the faith, and in 'the power; and by this faith and belief you may be all grafted into 'Chriſt, the ſure root and rock of ages, where the eternal Sun of 'righteouſneſs ſhines, in the heavenly and eternal day, upon his 'plants and grafts. This Sun never goes down, and the heavenly 'ſprings of life, and ſhowers are known to water and nouriſh the 'grafts, plants, and buds, that they may always be kept freſh and 'green, and never wither; bringing forth freſh, green, and living 'fruit, which is offered up to the living God; who is glorified, in 'that you bear much fruit. The Lord God Almighty keep you, 'and preſerve you all in his power, light, and life, over death and 'darkneſs; that therein you may ſpread his truth abroad, and be va-'liant for it upon the earth, anſwering that of God in all; that with it 'the minds of people may be turned to God, ſo that with it they 'may come to know Chriſt Jeſus in the new covenant, in which the 'knowledge of the Lord ſhall cover the earth, as the waters do the 'ſea. His life muſt go over death, his light muſt go over darkneſs, 'and the power of God muſt go over the power of Satan.

'So all you that are in the light, life, and power, keep the hea-'venly fellowſhip in the heavenly power, the heavenly unity in the 'heavenly divine faith, and the unity of the ſpirit, which is the 'bond of the heavenly Prince of Princes peace; who bruiſes the 'head of the enemy, the adverſary, and reconciles man to God, 'and all things in heaven and earth. A bleſſed reconciliation! Let 'every one's faith ſtand in the power of God, which Jeſus Chriſt is 'the author of; that all may know their crown of life. For all 'outward things, without the ſubſtance, the life, the power, are as 'the huſk without the kernel, and do not nouriſh the immortal 'ſoul, nor the new-born Babe; but that which it is nouriſhed by, is 'the milk of the word, whereby it groweth in the heavenly life, 'ſtrength, and wiſdom. The goſpel is not of man, nor by man, 'but is the power of God, and anſwers the truth in all; all the 'poſſeſſors of it are to ſee that all walk according to it; which 'everlaſting order is ordained of God already, and all the poſſeſſors 'of him poſſeſs their joy, their comfort, and ſalvation. My love 'unto you all, with him that reigns, and is over all, from ever-'laſting to everlaſting.

'Dwell in the love of God, which paſſeth knowledge, and edi-'fieth the living members of the body of Chriſt; which love of 'God you come to be built up in, and in the holy faith. This love 'of God brings you to "bear all things, endure all things, and "hope all things." From this love, which you have in Chriſt 'Jeſus, nothing will be able to ſeparate you, neither powers, nor 'principalities, heights nor depths, things preſent nor things to 'come, priſons nor ſpoiling of goods, death nor life. The love of 'God keeps above all that which would ſeparate from God, and 'makes you more than conquerors in Chriſt Jeſus. Therefore in 'this dwell, that with the ſame love you may love one another, and 'all the workmanſhip of God; that you may glorify God with your 'bodies, ſouls, and ſpirits, which are the Lord's. Amen. G. F.

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'All friends ſit low in the life, the Lord's power. Keep your 'place in it, till the Lord and Maſter of the heavenly feaſt bid 'you "ſit higher;" leſt you take the higheſt place, and be 'put down with ſhame. He that hath an ear, let him hear.

'G. F.'

POSTSCRIPT.

'Friends, take heed of ſpeaking the things of God in the words 'that men's wiſdom hath taught; for thoſe words will lift up the 'fooliſh, that err from the Spirit of God; which words and wiſ-'dom are for condemnation, and that which is lifted up by them, 'and they that thereby ſpeak the things of God in them. So that 'old houſe, with its goods, muſt be thrown under the foot of the 'new birth.

'And, friends, I deſire that you may all keep the holy order, 'which is in the goſpel, the glorious order in the power of God, 'which the devil is out of; which was before all his orders were, 'and before the world made any.

'This joyful order keeps all hearts pure to God, in everlaſting 'peace, unity, and order; feel it, and keep it, both men and wo-'men, and come to be heirs of the goſpel, which brings life and im-'mortality to light, and to ſee over that power of darkneſs, by him 'who was before the power of death was. In this is the holy order 'in love and peace. So keep in this, that keeps you always pure; 'what men and women act in this, they act in that which will ſtand 'when the world is gone.

'There hath been ſome ſcruple about men's and women's meet-'ings: men and women in the goſpel are heirs of the power, 'which was before the devil was; heirs of this, then enter into 'the poſſeſſion of it, and do the Lord's buſineſs therein. Every 'one take care of God's honour, and keep all things in righteouſ-'neſs and holineſs, which becomes God's houſe. In that, which 'honours the Lord God, it eaſed me, when thoſe meetings were ſet 'up for men and women, who are heirs of the goſpel, and have 'right to the goſpel order. Then take your poſſeſſions, practiſe in 'it, be not talkers only, but live and walk in the goſpel, the power 'of God, which is the authority of your meetings.

'G. F.'

'Swarthmore, the 28th of the
'2d month, 1676.'

Read at the yearly meeting in London, the ſeventeenth of the third month, 1676.

During this time, I collected together as many as I could of the epiſtles I had wrote in former years to friends. I made a collection too of the ſeveral papers I had wrote to Oliver Cromwell and his ſon Richard, in the time of their protectorſhips, and to the parliaments and magiſtrates, in their times. I collected alſo the papers I had

had wrote to king Charles the Second ſince his return, and to his council and parliaments, and the juſtices or other magiſtrates under him. I made another collection of certificates, which I had received from divers governors of places, judges, juſtices, parliament-men, and others, for the clearing of me from many ſlanders, which the envious prieſts and profeſſors, both here and beyond ſea, had caſt upon me. This I did for the truth's ſake, knowing that their deſign in ſlandering me was to defame the truth publiſhed by me, and hinder the ſpreading thereof amongſt the people. Beſides theſe, I made two books of collections; one was, a liſt or catalogue of the names of thoſe friends who went out of the north of England, when truth firſt broke forth there, to proclaim the day of the Lord through this nation. The other was of the names of thoſe friends that went firſt to preach the goſpel in other nations, countries, and places, in what years, and to what parts they went. 1676. Swarthmore.

I made another collection, in two books; viz. one of epiſtles and letters from friends and others, on ſeveral occaſions, to me; the other of letters of mine to friends and others.

I wrote alſo a book of the types and figures of Chriſt, with their ſignifications; and many other things, which will be of ſervice to truth and friends in time to come.

I took notice alſo of thoſe who had run out from truth, drawn others out after them, and turned againſt truth and friends, ſince the firſt breaking forth of truth in this latter age, and what became of them; noting particularly the repentance and return of ſuch of them as came back to truth again. Some ran quite out, and never returned, but were cut off in their gainſaying and rebellion; for the word and power of God hath blaſted, and is blaſting them, and the holy ſeed hath ground, and is grinding them to pieces. I have obſerved that they, who have been convinced, and have not lived and walked in the truth, have been the worſt enemies to the truth, and done moſt hurt amongſt friends in the truth, and to others. In theſe I have ſeen fulfilled what the Lord did long ſince ſhew me, 'That 'ſuch would be greater deceivers than all the prieſts and profeſſors.' For ſuch as came as far as Cain, Balaam, Corah, and Dathan, who could 'preach Chriſt,' and ſay, 'They had preached in his name;' ſuch as came to be apoſtles, and had taſted of the power of Chriſt, and then turned from it, ſuch could yet ſpeak their old experiences, and have good words like Corah and Balaam; but not keeping in the life and truth, they deceived the hearts of the ſimple. Such come to be of the devil, who abode not in the truth; as Cain and all the Jews that abode not in the truth were. For though Cain did ſacrifice to God, and did talk with God, and the Jews could talk of Abraham, Moſes, and the prophets, yet Chriſt told them, 'They 'were of their father the devil.' In like manner, though thoſe called Chriſtians can talk of Chriſt, and uſe his and his apoſtles and diſciples words, yet not abiding in the truth, power, and ſpirit the apoſtles were in, they are of the devil, out of truth, and do his work. So are all thoſe that have been convinced of God's eternal truth ſince it ſprang up in this nation, that have not abode in the

light,

1676. Swarthmore. light, in the ſpirit and power of Chriſt Jeſus, but have turned againſt the power, and have oppoſed the work thereof; though they may retain their former experiences, and be able to ſpeak many good words, yet not living in the life and power that gave them thoſe experiences, they live in the power of darkneſs, which is of the devil; and by the light and truth both he and they are condemned, and muſt own their condemnation, if ever they come to truth again. For to reſiſt the heavenly power, and to oppoſe the workings and divine manifeſtations thereof through any, is not a light matter. And as I had been moved of the Lord to travel in his power round this nation, and in other parts, to preach the everlaſting goſpel, and to declare the word of life, which was in the beginning, through many impriſonments, hardſhips, ſufferings, and trials; ſo I was afterwards moved to travel in the ſame heavenly power about the nation again (and to write to ſuch places where I came not) to recommend unto friends the 'ſetting up of the quarterly and monthly meetings in 'all counties, for looking after the poor, taking care for orderly 'proceedings in marriages, and other matters relating to the church 'of Chriſt.' Though ſome meetings for this end were ſettled in the north of England in the year 1652.

After this alſo, truth ſtill ſpreading further over the nation, and friends increaſing in number, I was moved by the ſame eternal power to recommend the ſetting up women's meetings alſo, that all, both male and female, who had received the goſpel, the word of eternal life, might come into the order of the goſpel, brought forth by the power of God, and might act for God in the power, and therein do buſineſs and ſervice for him in his church. All the faithful muſt labour in God's vineyard; they being his hired ſervants, he having given them the earneſt of his Spirit. For a maſter that hires a ſervant, and gives him the earneſt of his hire, expects he ſhould do his work after he knows his will, in the outward creation; ſo all God's people that are of the new creation, and have received the earneſt of his Spirit, ought to labour with, by, and in his Spirit, power, grace, and faith, in the light, in God's vineyard, that they may have their wages when they have done God's work and buſineſs in his day, which is eternal life. But none can labour in his vineyard, and do his work and will, but as they walk in the heavenly divine light, grace, and Spirit of Chriſt; which hath been, and is my travail and labour in the Lord to turn all to.

Some that profeſſed truth, and had made a great ſhew thereof, being gone from the ſimplicity of the goſpel into jangling, diviſion, and a ſpirit of ſeparation, endeavoured to diſcourage friends (eſpecially the women) from their godly care and watchfulneſs in the church over one another in the truth; oppoſing their meetings, which in the power of the Lord were ſet up for that end and ſervice. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to write the following epiſtle, and ſend it among friends, for the diſcovering of that ſpirit by which thoſe oppoſers were acted, its work and way by which it wrought, and to warn friends of it, that they might not be betrayed by it.

'All

1676. Swarthmore.

'All my dear friends,

'LIVE in the ſeed of peace, Chriſt Jeſus, in whom ye have life. That ſpirit, which comes amongſt you to raiſe up ſtrife, is out of Chriſt; for it is the ſpirit that is not eaſy to be intreated, not gentle, ſo not of the wiſdom of God, which is juſtified of her children. They that follow that ſpirit are none of wiſdom's children. There is a ſpirit that hath made a ſeparation, and has been againſt men and women's meetings; "yet has ſet up one of "their own, which they have given power to; and that none ſhall "ſit amongſt them but whom they give power to, but ſhall be "looked upon as uſurpers of authority." This ſpirit and its work is not of God, though it has made a jumble amongſt ſome; and the path it may travel in is through the earthly affections, amongſt the uneſtabliſhed or apoſtates. But all that are in the life, ſpirit, light, grace, truth, and power of God, bar it out; and ſuch as ſit under their own vine, Chriſt Jeſus, and are grafted into him, have no need of their exhortation or counſel; for the true believers are entered into their reſt. Therefore all keep in the goſpel of peace, and they that be heirs of the kingdom keep your poſſeſſion thereof.

'Some of this ſpirit have ſaid to me, "They ſee no ſervice in "women's meetings." My anſwer is, and hath been to ſuch, If they be blind and without ſight, they ſhould not oppoſe others; for none impoſe any thing upon them. God never received the blind for a ſacrifice, neither can his people. But Chriſt has enlightened all; and to as many as receive him, he gives "power to "become the ſons of God." Such as are heirs of his power, and of his goſpel, which brings life and immortality to light, can ſee over him that has darkened thoſe; and all ſuch keep the order of the goſpel, the power of God, and their meetings therein, which preſerves them in life and immortality. Theſe ſee the great ſervice of men's and women's meetings, in the order of the goſpel, the power of God; for they are meet-helps in this power, which is the authority of their meetings. I ſay to all you that be againſt men's and women's meetings, who ſay, "you ſee no ſervice for the women's meetings," and oppoſe them; you are therein out of the power of God, and his Spirit you live not in. For God ſaw a ſervice for the aſſemblies of the women in the time of the law, about thoſe things that appertained to his worſhip and ſervice, and to the holy things of his tabernacle; and they in his Spirit ſee now their ſervice in the goſpel, many things in theſe meetings being more proper for the women than the men; and they, in the power and wiſdom of God, may inform the men of ſuch things as are not proper for them; and the men may inform the women of ſuch things as are not proper for them, as meet-helps to each other. For in the time of the law, the women were to offer as well as the men; ſo in the time of the goſpel they are to offer their ſpiritual ſacrifices; for they are all called, both men and women, a royal prieſthood, the houſhold of faith, the living ſtones, that make up the ſpiritual building, which Chriſt is the head of; and are to be encouraged in their labour in the goſpel;

1676. Swarthmore.

'for all things that both men and women do, are to be done in the 'power of God. Such as ſee no ſervice for theſe women's meetings, 'or the men's, but oppoſe them, and make ſtrife among friends, 'are in the ſpirit of the world that is againſt and forbids our other 'meetings, in the ſame ſpirit that hath been and is againſt women's 'ſpeaking in meetings, and ſay, "They muſt be ſilent," &c. 'though the ſame apoſtle commands, "That men ſhould keep "ſilence as well as the women," if there were not an interpreter. 'You may ſee the ſpirit of the world hath entered ſuch oppoſers, 'though they come under another colour; for they would not have 'us to meet at all. Theſe are againſt women's meetings, and ſome 'of them againſt men's alſo, and ſay, "They ſee no ſervice for "them;" then they may hold their tongues, and not oppoſe them 'that do ſee their ſervice for God in theſe meetings.

'Therefore all you that feel the power of God, and your ſervice 'for God in them, both men and women, keep your meetings in 'the power of God, the authority of them, as they were ſettled in 'it; then ye will be preſerved both over this ſpirit that oppoſes 'them, and over the ſpirit of the world that oppoſes your other 'meetings; for it is all one in the ground, and would bring you into 'bondage. Such as are out of the peaceable goſpel oppoſe its order; 'and out of the faith that works by love, out of the wiſdom that is 'gentle, eaſy, and peaceable, &c. and out of the kingdom that 'ſtands in peace and joy. Therefore keep over that ſpirit that ſows 'diſcord or diſſenſion, and would draw you from your habitation 'and poſſeſſion in the order of the goſpel; for it is the ſame ſpirit 'that deceived Adam and Eve, by which they loſt their habitation 'in righteouſneſs and holineſs, and their dominion; ſo that ſpirit 'got over them, and it would get over you. One while it will tell 'you, "It ſees no ſervice for your meetings;" and another time oppoſe 'you. But I ſay, this is the blind ſpirit, which is out of the 'power of God, and which the power of God is over. Therefore 'keep in the power, that ye may ſtand for your liberty in Chriſt 'Jeſus, males and females, heirs of him, of his goſpel, and his 'order. Stand up for your liberty in the goſpel, and in the faith, 'which Chriſt Jeſus hath been the author of; for if ye loſe it, and 'let another ſpirit get over you, ye will not ſoon regain it. I knew 'Satan would beſtir himſelf in his inſtruments, when men's and 'women's meetings came to be ſet up in the power, light, and 'truth, and the heirs of the goſpel to take their poſſeſſion of it in 'every county and city, therein to walk, watch one over another, 'and take care of God's glory and honour, and his precious truth, 'and to ſee that all walk in the truth as becomes the goſpel, and to 'ſee that nothing was lacking; and ſo whatſoever was decent, mo- 'deſt, virtuous, lovely, comely, righteous, and of good report, to 'follow after; and to admoniſh and exhort all that were not faith- 'ful, and to rebuke all that did evil. I knew this would give ſuch 'a check to all looſe ſpeakers, talkers, and walkers, that there 'would be an oppoſition againſt ſuch meetings. But heed it not, 'truth will come over them all, and is over them all, and faith muſt 'have the victory; for the goſpel and its order is everlaſting, the

'Seed

'Seed (Chriſt) is the beginning and the ending, and will outlaſt all; 1677.
'the Amen, in whom ye have peace. I ſay, all that oppoſe the Swarthmore.
'men's and women's meetings, or that marriages ſhould be laid be-
'fore them, or the recording of condemnations of ſin and evil, or
'admoniſhing or exhorting ſuch as walk not in the truth, are of a
'looſe ſpirit, and their ſpirits tend to looſeneſs. Let thoſe take
'them that will; truth will not have them, nor any of their ſacri-
'fice: for nothing is accepted of God but what is done in truth, and
'in his Spirit, which is peaceable. The authority of our men's and
'women's meetings is the power of God; all the heirs of the goſpel
'are heirs of that authority and dignity; this is of God, and ſhall
'anſwer the witneſs of God in all. The greateſt oppoſers of this
'practice and work are ſuch as have been convinced of God's truth,
'but have not lived in it. Such were the greateſt troublers of the
'church in Moſes's day, and in the days of the apoſtles; but mark
'their end, and read what became of them all. Therefore all keep
'your habitation in the truth, and therein ye may ſee what became of
'all the oppoſers of it for twenty years paſt: they are all gone, and
'the truth lives and reigns; the Seed is over all, and all are one in
'it, in reſt, peace, and life everlaſting; and therein they ſit down
'together in the heavenly places in Chriſt Jeſus, the Amen.

'G. F.

'Swarthmore, the 5th of the
'8th month, 1676.'

While I was at Swarthmore, died William Lampit, prieſt of Ulverſtone (the pariſh that Swarthmore is in). He was an old deceiver, and perverter of the right way of the Lord, and a perſecutor of the people of God. Much conteſt I had with him when I firſt came into thoſe parts. He had been an old falſe prophet: for in the year 1652 he propheſied (and ſaid he would wage his life upon it) 'that the Quakers would all vaniſh and come to nought within half 'a year:' but he came to nought himſelf. For he continued in his falſe accuſing of God's people till a little before he died, and then cried for a little reſt. To one of his hearers, that came to viſit him before he died, he ſaid, 'I have been a preacher a long time, 'and thought I had lived well; but I did not think it had been ſo 'hard a thing to die.'

After I had finiſhed the ſervices which lay upon me then to do, feeling my ſpirit drawn towards the ſouth (though I was but weak, and not able to travel far in a day) I left Swarthmore the twenty-ſixth of the firſt month 1677, and went to Thomas Pearſon's at Powbank in Weſtmoreland, where I had a meeting the next day; and from thence to Thomas Cam's at Cam's-gill, whither Robert Widders, with his wife and ſeveral other friends came to ſee me before I left the country, and to attend the meeting there the next day, which was very large, and in which I was largely drawn forth in teſtimony to the truth. I had much diſcourſe with ſome of that meeting, who were not in unity with the quarterly meeting they belonged to: but afterwards ſeveral of them, that were ſomewhat tender, came to ſee their error, and gave forth condemnations againſt themſelves. Next

Weſtmoreland. Powbank. Cam's-gill.

1677. day John Blaykling came to Thomas Cam's, to bring me to his houſe at Drawell in Sedberg in Yorkſhire; whither I went with him, viſiting friends in the way. I ſtaid at Drawell two or three nights, having meetings there and thereabouts: for while I was there, the men's and women's meetings were held, which were very large and precious. The firſt day following I had a meeting at Brigflats, to which moſt of the friends from the ſeveral meetings round, with a great concourſe of other people, came; it was thought there were five or ſix hundred people. A very good meeting it was, wherein truth was largely declared and preciouſly opened, to the comforting and refreſhing the faithful, and the drawing near them that were afar off. I had another meeting at John Blaykling's, where came many friends that were going to the quarterly meeting at Kendal: with them my wife went back (who with her daughter Rachel had accompanied me thus far); and I, having Leonard Fell with me, paſſed through Sedberg and Garſdale into Wenſydale, viſiting friends as we went. At night I reached Richard Robinſon's at Counterſide, where ſeveral friends came to me that evening; ſome of whom went with me next day to the widow Tenant's at Scarhouſe in Langſtroth-dale, whither we had much ado to get, the ſnow lay ſo deep, though it was a week in the ſecond month. Here on firſt day we had a large meeting, friends coming to it from ſeveral parts round about; and the Lord gave me a very ſeaſonable teſtimony to bear amongſt them, which I did for ſeveral hours, to their great ſatisfaction and comfort. Thence paſſing through Biſhopſdale, Mildum, Barton, and by Bedal and Northallerton, I came to George Robinſon's at Burrowby, where alſo friends coming from ſeveral parts, we had a very large and good meeting, and very peaceacle. Not long after, an envious juſtice, hearing I had a great meeting there, troubled friends about it, and made them appear at the ſeſſions, where he aſked them many enſnaring queſtions; for he knew not how to convict them, becauſe he had no proof againſt them. When he ſaw his queſtions did not catch them; he told them, 'He had heard that George Fox was 'at a large meeting with them, and they all ſat ſilent, and none 'ſpoke in the meeting.' This falſe ſtory he cunningly feigned, thinking thereby to have drawn ſome of the friends to have contradicted him, and have ſaid, 'That I had ſpoke in the meeting;' that he might have convicted them upon their own confeſſion, and have fined them. But friends ſtanding in the wiſdom of God, did not anſwer him according to his deſire, and ſo eſcaped his ſnare. But two friends that came out of Ireland having a meeting that evening about three miles off, this evil-minded juſtice got information thereof, and fined friends, and plundered them very ſorely for it.

I went from Burrowby to Iſaac Lindley's, calling upon friends as I went. Robert Lodge, and ſome friends with me, next day paſſed to York; and the day following, being firſt day, I was at friends meeting at York, which was large and peaceable. The ſecond day alſo I ſtaid in York, and had two meetings with friends at John Taylor's, from whence I wrote to my wife, as followeth:

Yorkſhire.
Sedberg.
Drawell.
Brigflats.
Sedberg.
Garſdale.
Wenſydale.
Counterſide.
Langſtroth-dale.
Scarhouſe.
Biſhopſdale.
Mildum.
Barton.
Bedal.
Northallerton.
Burrowby.
York.

'Dear

1677.

'Dear Heart,

'TO whom is my love, and to thy daughters, and all friends that inquire after me. My desires are, that ye all may be preserved in the Lord's everlasting Seed, in whom ye will have life and peace, dominion, and settlement in the everlasting home or dwelling, in the house built upon the foundation of God. In the power of the Lord I am brought to York, having had many meetings in the way. The way was many times deep and bad with snow, our horses sometimes were down, and we were not able to ride; sometimes we had great storms and rain, but by the power of the Lord I went through all. At Scarhouse was a very large meeting, and another at Burrowby, to which friends came out of Cleveland and Bishoprick; and many other meetings we have had. At York yesterday we had a very large meeting, exceedingly thronged, friends being at it from many parts, and all quiet, and friends well satisfied: Oh! the glory of the Lord shined over all. This day we had a large men's and women's meeting, many friends, both men and women, and all was quiet. This evening we are to have the men's and women's meeting of the friends of the city. John Whitehead is here, with Robert Lodge and others: friends are mighty glad, above measure. So I am in my holy element, and holy work in the Lord; glory to his name for ever! To-morrow I intend to go out of the city towards Tadcaster, though I cannot ride as in days past; yet praised be the Lord that I can travel so well as I do! So my love in the Fountain of Life, in which as ye all abide ye will have the refreshmnet of life; that by it ye may grow, and gather eternal strength to serve the Lord, and be satisfied. To the God of all power, who is all-sufficient to preserve you, I commit you all, to his ordering.

'G. F.'

'York, the 16th of the second month, 1677.'

York.

Leaving York, I visited friends at Tadcaster, Nottingly, Doncaster, and Balby, having meetings as I went. At Balby I staid the first-day meeting, and went next day to Thomas Stacy's at Ballowfield, where in the evening I had a meeting, to compose a difference that had happened between some that professed truth, and they were reconciled. Next day I came to Stainsby in Derbyshire, in which county I had formerly lived, about the first breaking forth of truth. Here I had a good meeting with friends, and afterwards passed to Skegby in Nottinghamshire, and from thence to Nottingham, to John Reckless's. I had a meeting with friends at his house that evening, and another the next day in friends publick meeting-house, which was peaceable and well.

Yorkshire. Tadcaster. Nottingly. Doncaster. Balby. Ballowfield. Derbyshire. Stainsby. Nottingham. shire. Skegby.

I went the day following to John Fox's at Wymeswould in Leicestershire, where I had a meeting that evening; and next day to William Smith's at Sileby, where, it being first day, we had a very large meeting: for besides friends from several places, many of the townspeople, hearing I was there, came to the meeting, and heard the truth declared gladly. Next day I went to Leicester, where finding

Leicestershire Wymeswould Sileby. Leicester.

1677. many friends come out of the country, to be at the horſe-fair next day, I had a very good meeting with them that night, and another next evening at William Wells's at Knighton, about a mile from Leiceſter. Next day I paſſed to Swanington, and had a meeting there: from thence to Samuel Fretwell's at Hartſhorn in Derbyſhire, where I had a meeting alſo; then to Henry Sidon's at Badgely in Warwickſhire, and ſtaid the meeting there, which, being the firſt day, was very large and peaceable, notwithſtanding a juſtice had threatened to come and break it up. I went in the evening to Richard Baal's of Whittington, where ſeveral friends came to viſit me. Next day I went to Nathaniel Newton's at Hartſhill, where ſeveral friends met me, with whom I had good ſervice. After this I paſſed on, viſiting friends in divers places, till I came to Dingley, where a meeting was appointed before, which was very numerous, and truth was largely opened to the people: the meeting was peaceable, and the people generally ſober; ſaving that, while I was ſhewing how chriſtendom (ſo called) was gone from the pure religion that is undefiled, &c. a man ruſhed out in a furious manner, and ſaid, 'I 'deny that.' After this meeting, I went with Thomas Charles to his houſe at Adingworth; and next day to Northampton, where I ſtaid the firſt-day meeting, which was very large and peaceable. I had much ſervice among friends beſides. Next day Edward Cooper of Northampton accompanied me to Olney in Buckinghamſhire, where I ſtaid at James Brierlie's, ſeveral frieuds coming to ſee me in the evening. Next day I went to a meeting at Turry in Bedfordſhire, to which friends came from ſeveral parts. It was a very large meeting. Here I met with William Dewſberry, who after the meeting took me to his ſon-in-law John Ruſh's of Kempſton, where I ſtaid with William that night and moſt of the next day; paſſing thence towards the evening through Ampthill to Thomas Gamboll's of Bullocks-hill. William Dewſberry went along with me, and ſeveral friends came to viſit us. Next day, paſſing through Luton, I went to Market-ſtreet, William Dewſberry accompanying me part of the way, and the day following Leonard Fell. I had a meeting at Kenſworth, which was pretty large and peaceable; after which we viſited friends at Alban's, and next day at South Mims and Barnet. We came that night to the widow Haly's at Gutterſhedge in Hendon, Middleſex. Next day, being firſt-day, we had a very large meeting there, ſeveral friends coming from London. I ſtaid ſecond day, and the third went to William Mead's houſe at Highgate, with whom next day I went to London. It being fourth-day, I went to the meeting at Gracechurch-ſtreet, where friends and I were greatly refreſhed in each other in the Lord, and the Lord's power and Seed was ſet over all; bleſſed be his name for ever!

Knighton. Swanington. Derbyſhire. Hartſhorn. Badgely. Warwickſhire. Whittington. Hartſhill. Dingley. Adingworth. Northampton. Olney in Buckinghamſhire. Bedfordſhire. Turry. Kempſton. Ampthill. Bullocks hill. Luton. Market ſtreet. Kenſworth. Albans. South-Mims. Barnet. Middleſex. Gutterſhedge in Hendon. Highgate. London.

Thus it pleaſed the Lord to bring me ſafe to London, tho' much wearied; for tho' I rode not very far in a day, yet thro' weakneſs of body, continual travelling was hard to me. Beſides, I had not much reſt a-nights to refreſh nature, for I often ſat up late with friends where I lodged, to inform and adviſe them in things wherein they were wanting; and when I was in bed, I was often hindered of ſleep by great

great pains in my head and teeth, occaſioned, as I thought, by cold I had taken by riding often in the rain. But the Lord's power was over all, and carried me through all, to his praiſe. 1677. London.

In my journey I obſerved a ſlackneſs and ſhortneſs in ſome that profeſſed truth, in keeping up the antient teſtimony of truth againſt tithes: for where-ever that ſpirit got entrance which wrought diviſion in the church, and oppoſed the men's and women's meetings, it weakened thoſe that received it in their teſtimony againſt tithes. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to give forth an 'Epiſtle to friends,' to ſtir up the pure mind in them, and to encourage and ſtrengthen them in their chriſtian teſtimony againſt that antichriſtirn yoke of oppreſſion.

'My dear friends,

'BE faithful to the Lord in your teſtimony for Jeſus, who hath ended the levitical prieſthood of Aaron that took tithes, and ſent his miniſters to give freely that which they had received of him freely, without a bag or a ſtaff. Chriſt's diſciples could not join with thoſe that made a trade of preaching. And as there was a teſtimony to be borne againſt thoſe tithes which were commanded in the law for Levi and Aaron, ſo there is a teſtimony to be borne againſt thoſe tithes which have been ſet up by man in the dark time of popery, and not ſet up by God nor Chriſt. To cry againſt the prieſts in words, and yet to give them means, and put into their mouths, that they may not prepare war againſt you, is a contradiction. Therefore take heed: for if the Lord bleſs you with outward creatures, and you beſtow them upon Baal's prieſts, he may juſtly require the outward things from you again which he hath given you; who ſaith, That his miniſters ſhould freely give, as they have freely received. So all the preachers for tithes and money, and the takers and payers of tithe, muſt be teſtified againſt in the Lord's power and Spirit; that all may ſtand up in their teſtimony for Jeſus Chriſt, in his power and ſpirit, againſt the tithe-mongers. Conſider how many faithful ſervants and valiants of the Lord have laid down their lives againſt them, in this day of the Lord; and in the days of the martyrs they did witneſs againſt them. Conſider alſo what judgments have come upon thoſe that ſpoiled friends goods, and caſt them into priſon for tithes and maintenance. Therefore in the power of the Lord maintain the war againſt the beaſt, and do not put into his mouth, leſt he cry peace to you; which peace you muſt not receive, but it muſt be broken and thrown out by the Spirit of God. Then in the ſame Spirit ye will receive the peace from the Son of peace, which the beaſt, the whore, and the world, with all their earthly teachers for the earth, made by man, cannot receive nor bereave you of. Therefore keep your authority and dominion in the power, Spirit, and name of Jeſus, in whom is my love to you.

'G. F.

'3d month, 1677.'

I came

1677.

London. I came to London ten or twelve days before the yearly meeting; in which time I fell in with friends there in the ſervice of truth, viſiting them at the meetings. The parliament then ſitting, we prepared ſomething to lay before them, concerning ſeizing the third part of friends eſtates, as Popiſh recuſants; which was a great ſuffering, and a grievance we complained of; but no redreſs we got.

Yearly meeting. To the yearly meeting many friends came from moſt parts of the nation, and ſome out of Scotland, Holland, &c. Very glorious meetings we had, wherein the Lord's powerful preſence was very largely felt, and the affairs of truth were ſweetly carried on in the unity of the Spirit, to the ſatisfaction and comfort of the upright-hearted; bleſſed be the Lord for ever! After the yearly meeting, having ſtaid a week or two with friends in London, I went with William Penn to his houſe in Suſſex; John Burnyeat and ſome other friends being with us. As we paſſed through Surry, hearing the quarterly meeting for the county was that day, William Penn, John Burnyeat, and I went from the road to it; and after the meeting returning to our other company, went with them to William Penn's that night, which is forty miles from London. I ſtaid at Wormingburſt about three weeks, in which time John Burnyeat and I anſwered a very wicked and envious book, which Roger Williams, a prieſt of New England (or ſome colony thereabouts) had written againſt truth and friends. When we had finiſhed that ſervice, we went with Stephen Smith to his houſe at Warpledon in Surry, where we had a large meeting. Friends thereaway had been exceedingly plundered about two months before on the prieſt's account; for they took from Stephen Smith five kine (being all he had) for about fifty ſhillings tithes. From thence we went to Kingſton, and ſo to London, where I ſtaid not long: for it was upon me from the Lord to go into Holland, to viſit friends and to preach the goſpel there and in ſome parts of Germany. Wherefore ſetting things in order for my journey as faſt as I could, I took leave of friends at London, and with ſeveral other friends went down to Colcheſter in Eſſex, in order to my paſſage for Holland. Next day, being firſt day, I was at the publick meeting of friends there, which was very large and peaceable. In the evening I had another large meeting, but not ſo publick, at John Furly's houſe, where I lodged. The day following was the women's meeting, which was alſo very large. Next day we paſſed to Harwich, where Robert Duncon, and ſeveral other friends came to ſee us; and ſome from London, that intended to go over with me. The packet-boat not being ready, we went to the meeting in the town, and a precious opportunity we had together; for the Lord, according to his wonted goodneſs, by his overcoming, refreſhing power, opened many mouths to declare his everlaſting truth, and to praiſe and glorify him. After the meeting, we returned to John Vandewall's, where I had lodged; and when the boat was ready (taking leave of friends) we that were bound for Holland went on board about the 9th hour in the evening, the 25th of the 5th month, 1677.

Suſſex.
Surry.
Worming-burſt.
Surry.
Warpledon.
Kingſton.
London.
Eſſex.
Colcheſter.
Harwich.

The friends that went over with me were William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, John Furly and his brother, William Tailcoat, George Watts, and Iſabel Yeomans, one of

of my wife's daughters. About the firſt hour in the morning we weighed anchor, having a fair, briſk wind, which by the next morning brought us within ſight of Holland. But that day proving very clear and calm, we got forward but little till about the fourth hour in the afternoon, when a freſh gale aroſe, which carried us within a league of land. Then being becalmed, we caſt anchor for that night between the hours of nine and ten in the evening. But William Penn and Robert Barclay (underſtanding Benjamin Furly was come from Rotterdam to the Briel to meet us) got two of the boatmen to let down a ſmall boat that belonged to the packet, and row them to ſhore: but before they could reach it, the gates were ſhut; and there being no houſe without the gate, they were fain to lie in a fiſher's boat all night. As ſoon as the gates were opened in the morning, they went in, and found Benjamin Furly, with other friends of Rotterdam, come to receive us; and they ſent a boat, with three young men in it, that lived with Benjamin Furly, who brought us to the Briel, where the friends received us with great gladneſs. 1677. Holland. Briel.

We ſtaid about two hours to refreſh ourſelves; and then took boat, with the Holland friends, for Rotterdam, where we arrived about the eleventh hour that day, the 28th of the fifth month 1677. I was very well this voyage, but ſome of the friends were ſea-ſick. A fine paſſage we had, and all came ſafe and well to land; bleſſed and praiſed be the name of the Lord for ever! Rotterdam.

The next day, being firſt day, we had two meetings at Benjamin Furly's, where many of the town's-people and ſome officers came in, and all were civil. Benjamin Furly or John Claus interpreted, when any friend declared. I ſpent the next day in viſiting friends. The day following, William Penn and I, with other friends, went towards Amſterdam, with ſome of that city, who came to Rotterdam to conduct us thither. We took boat in the afternoon, and, paſſing by Overkirk, came to Delft, through which we walked on foot; and then took boat again to Leyden, where we lodged that night at an inn. This is counted ſix Dutch miles from Rotterdam, which are eighteen Engliſh miles, and five hours ſail, or travelling; for our boat was drawn by an horſe that went on the ſhore. Next day taking boat again, we went to Harlem, fourteen miles from Leyden, where we had appointed a meeting, which proved very large. Many of the town's-people came in, and two of their preachers. The Lord gave us a bleſſed opportunity, not only with reſpect to friends, but to other ſober people, and the meeting ended peaceably and well. After meeting we paſſed to Amſterdam, accompanied by ſeveral friends of that city and of Alkmaer. Overkirk. Delft. Leyden. Harlem. Amſterdam.

Next day was the quarterly meeting at Amſterſtam, to which came friends from Harlem and Rotterdam, and with them thoſe of our company, whom we had left at Rotterdam, viz. Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, &c. The meeting was at Gertrude Dirick Nieſon's. A very large and ſerviceable meeting it was. William Penn and I were drawn to open many things concerning the order of the goſpel, and to ſhew the benefit and ſervice of yearly, quarterly, and monthly meetings of men and women. We had another meeting at Gertrude's the next day, more publick, and very

1677. Amſterdam. large, at which were profeſſors of ſeveral ſorts, unto whom the way of life and ſalvation was largely and livingly opened; which they hearkened very attentively to, none making any objection to what was declared. In the afternoon we had another meeting in the ſame place, but leſs, and more private. The day following we had a meeting of friends only, wherein by joint agreement were ſettled ſeveral meetings, to wit, monthly, quarterly, and a yearly meeting, to be held at Amſterdam for friends in all the United Provinces of Holland, and in Embden, the Palatinate, Hamburgh, Frederickſtadt, Dantzick, and other places in and about Germany; which friends were very glad of, and it hath been of great ſervice to truth.

Next day an exerciſe came upon me concerning that deceitful ſpirit which wrought in ſome to make diviſions in the church; and the care of the churches being upon me, I was moved to write a few lines to warn friends of it, as followeth:

'ALL friends, keep over that ſpirit of ſeparation and diviſion, in 'the peaceable truth, and in the Seed of life, which will wear 'it all out, and outlaſt it. For the Lamb will have the victory over 'all the ſpirits of ſtrife, as it hath had ſince the beginning; and 'they will wither, as others have done: but all that keep in the 'Seed, which is always green, ſhall never wither; as friends have 'been to this day kept. If any have backſlidden, thrown off the 'croſs, grown looſe and full, and gone into ſtrife and contention 'with their earthly ſpirits, and therein plead for liberty, this ſpirit 'taketh with looſe, earthly ſpirits, and cries impoſition to ſuch as 'admoniſh them to come to the life, light, Spirit, and power of 'God, that they may be made alive, and live again with the living. 'Upon this admonition their ſpirits riſe into contention, ſtrife, and 'ſeparation, turning againſt the living, in their looſe earthly ſpirits, 'which would have the name of truth, but are not in the nature of 'it, but are for eternal judgment of the living Seed. This is it which 'doth deceive, but it is judged by that which doth undeceive and 'ſave.

'G. F.

'Amſterdam in Holland, the 5th
'of the 6th month, 1677.'

This being firſt-day, we had a very large meeting, there coming to it a great concourſe of people of ſeveral opinions, Baptiſts, Seekers, Socinians, Browniſts, and ſome of the Collegians. Robert Barclay, George Keith, William Penn and I, did all ſeverally declare the everlaſting truth among them; opening the ſtate of man in the fall, and ſhewing by what way man and woman may come into the reſtoration by Chriſt Jeſus. The myſtery of iniquity and the myſtery of godlineſs were very plainly laid open, and the meeting ended quietly and well.

The day following, George Keith, Robert Barclay, and William Penn, leaving me and ſome other friends at Amſterdam, ſet forward towards Germany, where they travelled many hundred miles, and had

had good ſervice for the Lord, Benjamin Furly going with them, and interpreting. 1677.

That day and the next I ſtaid at Amſterdam, viſiting friends, and aſſiſting them in ſome buſineſs concerning their meetings. Three Baptiſts came to diſcourſe with me, to whom I opened things to their ſatisfaction, and they parted from me in kindneſs. I wrote a letter alſo to the princeſs Elizabeth, which Iſabel Yeomans delivered to her, when George Keith's wife and ſhe went to viſit her. Amſterdam.

'Princeſs Elizabeth,

'I HAVE heard of thy tenderneſs toward the Lord and his holy truth, by ſome friends that have viſited thee, and alſo by ſome of thy letters, which I have ſeen; which indeed is a great thing, for a perſon of thy quality to have ſuch a tender mind after the Lord and his precious truth, ſeeing ſo many are ſwallowed up with voluptuouſneſs, and the pleaſures of this world; yet all make an outward profeſſion of God and Chriſt one way or other, but without any deep inward ſenſe and feeling of him. For it is not many mighty nor wiſe of the world that can become fools for Chriſt's ſake, or can become low in the humility of Chriſt Jeſus from their mighty ſtate, through which they might receive a mightier eſtate, and a mightier kingdom, through the inward holy Spirit, the divine light and power of God; and a mightier wiſdom, which is from above, pure and peaceable; which wiſdom is above that which is below, that is earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh, by which men deſtroy one another about their religions, ways, worſhips, and churches: but this they have not from God nor Chriſt. The wiſdom which is from above, by which all things were made and created, which the holy fear of God in the heart is the beginning of, keeps the heart clean. By this wiſdom are all God's children to be ordered, and with it come to order all things to God's glory. This is the wiſdom that is juſtified of her children. In this fear of God and wiſdom, my deſire is, that thou mayeſt be preſerved to God's glory. For the Lord is come to teach his people himſelf, and to ſet up his enſign, that the nations may flow unto it. There hath been an apoſtaſy, ſince the apoſtles days, from the divine light of Chriſt, which ſhould have given them the "light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Chriſt Jeſus;" and from the Holy Spirit, which would have led them into all truth; and therefore have people ſet up ſo many leaders without them, to give them knowledge; and alſo from the holy and precious faith which Jeſus Chriſt is the author and finiſher of, which faith purifies the heart, and gives victory over that which ſeparates from God; through which faith they have acceſs to God, and in which faith they pleaſe God, the myſtery of which is held in a pure conſcience. And alſo from the goſpel which was preached in the apoſtle's days (which goſpel is the power of God) which brings life and immortality to light in man and woman, by which people ſhould have ſeen over the devil that has darkened them; which goſpel will preſerve all them that receive it in life and immortality. For the eyes of people have been after men, and not after the Lord,

'who

1677. Amſterdam.

'who doth write his law in the hearts, and puts it into the minds 'of all the children of the new covenant of light, life, and grace; 'through which they all come to know the Lord, from the leaſt to 'the greateſt: ſo that the knowledge of the Lord may cover the 'earth, as the waters do the ſea. This work of the Lord is begin-'ning again, as it was in the apoſtles days; people ſhall come to 'receive an unction in them from the Holy One, by which they 'ſhall know all things, and ſhall not need any man to teach them, 'but as the anointing doth teach them; and alſo to know what the 'righteouſneſs of faith ſpeaks, the word nigh in the heart and mouth 'to obey it, and to do it. This was the word of faith the apo-'ſtles preached; which is now received and preached again, and is 'the duty of all true Chriſtians to receive. So now people are 'coming out of the apoſtaſy, to the light of Chriſt and his Spirit; to 'receive faith from him, and not from men; to receive the goſpel 'from him, their unction from him, the Word; and as they receive 'him, they declare him freely, as his command was to his diſciples, 'and is ſtill to the learners and receivers of him. For the Lord 'God and his Son Jeſus Chriſt is come to teach his people, and to 'bring them from all the world's ways to Chriſt the way, the truth, 'and the life, who is the way to the Father; and from all the world's 'teachers and ſpeakers to him the ſpeaker and teacher, as Heb. i. 1. 'and from all the world's worſhippers, to worſhip God in the Spirit 'and in the truth, which worſhip Chriſt ſet up above ſixteen hundred 'years ago, when he put down the Jews worſhip at the temple at 'Jeruſalem, and the worſhip at the mountain where Jacob's well 'was; and to bring people from all the world's religions, which they 'have made ſince the apoſtles days, to the religion that was ſet up 'by Chriſt and his apoſtles, which is pure and undefiled before God, 'and keeps from the ſpots of the world; and to bring them out of 'all the world's churches and fellowſhips, made and ſet up ſince the 'apoſtles days, to the church that is in God, the Father of our Lord 'Jeſus Chriſt, Theſſ. i. 1. and to bring to the unity and fellowſhip 'in the Holy Spirit, that doth mortify, circumciſe, and baptize, to 'plunge down ſin and corruption, that has got up in man and woman 'by tranſgreſſion. In this Holy Spirit there is holy fellowſhip and 'unity; yea, it is the bond of the Prince of Princes, the King of Kings, 'and Lord of Lords peace: which heavenly peace all true Chriſtians 'are to maintain with ſpiritual weapons, not with carnal.

'And now, my friend, the holy men of God wrote the ſcriptures 'as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt; and all Chriſtendom are 'on heaps about thoſe ſcriptures, becauſe they are not led by the 'ſame Holy Ghoſt as thoſe were that gave forth the ſcriptures; 'which Holy Ghoſt they muſt come to in themſelves, and be led 'by, if they come into all the truth of them, and to have the comfort 'of God, Chriſt, and them. For none can call Jeſus Lord but by 'the Holy Ghoſt; and all that call Chriſt Lord without the Holy 'Ghoſt, take his name in vain. Likewiſe all that name his name 'are to depart from iniquity; then they name his name with reve-'rence, in truth and righteouſneſs. O therefore feel the grace and 'truth in thy heart, that is come by Jeſus Chriſt, that will teach

'thee

'thee how to live, and what to deny. It will eſtabliſh thy heart, 1677.
'ſeaſon thy words, and bring thy ſalvation, and will be a teacher Amſterdam.
'unto thee at all times. By it thou mayeſt receive Chriſt, from
'whence it comes; and as many as receive him, to them he gives
'power not only to ſtand againſt ſin and evil, but to become the ſons
'of God: if ſons, then heirs of a life, and a world and kingdom
'without end, and of the eternal riches and treaſures thereof. So
'in haſte, with my love in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who taſted death
'for every man, and bruiſes the ſerpent's head, that has been betwixt
'God and man, that through Chriſt man may come to God again,
'and praiſe him through Jeſus Chriſt the Amen, the ſpiritual hea-
'venly rock and foundation for all God's people to build upon, to
'the praiſe and glory of God, who is over all, bleſſed for ever-
'more!

'GEORGE FOX.'

'Amſterdam, the 7th of the
'6th month, 1677.

'POSTSCRIPT.

'The bearer hereof is a daughter-in-law of mine, that comes
'with Gertrude Dirick Nieſon and George Keith's wife, to give thee
'a viſit.

'G. F.'

The princeſs Elizabeth's anſwer:

'Dear friend,

'I CANNOT but have a tender love to thoſe that love the Lord
'Jeſus Chriſt, to whom it is given not only to believe in him,
'but alſo to ſuffer for him: therefore your letter, and your friends
'viſit, have been both very welcome to me. I ſhall follow their
'and your counſel, as far as God will afford me light and unction:
'remaining ſtill

Your loving friend,

'Hertfort, the 30th of
'Auguſt, 1677. 'ELIZABETH.'

Next day John Claus and I paſſed to Buyckſlote, Purmerent, and Alcmaer, about thirty miles from Amſterdam. We went to a friend's whoſe name was Willem Willems, where I had a meeting that night. I had another next day, which was larger: ſeveral profeſſors came, and all was quiet and well. After the meeting I viſited ſome friends; then, taking boat, paſſed to Hoorn, counted the chief city in North Holland. We lodged at an inn; and, taking waggon early next morning, we paſſed to Enckhuyſen, where we took ſhip for Frieſland; and, landing in the afternoon at Workum, took water, and rode upon the high bank of the Friezen ſeas, till we met two friends coming with a waggon to meet us, with whom we went to Harlingen, the chief ſea-port town in Frieſland. We went to Heſſel Jacobs's, whither ſeveral friends came to viſit us that night. Next day we viſited the friends of the place; and I wrote a paper, di-

Buyckſlote. Purmerent. Alcmaer. Hoorn. North Holland. Enckhuyſen Frieſland. Workum. Harlingen.

1677. rected, 'To all them that perſecute friends for not obſerving their 'faſt-day.'

Harlingen. The day following being firſt day, friends had a meeting there, to which we went, and many profeſſors came to it. I declared the everlaſting goſpel amongſt them, John Claus interpreting. They were all very civil, and heard attentively; and when the meeting was done, departed peaceably, without making any oppoſition. After meeting I went to Heſſel Jacobs's again, whither after a while came a Calviniſt, to aſk me ſome queſtions, which I anſwered to his ſatisfaction; and he departed friendly. Soon after he was gone, a preacher of the Collegians came to diſcourſe with me, who ſeemed well ſatisfied alſo, and we parted lovingly. That evening I had another meeting with the friends there, and next morning we paſſed to Leuwarden, the chief city in Frieſland, and lodged that night at a friend's houſe whoſe name was Sybrand Dowes.

Leuwarden.

Dockum. Next morning early we paſſed to Dockum, and, walking through the city, took boat again to Strobus, which is the utmoſt part of Frieſland. There we baited at a commiſſary's. Then taking boat, we paſſed to Groningen, the chief city of the province of Groningland. One of the magiſtrates of that city came with us from Leuwarden, with whom I had ſome diſcourſe on the way; and he was very loving. We walked near three miles through the city; then took boat for Delfziel; and paſſing, in the evening, through Appingdalem, where had been a great horſe-fair that day, there came many officers ruſhing into the boat, who, being in drink, were very rude. I exhorted them to 'fear the Lord, and beware of Solomon's vani-'ties.' They were a ſort of boiſterous fellows; yet ſomewhat more civil afterwards. We landed at Delfziel about the tenth hour at night, having travelled much about fifty Engliſh miles that day. We went to an inn to lodge; and as we paſſed through the guards, they examined John Claus, whether I was not a militia ſoldier? He told them I was not, and they let us paſs peaceably.

Strobus.

Groningen.

Delfziel.

Appingdalem.

Delfziel ſtands on the river Eems, over which we paſſed next day to Embden, where friends had been cruelly perſecuted, and from which they had been often baniſhed. I went to an inn, where I dined with ſome men that underſtood Engliſh, with whom I had a fine time, and they were loving. Mean while John Claus went with his wife to her father's, in Embden; whither, after I had dined, I went alſo, underſtanding the old man was deſirous to ſee me. In the afternoon John Claus and I walked through the city, to the place where the waggon was to meet us: and while we tarried for it, the friends that were in the city came to the houſe where we were, and we had a little meeting. When the meeting was over, and the waggon came not, we ſent to know the reaſon. The maſter of the waggon ſent us word, he durſt not let his waggon go; for the biſhop of Munſter's ſoldiers were up in the country, and he was afraid they would take away his horſes. Being diſappointed of our paſſage, we returned to John Claus's father-in-law's houſe, where I left him, and went to my inn at night.

Embden.

River Embs. East Frieſland. Leer. We took ſhipping next day, and paſſed about fifteen miles upon the river Embs, to a market-town in Eaſt Frieſland, called Leer, where

where lived a friend that had been baniſhed from Embden. When we had viſited him, we hired a waggon, and paſſed to a garriſon-town called Strikehuyſen, where the guards examined us; and then we went to Deteren, where hiring another waggon, we paſſed to another garriſoned town, where we were very ſtrictly examined. From thence we paſſed to Apre, in the king of Denmark's country, where we lodged that night. In our travelling this day, we met the earl of Oldenburgh, going to the treaty of peace at Lembachie. 1677. Strikehuyſen. Deteren. Apre.

Next day we paſſed to Oldenburgh, lately a great and famous place, but then burnt down, and but few houſes left ſtanding in it. At this place we hired another waggon, and went to Delmenhurſt, where, after we had been examined by the guards. we went to a burgomaſter's to lodge, whoſe houſe was at an inn. There being many people, I declared the way of truth to him and them, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all evil-doers. Oldenburgh. Delmenhurſt.

We paſſed next day to Bremen, a ſtately city in Germany; and from thence, after a double examination, we went to a water called Overdeland, and there took boat to Fiſher-holder; where finding pretty many people together, I declared the way of God to them, and exhorted them 'to fear the Lord.' There we took waggon again, and travelled in the biſhop of Munſter's country, to Cloſterſeven. Having no inclination to ſtay there, we got freſh horſes, intending to travel all night. Accordingly we went a little way; but it quickly grew ſo dark, and rained ſo hard, that we thought beſt to turn back again; for our waggon being open, we had no defence againſt the rain, and our cloaths were already wet with the rain that had fallen for ſeveral days before. So we went to an inn, and got a little freſh ſtraw; upon which we lay till about break of day, then ſet out and travelled to the city of Buxtehude. Germany. Bremen. Overdelend. Fiſherholder. Munſterland. Cloſterſeven. Buxtehude.

The people in the biſhop of Munſter's country were very dark. As we paſſed amongſt them, I preached truth to them, warning them of the great and notable day of the Lord, exhorting them to ſoberneſs, and to mind the good Spirit of God in themſelves.

It was on a firſt day that we went through Buxtehude; and without the walls was a great fair of ſheep and geeſe that day. We ſtaid a little to refreſh ourſelves, and went on as faſt as we could to Hamburgh, partly by waggon, and partly by water.

We got to Hamburgh time enough to have a meeting there that evening. A good and glorious meeting it was. There were, amongſt others, a baptiſt teacher and his wife, and a great man of Sweden with his wife; and all was quiet, bleſſed be the Lord, whoſe power was exalted over all! Yet a hard, dark place this is, and the people are much ſhut up from truth. Hamburgh.

At Hamburgh was a woman that had ſpoken againſt me in John Perrot's time, though ſhe had never ſeen me till now. She had been troubled for it ever ſince, and now was glad of an opportunity to acknowledge her fault; which ſhe very readily did, and I as readily and freely forgave her.

We ſtaid that night at Hamburgh, encouraging and ſtrengthening the friends there in their teſtimony to the truth; and betimes next morning we ſet forwards towards Frederickſtadt, which is two long days

1677. days journey from Hamburgh. We went the firſt day to Elmſhoorn, where we baited, and then rode thro' a garriſon-town of the king of Denmark's; and, paſſing by the monument of the earl of Rantzow, came to the city of Itzeho, where we lodged that night. I had ſome ſervice in the evening, among the people in the inn, whom I exhorted to ſoberneſs, and to live in the fear of the Lord. Next morning we travelled to Hoghenhorn, where we dined at an inn with one of the council of Frederickſtadt; to whom, and to the reſt of the people preſent, I declared the truth, with which they ſeemed to be affected. Then travelling on, we came to a river called Eyder, where we took boat, and went to Frederickſtadt. We went to William Paul's, where ſeveral friends came to us, for there is a pretty company of friends in that city. We had a fine refreſhing meeting together that evening, which made us forget our wearineſs; for we were indeed very weary, having travelled hard thoſe two days, and were wet through our cloaths, having had much rain in our open waggons. But the Lord made all eaſy and good to us; and we were well, and glad to ſee friends; bleſſed be his holy name for ever!

Elmſhoorn. Rantzow. Itzeho. Hoghenhorn. River Eyder. Frederick-ſtadt.

Holſtein. This city is in the duke of Holſtein's country, who would have baniſhed friends out of the city and country, and ſent to the magiſtrates of the city to do it; but they ſaid, they would lay down their offices rather than do it; inaſmuch as themſelves came to that city to enjoy the liberty of their conſciences. Friends ſtill enjoy their liberty there, and truth and they are of good report amongſt the people, both in city and country.

On firſt day I had a meeting here, to which many people came, and ſome rough ſpirits; but the power of the Lord bound them down, and the Seed of life was ſet over all. While I was here, I had a diſcourſe with a Levite concerning the coming of the Meſſiah; and he was much confounded in what he ſaid; yet he carried himſelf lovingly, and invited me to his houſe. I went, and there diſcourſed with a Jew, who ſhewed me their Talmud, and many other Jewiſh books: but they are very dark, and do not underſtand their own prophets.

There was at this city a Baptiſt teacher, who had reproached and belyed friends; wherefore John Claus went, with two friends of the town, to the houſe where he lodged, cleared truth and friends from his reproaches, and laid his lyes and ſlanders upon his own head, to his ſhame.

Before we left this place, I had another meeting with friends only, wherein I laid before them the uſefulneſs of a monthly meeting, for looking after the poor, and taking care that marriages, and all other things relating to the church, were performed in an orderly manner. The thing anſwered the witneſs of God in their conſciences, ſo they readily agreed to have monthly meetings thenceforward amongſt themſelves, that both men and women might take care of the outward concerns of the church.

Feeling my ſpirit clear of that place, we took leave of friends, whom we left in good order, and turned back for Hamburgh. When we had travelled one day's journey, and came to an inn at night to lodge, I inquired whether there were any tender people in the town

that feared God, or that had a mind to diſcourſe of the things of God? The inn-keeper told me, there were few ſuch in that town. Next night we got to Hamburgh, and having paſſed the guards, went to a friend's houſe, being very weary; for we had been up thoſe two mornings before the third hour, and had travelled each day hard and late. Here we met with John Hill, an Engliſh friend, who had been travelling in Germany; and being in a ſhip bound for Amſterdam that waited for a wind, he had lain ſick on board about two weeks; and now hearing that I was in the country got off from the ſhip, and came hither to meet me, and go along with me. 1677. Hamburgh.

We had a very good meeting here, and very peaceable. After which I had diſcourſe with a *Swede*, an eminent man in his own country; who, having been baniſhed from thence upon the account of his religion, was come to Hamburgh, and was at the meeting I had there before. When I had done with him, I had another diſcourſe with a Baptiſt concerning the ſacraments, ſo called: in both which I had good ſervice, having opportunity thereby to open truth unto them.

Being clear of Hamburgh, we took leave of friends there, whom we left well; and taking John Hill with us, paſſed by boat to a city in the duke of Lunenburgh's country; where, after we were examined by the guards, we were had to the main guard, and there examined more ſtrictly; but after they found we were not ſoldiers, they were civil to us, and let us paſs. In the afternoon we travelled by waggon, and the waters being much out, by reaſon of the great rains that had fallen, when it drew towards night we hired a boy to guide us through a great water. When we came to it the water was ſo deep, before we could come at the bridge, that the waggoner was fain to wade, and I drove the waggon. When we were come upon the bridge, the horſes broke part of it down, and one of them fell into the water, the waggon ſtanding upon that part of the bridge which remained unbroken. It was the Lord's mercy to us, that the waggon did not run into the brook. When they had got the horſe out, he lay a while as if he had been dead; but at length they got him up, put him to the waggon again, laid the planks right, and then, through the goodneſs of the Lord to us, we got ſafe over. Duke of Lunenburg's country.

After this we came to another water, which finding to be very deep, and it being in the night, we hired two men to help us through. Theſe men put cords to the waggon to hold it by, that the force of the water might not drive it beſide the way. But when we came into it, the ſtream was ſo ſtrong it took one of the horſes off his legs, and was carrying him down the ſtream; which I ſeeing, called to the waggoner to pluck him to him by his reins, which he did, and the horſe recovered his legs, and with much difficulty we got over the bridge, and went to Bormer-haven, the town where the waggoner lived. It was the laſt day of the ſixth month that we eſcaped theſe dangers, and being about the eleventh hour in the night when we came in here, we got ſome freſh ſtraw, and lay upon it till about four in the morning. Then getting up, we ſet forward again towards Bremen, going part of the way by waggon, and part by boat. Bormer haven.

1677. In the way I had good opportunities to publiſh truth, eſpecially at a market-town where we ſtaid to change our paſſage; where I declared the truth to the people, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all fleſh; and exhorting them to righteouſneſs, telling them, 'that God was come to teach his people himſelf,' and that they ſhould turn to the Lord, and hearken to the teachings of his Spirit in their own hearts.

Bromerhaven.

Bremen. At Bremen we were examined, and after went to an inn, and ſtaid till another waggon was provided to carry us further. Though I felt the Lord's power was over the city, and kept the wicked and unruly ſpirits down, yet my ſpirit ſuffered much in this place for the people's ſake. When our waggon was ready we left Bremen, and travelled to Keby, where we lodged at an inn, and early next morning ſet out for Oldenburgh. It was a lamentable ſight to ſee ſo great and brave a city burnt down. We went to an inn, and though it was firſt-day the ſoldiers were drinking, and playing at ſhovel-board, and at thoſe few houſes that were left, the ſhops were open, and the people trading one with another. I was moved to declare the truth among them, and warn them of the judgments of God; and though they heard me quietly, and were civil towards me, yet I was burdened with their wickedneſs. Many times in mornings, and at noons and nights, at the inns, and on the ways, as I travelled, I ſpoke to the people, preaching the truth to them, warning them of the day of the Lord, and exhorting them to turn to the light and Spirit of God in themſelves, that thereby they might be led out of evil.

Keby.

Oldenburgh.

Leer. Next day, paſſing through many great waters, we came to Leer, and the day following to Embden, where John Claus's wife's father lived; at whoſe houſe, when we went into Germany, we left a young man ſick, who travelled with me, and uſed to write for me; whom now we found pretty well recovered. John Claus went to his father-in-law's, John Hill and I to an inn, where we dined. After dinner we went alſo to John Claus's father's, and had a good meeting there in the evening.

Embden.

Delfziel. The day following we took ſhipping at Embden, and paſſed to Delfziel, and went to an inn, where a friend came to us that then lived in Delfziel, having been often baniſhed from Embden: he was a goldſmith by trade, and had a houſe and ſhop in Embden, and ſtill as they baniſhed him he went again. Then they impriſoned him, fed him with bread and water, and at length took his goods from him, and baniſhed him, his wife, and children, leaving them neither place to come to, nor any thing to ſubſiſt on. We comforted and encouraged him in the Lord, exhorting him to be faithful, and ſtand ſtedfaſt in the teſtimony committed to him. When we had taken leave of him, we paſſed the ſame day to Groningen, where we met with Cornelius Andries, a friend, that had alſo ſuffered much by impriſonment and baniſhment at Embden. We went with him to his houſe, and the next day we had a good meeting in that city, to which ſeveral profeſſors came, who were very peaceable and attentive. After meeting we paſſed by boat to Strobus, and Dockum, where we lodged that night at an inn. Taking boat again next morning,

Groningen.

Strobus.

Dockum.

morning, we paſſed to Leuwarden, the chief city of Friezland, where I found my daughter Yeomans, who was come from Amſterdam thither to meet me. That day we had a precious meeting at Sybrand Dowes's houſe. After the meeting I had diſcourſe with ſome that were at the meeting, who had been formerly convinced of truth; but were not come into obedience to it. We ſtaid there that night; but John Hill left us, and went that day to Harlingen, and ſo to Amſterdam. 1677. Friezland. Leuwarden.

Next day we paſſed down the river to the lake of Hempen-Sarmer, and thence by the lake Lugmer, and ſo to a town called Anderigo; from whence ſailing through the lake Whiſpool, we came to Gardick within night. We lodged at an inn; and the next day, being firſt day, we were at friends meeting there, which was very large, many of the town's people coming in. I declared the truth, in the power of the Lord, that was upon me; which tendered the people, and they were very ſober. After the meeting we ſtaid to refreſh ourſelves, and went to take boat again; but the people obſerving us, gathered together at a bridge we were to paſs, and there I declared the way of life and ſalvation unto them, and they were very attentive and civil. Hempen-Sarmer. Lugmer. Anderigo. Whiſpool. Gardick.

We went back that evening to Leuwarden, being 27 miles; but before we could reach it, the gates were ſhut and the bridges drawn up, ſo that we could not get into the city, but were fain to lie in the boat all night; and a man being killed in the city that night, it was late before the gates were opened. When we could get in, we went to a friend's houſe, where we ſtaid a while; then taking boat, we paſſed through Franeker to Harlingen, to Haſſel Jacobs, where we found ſeveral Dutch friends come to be at the meeting there next day. William Penn, returning two or three days before out of Germany, had been at a large meeting at Amſterdam on firſt-day; and after meeting, underſtanding I was at Harlingen, came thither to me. Leuwarden. Franeker. Harlingen.

Next day was the monthly meeting for men and women, to which we went. It was large and good. And there it was agreed, 'a 'meeting ſhould be held there once a month, both for the men and 'for the women, to take care of the outward concerns of the 'church.'

In the afternoon we had a publick meeting, to which came people of ſeveral ſorts, Socinians, Baptiſts, Lutherans, &c. amongſt whom was a doctor of phyſick and a prieſt. After I had declared the truth pretty largely, opening the happy ſtate that man and woman were in, whilſt they kept under God's teaching, and abode in paradiſe; and the woe and miſery that came upon them when they went from God's teaching, hearkened to the ſerpent's, tranſgreſſed God's command, and were driven out of the paradiſe of God; and ſet forth the way whereby man and woman might come into that happy ſtate again: the prieſt, an ancient grave man, ſtood up juſt as I had done ſpeaking, and, putting off his hat, ſaid, 'I pray God to proſper and 'confirm that doctrine, for it is truth, and I have nothing againſt it.' He would willingly have ſtaid till the meeting had been ended, but being to preach that evening, he could not ſtay longer, the time for his own worſhip being come. Wherefore, when he had made confeſſion

1677. Harlingen. feſſion of the truth, he haſtened away, that he might come again; and did come, it ſeems, to the meeting-place, but the meeting was ended firſt. After which we went to Haſſel Jacob's, where I had a meeting with friends, and the doctor of phyſick came thither to diſcourſe with William Penn, who had a good opportunity to open truth to him. By this doctor the prieſt ſent his love to me, wiſhing him to tell me, that he had left preaching that evening half an hour ſooner than he uſed to do, that he might come to our meeting again to hear more of that good doctrine. I heard afterwards, that his hearers queſtioned him for what he had ſaid in our meeting; and that, he ſtanding by his words, they had complained of him for it to the other prieſts of the city, who called him to account about it; but the reſult I could not learn.

Early next morning William Penn, taking John Claus with him, paſſed from Harlingen for Leuwarden, where he had appointed a meeting, intending to travel into ſome other parts of Germany to viſit a tender people there. I, with thoſe friends that were with me, took ſhip the ſame day for Amſterdam, where we arrived a little after midnight; but the gates being ſhut, we lay on board till morning: then went to Gertrude Dirick Nieſon's, where many friends came to ſee us, being glad of our ſafe return. Next day, feeling a concern upon my mind, with relation to thoſe ſeducing ſpirits that made diviſion among friends, and being ſenſible that they endeavoured to inſinuate themſelves into the affectionate part, I was moved to write a few lines to friends concerning them, as followeth:

Amſterdam.

'ALL theſe that ſet themſelves up in the affections of the people, ſet themſelves up, and the affections of the people, and not Chriſt. But friends, your peaceable habitation in the truth, which is everlaſting, and changes not, will out-laſt all the habitations of thoſe that are out of the truth, although they be never ſo full of words. So thoſe that are ſo keen for J. S. and J. W. let them take them, and the ſeparation; and you that have given your teſtimony againſt that ſpirit, ſtand in your teſtimony, till they anſwer by condemnation. Do not ſtrive, nor make bargains with that which is out of the truth; nor ſave that alive to be a ſacrifice for God, which ſhould be ſlain, leſt you loſe your kingdom.

'G. F.'

'Amſterdam, the 14th of
'the 7th month, 1677.'

The firſt-day following, I was at friends meeting at Amſterdam, to which many people came, and were very civil and attentive, hearing truth declared ſeveral hours. John Roeloffs interpreted for me.

Before this ſeveral of the friends that came over with me were returned to England again, as Robert Barclay, George Keith's wife, and others; and now my daughter Yeomans went back alſo: ſo that I was left alone at Amſterdam. While I was there, it came upon me to viſit my ſuffering friends at Dantzick with a few lines, to encourage and ſtrengthen them in their ſufferings, as followeth:

'Dear

1677. Amſterdam.

'Dear friends,

'TO whom is my love in the Lord's truth, that is over all, and by which all God's people are made free men and women, being thereby ſet free from him who is out of the truth; that walking in the truth, they may anſwer the witneſs of God in all people: which truth all muſt come to, if they be made free. Therefore be faithful unto what the Lord manifeſts unto you. I am glad the Lord hath witneſſes in that city, to ſtand for his glory and name, and for Chriſt Jeſus, the great Prophet, whom God hath raiſed up, who is to be heard in all things; ſo that ye need none of the prophets which men have raiſed up. Therefore ſtand faithful to Chriſt Jeſus, your Shepherd, that he may feed you; hear his voice, and follow him, who has laid down his life for you; but follow none of the ſhepherds and hirelings that are made by men, though they may be angry becauſe ye will not follow them to their dry and barren mountains, who have been and are the thieves, perſecutors, and robbers, that climb up another way than by Chriſt. Set up Chriſt to be your counſellor and leader, and then ye will have no need of any of the counſellors and leaders of the world; for Chriſt is ſufficient, whom God has given you. Set up Chriſt Jeſus to be your biſhop and overſeer, who is ſufficient to overſee you, that you go not aſtray from God; by which ye may ſee over all the hireling-overſeers made by men, which keep the people, that they do not go from the rudiments, formalities, faſhions, and cuſtoms of the world, which hath been and is their work. I am glad that ye are come to own Chriſt Jeſus, your High Prieſt, who is holy, harmleſs, ſeparate from ſinners, and made higher than the heavens, as the church and the apoſtle did own him in their days, Heb. vii. who is the High Prieſt over the houſhold of faith; which faith Chriſt Jeſus is the author and finiſher of: and this do all the children of the new covenant witneſs, who walk in the new and living way. Therefore my deſire is, that ye all may be ſtedfaſt, whether in bonds or out, in the faith of Chriſt Jeſus, which is the gift of God; by which faith the valiants overcame the devil and all their enemies, in which faith they had victory and acceſs to God, and in that was their unity; which myſtery of faith is held in a pure conſcience, hidden from the world. I do believe, that your impriſonments and ſufferings in that place will be for good in the end (as it hath been in other places) ye ſtanding faithful to the Lord, who is All-ſufficient. For your ſufferings and trials will try their teachers and religions, churches and worſhips, and make manifeſt what birth they are of; even that which perſecutes him that is born of the Spirit: for ye know that there is no ſalvation by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jeſus; therefore it is time to leave them, when there is no ſalvation by or in any of them. Now, friends, I deſire that you would take a liſt of the names of all thoſe that belong to the king of Poland, where they live, and how ye may ſend books or epiſtles to them, and keep a correſpondence with them; alſo the name of the biſhop or cardinal that I heard was with you; and if ye can get any that belong to the king to

1677. Amſterdam.

'come to viſit the priſoners, that they may inform the king of their 'cruel ſufferings. Alſo I deſire you to get as many books of mine 'as you can diſpoſe of, that ſet forth your ſufferings, and the cru-'elty of the magiſtrates of Dantzick; and give them to the king, 'his council, attendants, and biſhops. And ſome of the women 'may ſpeak to the queen, if they can, that ſhe may ſignify to the 'king their cruel ſufferings; and eſpecially ſome of the ſufferers 'wives, if there be any of capacity to do it. You may likewiſe 'give his attendants any other friends books; what books ye lack, 'ſend for to Amſterdam, where ye may be furniſhed with them, 'to anſwer every tender deſirer, and inquiring mind after the 'Lord. So let all your minds be bended with the Lord's power, to 'ſpread his truth abroad; and where ye hear of any, or have 'any correſpondence in trading with any ſober people, far or 'near, ſend them books, that their underſtandings may be opened 'after the Lord. The Lord God Almighty preſerve you! To his 'protection, in his eternal power, do I commend you all, in bonds 'or at liberty, with my love to you in the everlaſting ſeed of God 'Chriſt Jeſus, who bruiſes the head of the ſerpent, that makes you 'to ſuffer. Chriſt is over him, and will be when he is gone, who is 'Firſt and Laſt, over all, from everlaſting to everlaſting, in whom 'ye have life, knowledge, wiſdom, and ſalvation, and through him 'live to the praiſe and glory of God, who is bleſſed for evermore, 'Amen.

'G. F.

'Amſterdam, the 18th of the 7th
'month, 1677, Engliſh ſtile.'

The next day, the fourth of the week, and the nineteenth of the month, I had a large meeting at Amſterdam, many profeſſors being at it, and truth was largely opened to them, in the demonſtration of the heavenly power. The day following I went by boat, many friends going with me, to Landſmeer, in Waterland (a town in which, they ſay, there are above an hundred bridges) where I had a very good meeting, to which ſeveral profeſſors came. After the meeting I returned with friends to Amſterdam again, where I ſtaid till the firſt-day following, and went to their meeting which was large. Many profeſſors of ſeveral ſorts were at it, and heard the truth declared with great attention.

I tarried next day, and the night following had a great exerciſe upon my ſpirit concerning that looſe ſpirit that was run into ſtrife and contention among friends, and had drawn ſome after it into diviſion and ſeparation; the way, work, and end whereof the Lord opened to me: wherefore feeling the motion of life upon me, I got up in the morning, and wrote the following epiſtle to friends.

'My dear friends,

'KEEP your firſt love in the truth, power, and ſeed of life in 'Chriſt Jeſus; for this laſt night, as I was lying in my bed at 'Amſterdam, I had a great travail in the holy ſeed of life and peace, 'and my ſpirit was troubled with that ſpirit of ſtrife and ſeparation.

'I ſaw

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'I ſaw it was a deſtroying ſpirit, and did ſeek not only to get over 'the ſeed, but to deſtroy it, and to eat out the minds of the people 'from it by ſtrife and contention; and under pretence of ſtanding 'for the ancient truth, its work is to root it out and deſtroy the ap-'pearance of it, to ſet up itſelf. It is a creeping ſpirit, ſeeking 'whom it can get into; and what it cannot do itſelf it ſtirreth up 'others to do, and ſetteth their ſpirits on float, with the dark wiſ-'dom to deſtroy the ſimple. This ſpirit is managed by the prince of 'the air, and leadeth ſome to do things they would have been 'aſhamed to have done, as men, which doth unman them; and 'they would not have ſuffered them, if they had kept to the tender 'principle of God, which leadeth to peace. It is a deſpiſing, 'backbiting, ſecret-whiſpering ſpirit, a ſower of diſſenſion, and a 'taker of advantage of all prejudiced ſpirits that are diſobedient to 'their firſt principle and love of truth, and begetteth into hatred; 'ſo it begetteth all into that ſpirit, whoſe work is to deſtroy both the 'good within and the good order without. Nay, it would, if it 'could, deſtroy the government of Chriſt and the order of the goſ-'pel, to ſet up its own will and ſpirit, which is not of God; and, 'under pretence of crying down man, is ſetting up man, and ga-'thering into a ſeparation of diſobedient men, who float above their 'conditions. This ſpirit, which neither liveth in the truth nor its 'order, but oppoſeth them that do, I cannot expreſs it as I ſee it and 'its work, whoſe end will be accordingly. Therefore, friends, I 'am to warn you all that have not loſt your ſimplicity, not to touch 'it, nor to have any unity with it, leſt you be defiled, loſe your 'conditions of your eternal eſtate, and your everlaſting portion; 'and that your inward man, which is after God, may be preſerved, 'and Chriſt may reign in all your hearts. And they that are joined 'with them, it will be very hard for them ever to come down to 'truth in themſelves, and to ſee their own conditions, and to have 'that ſpirit of ſtrife and contention (which eateth as a canker) 'brought down in them; which is carnal, and ſlayeth the tender 'babe, which was once begotten in themſelves. The Philiſtine is 'got up in them, that ſtoppeth the wells and ſprings, maketh 'a great buſtle, and is crying up men, and pleading for them in-'ſtead of Chriſt. So, friends, ſtrive not with them, but let thoſe 'take them that cry them up. Keep you to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt 'with his light, that cometh from him, that he may be your Lord, 'and ye in him may be all in unity, in one light, life, power, and 'dominion in Chriſt, your head. The God of Peace and Power 'preſerve you all in Chriſt Jeſus your Saviour, and out of and from 'that miſchievous ſpirit which is idle and ſlothful, as to the work 'of the Power, Spirit, and Light of God and Chriſt. Its very 'act worketh ſtrife and diſturbance againſt the peace of the church 'of Chriſt. It thinks in its wilfulneſs, ſtubbornneſs, and unruli-'neſs to ſet up itſelf, and in that to have peace; but deſtruction 'will be the end of it: and it is ſealed for the fire and eternal judg-'ment. Therefore let Chriſt the Seed be the head and crown of 'every one of you, that nothing may be between you and the Lord 'God. Be not deceived with vain, feigned, or rough words; for

'Satan

1677. Amſterdam.

'Satan is transforming himſelf as an Angel of Light to deceive, 'but God's foundation ſtandeth ſure, and God knoweth who are 'his, and will preſerve his upon the rock and foundation of life, in 'his peaceable truth and habitation, that in the ſame they may 'grow. Keep out of ſtrife and contention with it, after ye have 'borne your teſtimony in the Lord's power and truth againſt it, then 'keep in the truth; for it hath a life in ſcribling, ſtrife, and 'jangling, becauſe it would enlarge its hell, and bring others into 'its miſery with the airy power, and would get power over the good, 'and disjoin people from it, and ſo commit rapes upon the ſimplicity 'by its ſubtilty. But I do believe the Lord will defend his people, 'though he may try them and exerciſe them with this ſpirit for a 'time, as he hath done in days paſt, in other veſſels it hath made 'uſe of as it doth of theſe now, who have a more ſeeming fair out-'ſide, but foul, rough, and rugged enough within, againſt the 'Seed Chriſt, as ever were the Phariſees to deſtroy it. They, un-'der a pretence of preaching Chriſt, are deſtroyers and cru-'cifiers of him, and killers of the juſt, not only in themſelves, 'but are endeavouring with all their might to deſtroy it in 'others where it is born. Pharaoh and Herod ſlay the young Jews 'in the ſpirit as the old did: I feel it worrying of them. That is 'got up to be king, which knew not ſuffering Joſeph. But God 'will plague him, and the Seed will have more reſt, and be better 'entertained in Egypt than under Herod, into whom old Pharaoh's 'ſpirit is entered. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear, and 'an eye to ſee, let him ſee how this ſpirit hath transformed in all 'ages againſt the juſt and righteous; but mark what hath been its 'end. The Seed reigneth; glory to the Lord God over all for ever! 'His truth ſpreadeth, and friends here are in unity and peace, and 'of good report, anſwering the good or that of God in people. 'My deſires are, that all God's people may do the ſame in all 'places, that the Lord may be glorified in their bringing forth much 'fruit that is heavenly and ſpiritual. Amen.

'G. F.'

'Amſterdam, the 25th of the
'7th month, 1677.'

After I had given forth the foregoing epiſtle, whereby my ſpirit was in ſome meaſure eaſed of the weight that lay upon it, I went in the afternoon to the monthly meeting of friends at Amſterdam; where the Lord was preſent with us, and refreſhed our ſpirits together in himſelf.

I thought to have gone next day to Harlem; but there being a faſt appointed to be kept that day, I was ſtopped in my ſpirit, and moved to ſtay at friends meeting at Amſterdam. We had a very large meeting, a great concourſe of people coming to it, and amongſt them many great perſons. The Lord's power was over the meeting, in the openings whereof I was moved to declare to the people, 'That 'no man by all his wit and ſtudy, nor by reading hiſtory in his own 'will, could declare or know the generation of Chriſt, who was not 'begotten by the will of man, but by the will of God. After I 'had

'had largely opened this, I shewed them the difference between the true fast and the false, manifesting that the professed Christians, Jews, and Turks, were out of the true fast, and fasted for strife and debate, being under the band and fists of iniquity and oppression, wherewith they were smiting one another; but the pure hands were not lifted up to God. And though they did all appear to men to fast, and did hang down their heads for a day like a bulrush, yet that was not the fast which God did accept; but in that state all their bones were dry, and when they called upon the Lord he did not answer them, neither did their health grow; for they kept their own fast, and not the Lord's. I exhorted them to keep the Lord's fast, which was to fast from sin and iniquity, strife and debate, violence and oppression, and to abstain from every appearance of evil.' These things were opened to the astonishment of the fasters, and the meeting ended peaceably and well. 1677. Amsterdam.

I went to Harlem the day following, having before appointed a meeting. Peter Hendricks and Gertrude Dirick Nieson went with me, and a blessed meeting we had. There were professors of several sorts, and a priest of the Lutherans, who sat very attentive for several hours while I declared the truth, Gertrude interpreting. When the meeting was done, the priest said, 'He had heard nothing, but what was according to the word of God, and desired the blessing of the Lord might rest upon us and our assemblies.' Others also confessed to the truth, saying, 'They had never heard things so plainly opened to their understandings before.' Harlem.

We staid that night at Harlem at a friend's house, whose name was Dirick Klassen; and, returning next day to Amsterdam, went to Gertrude's house; where we had not been long before a priest of great note, who had formerly belonged to the emperor of Germany, and another German priest, came, desiring to have some conference with me. I took the opportunity to declare the way of truth, opening unto them how they might come to know God and Christ, and his law and gospel; and shewing them, that they could never know it by study, nor philosophy, but by divine revelation through the Spirit of God, opening to them in the stillness of their minds. The men were tender, and went away well satisfied. Amsterdam.

The first-day following I was at friends meeting at Amsterdam; where, amongst several sorts of professors, was a doctor of Poland, who for his religion was banished from the place he lived in, and being affected with the testimony of truth in the meeting, he came afterwards to have some discourse with me; and after we had been some time together, and I had opened things further to him, he went away very tender and loving.

While I was at Amsterdam, I spent much of my time in writing books, papers, or epistles on truth's behalf. I wrote several epistles from Amsterdam to friends in England and elsewhere, on several occasions, as the Lord moved me by his Spirit thereunto. I wrote also from thence, 'A warning to the inhabitants of the city of Oldenburgh, which was lately burned down;' also, 'A warning to the inhabitants of the city of Hamburgh.' I wrote also an

1677. Amſterdam. epiſtle to the ambaſſadors that were treating about a peace at Nimeguen. To the magiſtrates and prieſts of Embden I wrote, ſhewing them their unchriſtian practices in perſecuting friends. I wrote ſeveral other books there, in anſwer to prieſts and others, of Hamburgh, Dantzick, and other places, to clear the truth and friends from their falſe charges and ſlanders.

After ſome time George Keith and William Penn came back from Germany to Amſterdam, and had a diſpute with one Galenus Abrahams (one of the moſt noted Baptiſts in Holland) at which many profeſſors were preſent; but not having time to finiſh the diſpute then, they met again two days after, and the Baptiſt was much confounded, and truth gained ground. Between theſe two diſputes we had a very great meeting at friends meeting-place, at which many hundreds of people were; ſome of high rank in the world's account. An earl, a lord, and divers other eminent perſons were preſent, who all behaved themſelves very civilly. But, when the meeting was ended, ſome prieſts began to make oppoſition; which when William Penn underſtood, he ſtood up again, and anſwered them to the great ſatisfaction of the people, who were much affected with the ſeveral teſtimonies they had heard. After the meeting ſeveral of them came to Gertrude's, where we were, with whom George Keith had much diſcourſe in Latin.

Leyden. Having now finiſhed our ſervice at Amſterdam, we took leave of friends there, and paſſed by waggon to Leyden, about twenty-five miles; where we ſtaid a day or two, ſeeking out and viſiting ſome tender people that we heard of there. We met with a German, who was partly convinced. He informed us of an eminent man that was inquiring after truth. Some ſought him out and viſited him, and found him a ſerious man. I alſo ſpoke to him, and he owned the truth. William Penn and Benjamin Furly went to viſit another great man, that lived a little out of Leyden, who, they ſaid, had been general to the king of Denmark's forces. He and his wife were very loving to them, and heard the truth with joy.

Hague. From Leyden we went to the Hague, where the prince of Orange kept his court; and viſited one of the judges of Holland, with whom we had much diſcourſe. He was a wiſe, tender man, and put many objections and queries to us; which when we had anſwered, he was ſatisfied, and parted with us in much love. Leaving the Hague, we went to Delft, and from thence that night to Rotterdam, where we ſtaid ſeveral days, and had ſeveral meetings. While I was here, I gave forth a book for the Jews, with whom, when I was at Amſterdam, I had a deſire to have had ſome diſcourſe; but they would not. Here alſo I reviewed ſeveral other books and papers, which I had given forth before, and were now tranſcribed.

Delft. Rotterdam.

Finding our ſpirits clear of the ſervice which the Lord had given us to do in Holland, we took leave of friends of Rotterdam, and paſſed by boat to the Briel, in order to take paſſage that day in the packet-boat for England; ſeveral friends of Rotterdam accompanying us, and ſome of Amſterdam, who were come to ſee us again before we left Holland. But the packet-boat not coming in till night, we were fain to lodge at the Briel; and next day, the one-and-twentieth of the eighth month, and the firſt day of the week, we

we went on board, and ſet ſail about the tenth hour, viz. William Penn, George Keith and I, and Gertrude Dirick Nieſon, with her children. 1677. At ſea.

We were in all about ſixty paſſengers, and had a long and hazardous paſſage: for the winds were contrary, and the weather ſtormy; the boat alſo very leaky, inſomuch that we were fain to have two pumps continually going day and night, ſo that it was thought there was twice as much water pumped out as the veſſel would have held. But the Lord, who is able to make the ſtormy winds to ceaſe and the raging waves of the ſea to be calm, yea, to raiſe them and ſtop them at his pleaſure, he alone did preſerve us; praiſed be his name for ever! Though our paſſage was hard, yet we had a fine time, and good ſervice for truth on board among the paſſengers, ſome of whom were great folks, and were very kind and loving. We arrived at Harwich the 23d of the eighth month at night, having been two nights and almoſt three days at ſea. Next morning William Penn and George Keith took horſe for Colcheſter; but I ſtaid, and had a meeting at Harwich; and there being no Colcheſter coach there, and the poſt-maſter's wife being unreaſonable in her demands for a coach, and deceiving us of it alſo after we had hired it, we went to a friend's houſe about a mile and an half in the country, and hired his waggon, which we bedded well with ſtraw, and rode in it to Colcheſter. Harwich.

I ſtaid in Colcheſter till firſt day, having a deſire to be at friends meeting there that day; and a very large and weighty meeting it was: for friends hearing of my return from Holland, flocked from ſeveral parts of the country; and many of the town's people coming alſo, it was thought there were about a thouſand people at the meeting, and all was peaceable. Having ſtaid a day or two longer at Colcheſter, I travelled through Eſſex, viſiting friends at Halſted, Braintree, Felſted, and Saling, and having meetings with them. At Chelmsford I had a meeting in the evening. There being many friends priſoners, they got liberty, and came to the meeting, and we were well refreſhed together in the Lord. Next day, the ninth of the 9th month, I got to London, where friends received me with great joy; and the firſt day following went to Gracechurch-ſtreet meeting, where the Lord viſited us with his refreſhing preſence, and the glory of the Lord ſurrounded the meeting; praiſed be the Lord! Colcheſter. Eſſex. Halſted. Braintree. Felſted. Saling. Chelmsford. London.

After I had been a little while in London, I wrote the following letter to my wife:

'Dear heart,

'TO whom is my love, and to the children, and to all the reſt of 'friends in the Lord's truth, power, and Seed, that is over 'all; glory to the Lord, and bleſſed be his name for ever beyond 'all words! who hath carried me through and over many trials and 'dangers in his eternal power! I have been twice at Gracechurch-'ſtreet meeting; and though oppoſite ſpirits were there, yet all was 'quiet, the dew of heaven fell upon the people, and the glory of 'the Lord ſhined over all. Every day I am fain to be at meetings 'about buſineſs, and ſufferings, which are great abroad; and now

'many

1677. London. ‘ many friends are concerned with many perſons about them: ſo in ‘ haſte, with my love to you all—

‘ G. F.

‘ London, the 24th of the
‘ 9th month, 1677.’

About this time I received letters from New England, which gave account of the magiſtrates and rulers cruel and unchriſtian proceedings againſt friends there, whipping and abuſing them very ſhamefully; for they whipped many women friends. One woman they tied to a cart and dragged her along the ſtreet, ſhe being ſtripped above the waiſt. Yea, they whipped ſome maſters of ſhips, that were not friends, only for bringing friends thither. At that very time, while they were perſecuting friends in this barbarous manner, the Indians ſlew threeſcore of their men, took one of their captains, and flayed the ſkin off his head, while he was alive, and carried it away in triumph: ſo that the ſober people ſaid, “ The judgments of “ God came upon them for perſecuting the Quakers:” but the blind dark prieſts ſaid, “ It was becauſe they did not perſecute them “ enough.” Great exerciſe I had in ſeeking relief here for poor ſuffering friends there, that they might not lie under the rod of the wicked.

Upon this and other ſervices for truth I ſtaid in London a month or five weeks, viſiting meetings, and helping and encouraging friends to labour for the deliverance of their ſuffering brethren in other parts. Afterwards I went to Kingſton, and viſited friends there and thereaway. Having ſtaid a little among friends there, overlooking a book which I had then ready to go to the preſs, I went into Buckinghamſhire, viſiting friends, and had ſeveral meetings amongſt them. at Amerſham, Hungerhill, Jordans, Hedgerly, Wickham, and Turvil-heath. In ſome of which, thoſe that were gone out from the unity of friends in truth, into ſtrife, oppoſition, and diviſion, were very unruly and troubleſome; particularly at the men's meeting at Thomas Ellwood's at Hungerhill, where the chief of them came from Wickham, endeavouring to make diſturbance, and to hinder friends from proceeding in the buſineſs of the meeting. When I ſaw their deſign, I admoniſhed them to be ſober and quiet, and not trouble the meeting, by interrupting the ſervice thereof; but rather, if they were diſſatisfied with friends proceedings, and had any thing to object, let a meeting be appointed on purpoſe ſome other day. So friends offered to give them a meeting another day; which at length was agreed to be at Thomas Ellwood's the week following. Accordingly friends met them there, and the meeting was in the barn; for there came ſo many, the houſe could not receive them. After we had ſate a while, they began their jangling. Moſt of their arrows were ſhot at me; but the Lord was with me, and gave me ſtrength in his power to caſt back their darts of envy and falſhood upon themſelves. Their objections were anſwered; things were opened to the people; and a good opportunity it was, and ſerviceable to the truth; many that before were weak were now ſtrengthened and confirmed; ſome that were doubting and wavering were

Kingſton.
Bucks.
Amerſham.
Hungerhill.
Jordans.
Hedgerly.
Wickham.
Turvil-heath.
Hungerhill.

were ſatisfied and ſettled; and faithful friends were refreſhed and comforted in the ſpringing of life amongſt us: for the power roſe, and life ſprung, and in the ariſings thereof many living teſtimonies were borne againſt that wicked, dividing, rending ſpirit, which thoſe oppoſers were joined to and acted by: and the meeting ended to the ſatisfaction of friends. That night I lodged, with other friends, at Thomas Ellwood's; and the ſame week I had a meeting again with thoſe oppoſers at Wickham, where they again ſhewed their envy, and were made manifeſt to the upright-hearted. 1677. Hungerhill. Wickham.

After I had viſited friends in that upper ſide of Buckinghamſhire, I called at Henley in Oxfordſhire, and went by Cauſham to Reading, where I was at meeting on firſt day, and in the evening had a large meeting with friends. Next day there being another meeting about ſettling a women's meeting, ſome of thoſe that had let in the ſpirit of diviſion fell into jangling, and were diſorderly for a while, till the weight of truth brought them down. After this I paſſed on, viſiting friends, and having meetings in ſeveral places, through Berkſhire and Wiltſhire, till I came to Briſtol, which was on the 24th day of the 11th month, juſt before the fair. Oxfordſhire. Henley. Cauſham. Reading. Berkſhire. Wiltſhire. Briſtol.

I ſtaid at Briſtol the time of the fair, and ſome time after. Many ſweet and precious meetings we had; many friends being there from ſeveral parts of the nation, ſome on account of trade, and ſome in the ſervice of truth. Great was the love and unity of friends that abode faithful in the truth, though ſome, who were gone out of the holy unity, and were run into ſtrife, diviſion, and enmity, were rude and abuſive, and behaved themſelves in a very unchriſtian manner towards me. But the Lord's power was over all; by which being preſerved in the heavenly patience, which can bear injuries for his name's ſake, I felt dominion therein over the rough, rude, and unruly ſpirits; and left them to the Lord, who knew my innocency, and would plead my cauſe. The more theſe laboured to reproach and vilify me, the more did the love of friends, that were ſincere and upright-hearted, abound towards me; and ſome, that had been betrayed by the adverſaries, ſeeing their envy and rude behaviour, broke off from them; who have cauſe to bleſs the Lord for their deliverance.

When I left Briſtol, I went with Richard Snead to a houſe of his in the country, and from thence to Hezekiah Coale's at Winterburn in Glouceſterſhire, whither came ſeveral friends that were under great ſufferings for truth's ſake, whom I had invited to meet me there. Stephen Smith, Richard Snead, and I, drew up a breviate of their ſufferings, ſetting forth the illegal proceedings againſt them; which was delivered to the judges at the aſſizes at Glouceſter; and they promiſed to put a ſtop to thoſe illegal proceedings. Next day we paſſed to Sudbury, and had a large meeting in the meeting-houſe, which at that time was of very good ſervice. We went next day to Nathaniel Crips's at Tedbury, and from thence to Nailſworth; where on firſt day we had a brave meeting, and large. From thence we went to the quarterly meeting at Finchcomb, where were ſeveral of the oppoſite ſpirit, who (it was thought) intended to have made diſturbance amongſt friends; but the Lord's power was Glouceſterſhire. Winterburn. Sudbury. Tedbury. Nailſworth. Finchcomb.

1677. Nailſworth.

over, and kept them down, and good ſervice for the Lord we had at that meeting. We returned from Finchcomb to Nailſworth, and had another very precious meeting there, to which friends came from the ſeveral meetings thereabouts; which made it very large alſo.

Cirenceſter. Crown Allins. Cheltenham. Stoke-Orch^{d} Tewkſbury. Worceſter.

We went from Nailſworth the firſt of the firſt month 1677-8, and travelled, viſiting friends, and having many meetings at Cirenceſter, Crown-Allins, Cheltenham, Stoke-Orchard, Tewkſbury, &c. ſo went to Worceſter, where I had formerly ſuffered impriſonment above a year for the truth's ſake; and friends rejoiced greatly to ſee me there again. Here I ſtaid ſeveral days, and had many very precious meetings in the city, and much ſervice amongſt friends. After which, I had meetings at Perſhore and Eveſham; then ſtruck to Ragley in Warwickſhire, to viſit the lady Conway, who I underſtood was very deſirous to ſee me, and whom I found tender and loving, and willing to have detained me longer than I had freedom to ſtay. About two miles from hence I had two meetings at a friend's houſe, whoſe name was John Stanley, whither William Dewſberry came, and ſtaid with me about half a day. I viſited friends in their meetings at Stratford, Lamcoat, and Armſcott (from whence I was ſent priſoner to Worceſter in the year 1673) and thence paſſed into Oxfordſhire, viſiting friends, and having meetings at Sibbard, North-Newton, Banbury, Adderbury, &c. Then viſiting friends through Buckinghamſhire, at Long-Crendon, Ilmer, Mendle, Weſton, Cholſberry, Cheſham, &c. I came to Iſaac Penington's, where I ſtaid a few days; then turning into Hertfordſhire, viſited friends at Charlewood, Watford, Hempſtead, and Market-ſtreet, at which places I had meetings with friends. From Market-ſtreet I went in the morning to Luton in Bedfordſhire, to ſee John Crook, with whom I ſpent good part of the day, and went towards evening to Alban's, where I lay that night at an inn. And viſiting friends at South-Mims, Barnet, and Hendon, where I had meetings, I came to London the eighth of the third month. It being the fourth day, I went to Gracechurch-ſtreet meeting, which was peaceable and well; many friends, not knowing I was come to town, were very joyful to ſee me there, and the Lord was preſent with us, refreſhing us with his living virtue; bleſſed be his holy name!

Ratford. Lamcoat. Armſcott. Oxfordſhire. Sibbard. N. Newton. Banbury. Adderbury. Buckinghamſhire. Long Crendon. Ilmer. Mendle. Weſton. Cholſberry. Cheſham, &c. Hertfordſh. Charlewood. Watford. Hempſtead. Market-ſtreet. Bedfordſhire. Luton. Alban's. South Mims. Barnet. Hendon. London.

The parliament was ſitting when I came to town, and friends having laid their ſufferings before them, were waiting on them for relief againſt the laws made againſt Popiſh recuſants, which they knew we were not; though ſome malicious magiſtrates took advantage to proſecute us in ſeveral parts of the nation upon thoſe ſtatutes. Friends being attending that ſervice, when I came, I joined them therein; and ſome probability there was that ſomething might have been obtained towards friends eaſe and relief in that caſe, many of the parliament-men being tender and loving towards us, as believing we were much miſrepreſented by our adverſaries. But when I went one morning with George Whitehead to the parliament-houſe, to attend them on friends behalf, on a ſudden they were prorogued, though but for a ſhort time.

About

About two weeks after I came to London the yearly meeting began, to which friends came out of moſt parts of the nation, and a glorious heavenly meeting we had. Oh the glory, majeſty, love, life, wiſdom and unity, that was amongſt us! The power reigned over all, and many teſtimonies were borne therein againſt that ungodly ſpirit which ſought to make rents and diviſions amongſt the Lord's people; but not one mouth was opened amongſt us in its defence, or on its behalf. Good and comfortable accounts alſo we had, for the moſt part, from friends in other countries; of which I find a brief account in a letter which ſoon after I wrote to my wife, the copy whereof here follows: 1677. London. Yearly meeting.

'Dear Heart,

'TO whom is my love in the everlaſting Seed of life, that reigns over all. Great meetings here have been, and the Lord's power hath been ſtirring through all, the like hath not been. The Lord hath in his power knit friends wonderfully together, and his glorious preſence did appear among friends. And now the meetings are over (bleſſed be the Lord!) in quietneſs and peace. From Holland I hear that things are well there. Some friends are gone that way, to be at the yearly meeting at Amſterdam. At Embden, friends that were baniſhed are got into the city again. At Dantzick, friends are in priſon, and the magiſtrates threatened them with harder impriſonment; but the next day the Lutherans roſe, and plucked down or defaced the Popiſh monaſtery, ſo they have work enough themſelves. The king of Poland did receive my letter, and read it himſelf; and friends have ſince printed it in High Dutch. By letters from the half-yearly meeting in Ireland I hear they are all in love there. At Barbadoes friends are in quietneſs, and their meetings ſettled in peace. At Antigua alſo and Nevis truth proſpers, and friends have their meetings orderly and well. Likewiſe in New England, and other places, things concerning truth and friends are well; and in thoſe places the men's and women's meetings are ſettled; bleſſed be the Lord! So keep in God's power and Seed, that is over all, in whom ye all have life and ſalvation; for the Lord reigns over all, in his glory, and in his kingdom; glory to his name for ever, Amen! So in haſte, with my love to you all, and to all friends.

'G. F.

'London, the 26th of the
'3d month, 1678.'

The letter to the king of Poland, before-mentioned, is as followeth:

'To Johannes III. king of Poland, &c.

'O king!

'WE deſire thy proſperity both in this life and that which is to come. And we deſire that we may have our Chriſtian liberty to ſerve and worſhip God under thy dominion: for our prin-

1678. London.

'ciple leads us not to do any thing prejudicial to the king or his 'people. We are a people that exerciſe a good conſcience towards 'God through his Holy Spirit, and in it do ſerve, worſhip, and ho-'nour him; and towards men, in the things that are equal and 'juſt, doing to them as we would have them do unto us; looking 'unto Jeſus, who is the author and finiſher of our faith; which 'faith purifies our hearts, and brings us to have acceſs to God; 'without which we cannot pleaſe him: by which faith all the juſt 'live, as the ſcripture declares. That which we deſire of thee, O 'king, is, that we may have the liberty of our conſciences to ſerve 'and worſhip God, and to pray unto him in our meetings together 'in the name of Jeſus, as he commands; with a promiſe that he 'will be in the midſt of them. The king, we hope, cannot but 'ſay that this duty and ſervice is due to God and Chriſt; and we give 'Cæſar his due, and pay our tribute and cuſtom equal with our 'neighbour, according to our proportion. We never read in all the 'ſcriptures of the New Teſtament, that ever Chriſt or his diſciples 'did baniſh or impriſon any that were not of their faith or religion, 'and would not hear them, or gave any ſuch command; but, on 'the contrary, let the tares and the wheat grow together till the 'harveſt, and the harveſt is the end of the world. Then Chriſt 'will ſend his angels to ſever the wheat from the tares. He rebuked 'ſuch as would have had fire from heaven to conſume thoſe that 'would not receive Chriſt; and told them they did not know what 'ſpirit they were of; he came not to deſtroy men's lives, but to ſave 'them.'

'We deſire the king to conſider how much perſecution has been 'in Chriſtendom, ſince the apoſtles days, concerning religion. 'Chriſt ſaid, They ſhould go into everlaſting puniſhment that did 'not viſit him in priſon; then what will become of them that im-'priſon him in his members, where he is manifeſt? None can ſay 'the world is ended; therefore how will Chriſtendom anſwer the 'dreadful and terrible God at his day of judgment, that have perſe-'cuted one another about religion before the end of the world, un-'der a pretence of plucking up tares; which is not their work, but 'the angels at the end of the world? Chriſt commands men to love 'one another, and to love enemies; and by this they ſhould be 'known to be his diſciples. O that all Chriſtendom had lived in 'peace and unity, that they might by their moderation have judged 'both Turks and Jews: and let all have their liberty, that own God 'and Chriſt Jeſus, and walk as becomes the glorious goſpel of the 'Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Our deſires are, that the Lord God of heaven 'may ſoften the king's heart to all tender conſciences that fear the 'Lord, and are afraid of diſobeying him.

'We intreat the king to read ſome of the noble expreſſions of ſeveral 'kings, and others, concerning liberty of conſcience; and eſpecially 'Stephanus king of Poland's ſayings, viz. "It belongeth not to me "to reform the conſciences: I have always gladly given that over to "God which belongeth to him; and ſo ſhall I do now, and alſo "for the future. I will ſuffer the weeds to grow till the time of "harveſt, for I know that the number of believers are but ſmall: "therefore,"

" therefore," ſaid he, when ſome were proceeding in perſecution, " I am king of the people, not of their conſciences." He alſo af- firmed, that " religion was not to be planted with fire and ſword." 1678. London.

' Chron. Liberty of Religion, Part 2.

' Alſo a book wrote in French by W. M. anno 1576. hath this ' ſentence, viz. " Thoſe princes that have ruled by gentleneſs and " clemency added to juſtice, and have exerciſed moderation and " meekneſs towards their ſubjects, always proſpered and reigned " long; but, on the contrary, thoſe princes that have been cruel, " unjuſt, prejudiced, and oppreſſors of their ſubjects, have ſoon " fallen, they and their eſtates, into danger, or total ruin."

' Veritus ſaith, " Seeing Chriſt is a Lamb, whom you profeſs to " be your head and captain, then it behoveth you to be ſheep, and " to uſe the ſame weapons which he made uſe of: for he will not " be a ſhepherd of wolves and wild beaſts, but only of ſheep. " Wherefore, if you loſe the nature of ſheep," ſaid he, " and be " changed into wolves and wild beaſts, and uſe fleſhly weapons, then " will you exclude yourſelves out of his calling, and forſake his " banner; and then will not he be your captain," &c.

' Alſo we find it aſſerted by king James, in his ſpeech to the par- ' liament, in the year 1609, " That it is a pure rule in divinity, " that God never planted his church with violence of blood." And ' further he ſaid, " It was uſually the condition of Chriſtians to be " perſecuted, but not to perſecute."

' King Charles, in his Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, pag. 61. ſaid in his prayer to God, " Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty amongſt Chriſtians is acted " under the colour of religion; as if we could not be chriſtians " unleſs we crucified one another."

' Pag. 28. " Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that no- " thing violent nor injurious can be religious."

' Pag. 70. " Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious reformation " by the ſword, as to poliſh them by fair and equal diſputations, " among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the differences, whom " not force but reaſon muſt convince."

' Pag. 66. Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities " in religion devour not at all."

' Pag. 91, 92. " In point of true conſcientious tenderneſs I have " ſo often declared, how little I deſire my laws and ſcepter ſhould " intrench on God's ſovereignty, who is the only king of con- " ſcience."

' Pag. 123. " Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject " unto me, than all of us may be ſubject unto God."

' Pag. 200. " O thou Sovereign of our ſouls, the only commander " of our conſciences!"

' Pag. 346. (In his Meditations on Death) " It is indeed a ſad " eſtate, to have his enemies to be his accuſers, parties, and judges."

' The prince of Orange teſtified, Anno 1579, " That it was " impoſſible the Land ſhould be kept in peace, except there was a " free toleration in the exerciſe of religion."

" Where haſt thou read in thy day (ſaid Menno) in the writings " of the apoſtles, that Chriſt or the apoſtles ever cried out to the

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" magiſtrate for their power againſt them that would not hear their " doctrine, nor obey their words? I know certainly (ſaid he) that " where a magiſtrate ſhall baniſh with the ſword, there is not the " right knowledge, ſpiritual word, nor church of Chriſt; it is, In- " vocare brachium ſeculare (to invoke the ſecular arm)."

" It is not Chriſtian-like, but tyrannical (ſaid D. Philipſon) to " baniſh and perſecute people about faith and religion; and they " that do ſo are certainly of the Phariſaical generation, who re- " ſiſted the Holy Ghoſt."

' Eraſmus ſaid, " Though they take our monies and goods, they " cannot therefore hurt our ſalvation: they afflict us much with priſons, " but they do not thereby ſeparate us from God." In de Krydges ' wrede, fol. 63.

' Lucernus ſaid, " He that commandeth any thing wherewith he " bindeth the conſcience, this is an antichriſt." In de Bemiſe Diſp. ' fol. 71.

' Irenæus affirmed, " That all forcing of conſcience, though it " was but a forbidding of the exerciſe which is eſteemed by one or " another to be neceſſary to ſalvation, is in no-wiſe right nor fit- " ting." ' He alſo affirmed, " That through the diverſity of reli- " gions the kingdom ſhould not be brought into any diſturbance."

' Conſtantius the emperor ſaid, " It was enough that he pre- " ſerved the unity of the faith, that he might be excuſeable before " the judgment-ſeat of God; and that he would leave every one to " his own underſtanding, according to the account he will give be- " fore the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt. Hereto may we ſtir up people " (ſaid he) not compel them; beſeech them to come into the unity " of the Chriſtians, but to do violence to them, we will not in any- " wiſe." ' Sebaſt. Frank. Chron. fol. 127.

' Auguſtinus ſaid, " Some diſturbed the peace of the church, " while they went about to root out the tares before their time; " and through this error of blindneſs are they themſelves ſeparated " ſo much the more from being united unto Chriſt."

' Retnaldus teſtified, " That he, who with impriſoning and per- " ſecuting ſeeketh to ſpread the goſpel, and greaſeth his hands with " blood, ſhall much rather be looked upon for a wild hunter, than " a preacher or a defender of the Chriſtian religion."

" I have for a long ſeaſon determined (ſaid Henry IV. king of " France, in his ſpeech to the parliament 1599) to reform the " church, which without peace I cannot do: and it is impoſſible to " reform or convert people by violence. I am king, as a ſhepherd, " and will not ſhed the blood of my ſheep; but will gather them " through the mildneſs and goodneſs of a king, and not through " the power of tyranny: and I will give them that are of the re- " formed religion, right liberty to live and dwell free, without be- " ing examined, perplexed, moleſted, or compelled to any thing, " contrary to their conſciences; for they ſhall have the free exerciſe " of their religion," ' &c. [Vid. Chron. Van de Underg. 2 deel, ' p. 1514.]

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'Ennius ſaid, "Wiſdom is driven out, when the matter is acted "by force. And therefore the beſt of men, and moſt glorious of "princes, were always ready to give toleration."

'Euſebius, in his Second book of the life of Conſtantine, reports 'theſe words of the emperor: "Let them which err with joy re-"ceive the like fruition of peace and quietneſs with the faithful, "ſith the reſtoring of communication and ſociety may bring them "into the right way of truth: let none give moleſtation to any; let "every one do as he determines in his mind. And indeed there is "great reaſon for princes to give toleration to diſagreeing perſons, "whoſe opinions cannot by fair means be altered: for if the per-"ſons be confident, they will ſerve God according to their perſua-"ſions; and if they be publickly prohibited, they will privately "convene; and then all thoſe inconveniencies and miſchiefs, which "are arguments againſt the permiſſion of conventicles, are argu-"ments for the publick permiſſion of differing religions, &c. they "being reſtrained and made miſerable, endears the diſcontented "perſons mutually, and makes more hearty and dangerous confe-"derations."

"The like counſel in the diviſions of Germany, at the firſt re-"formation, was thought reaſonable by the emperor Ferdinand and "his excellent ſon Maximilian; for they had obſerved, that vio-"lence did exaſperate, was unbleſt, unſucceſsful, and unreaſonable; "and therefore they made decrees of toleration."

"The duke of Savoy, repenting of his war undertaken for reli-"gion againſt the Piedmonteſe, promiſed them toleration; and was "as good as his word."

'It is remarkable, that till the time of Juſtinian the emperor, 'Anno Domini 525. "the Catholicks and Novatians had churches "indifferently permitted, even in Rome itſelf."

"And Paul preached the kingdom of God, teaching thoſe things "which concerned the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with all confidence, and "no man forbad him; and this he did for the ſpace of two years "in his own hired houſe at Rome, and received all that came to "him."

'Now, O king, ſeeing theſe noble teſtimonies concerning liberty 'of conſcience of kings, emperors, and others, and the liberty that 'Paul had at Rome in the days of the heathen emperor, our deſire 'is, that we may have the ſame liberty at Dantzick to meet toge-'ther in our own hired houſes, which cannot be any prejudice either 'to the king or the city of Dantzick, for us to meet together to 'wait upon the Lord, and pray unto him, and to ſerve and worſhip 'him in Spirit and truth in our own hired houſes; ſeeing our prin-'ciple leads us to hurt no man, but to love our enemies, and to pray 'for them, yea, them that perſecute us. Therefore, O king, con-'ſider, and the city of Dantzick, would you not think it hard for 'others to force you from your religion to another, contrary to your 'conſciences? And if it be ſo, that you would think it hard to you, 'then "do you unto others as you would have them do unto you," do 'not you that unto others which you would not have men do unto 'you; for that is the royal law, which ought to be obeyed. And

'ſo

1678. London. ‘ ſo in love to thy immortal ſoul, and for thy eternal good this is ‘ written.

‘ G. F.

‘ POSTSCRIPT.

“ Bleſſed be the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy.” ‘ And ‘ remember, O king, Juſtin Martyr's two apologies to the Roman ‘ emperors, in the defence of the perſecuted Chriſtians, and that ‘ notable apology which was written by Tertullian upon the ſame ‘ ſubject; which are not only for the Chriſtian religion, but againſt ‘ all perſecution for religion.’

‘ Dear Peter Hendricks, John Claus, J. Rawlins, and all the reſt ‘ of friends in Amſterdam, Frieſland, and Rotterdam, to whom ‘ is my love in the Seed of life that is over all;

‘ I Received your letter, with a letter from Dantzick: I have ‘ written ſomething directed to you, to the king of Poland, which ‘ you may tranſlate into High Dutch, and ſend it to friends there, to ‘ give it to the king; or you may print it, after it be delivered in ‘ manuſcript, which may be ſerviceable to other princes. So in ‘ haſte, with my love. The Lord God Almighty over all give you ‘ dominion in his eternal power, and in it over all preſerve you, ‘ and keep you to his glory, that you may anſwer that of God in ‘ all people! Amen.

‘ London, the 13th of ‘ 9th month, 1677.’ ‘ George Fox.

I continued yet in and about London ſome weeks, the parliament ſitting again, and friends attending to get ſome redreſs of our ſufferings, which about this time were very great and heavy upon many friends in divers parts of the nation; they being very unduly proſecuted upon the ſtatutes made againſt popiſh recuſants; though our perſecutors could not but know friends were utterly againſt popery, having borne teſtimony againſt it in word and writing, and ſuffered under it. But though many of the members of parliament in either houſe were kind to friends, and willing to have done ſomething for their eaſe; yet having much buſineſs, they were hindered from doing the good they would, ſo that the ſufferings upon friends were continued.

But that which added much to the grief and exerciſe of friends was, that ſome, who made profeſſion of the ſame truth with us, being gone from the ſimplicity of the goſpel into fleſhly liberty, and labouring to draw others after them, did oppoſe the order and diſcipline which God by his power had ſet up and eſtabliſhed in his church; and made a great noiſe and clamour againſt preſcriptions; whereby they eaſily drew after them ſuch as were looſely inclined, and deſired a broader way than the path of truth to walk in. Some alſo, that were more ſimple, but young in truth, or weak in judgment, were apt to be betrayed by them, not knowing the depths of Satan in theſe wiles: for whoſe ſake I was moved to write the following paper, for the undeceiving the deceived, and opening the underſtandings of the weak in this matter:

ALL

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'ALL that deny preſcriptions without diſtinction, may as well deny all the ſcriptures, which were given forth by the power and Spirit of God, For do they not preſcribe how men ſhould walk towards God and man, both in the Old Teſtament and in the New? Yea, from the very firſt promiſe of Chriſt in Geneſis, what people ought to believe and truſt in; and all along, till ye come to the prophets? Did not the Lord preſcribe to his people by the fathers, and then by his prophets? Did he not preſcribe to the people how they ſhould walk, though they turned againſt the prophets in the old covenant for declaring or preſcribing to them the way how they might walk to pleaſe God, and keep in favour with him? In the days of Chriſt, did he not preſcribe and teach how people ſhould walk and believe? And after him, did not the apoſtles preſcribe unto people how they might come to believe, and receive the goſpel and the kingdom of God, directing unto that which would give them the knowledge of God, and how they ſhould walk in the new covenant in the days of the goſpel, and by what way they ſhould come to the holy city? And did not the apoſtles ſend forth their decrees by faithful choſen men (that had hazarded their lives for Chriſt's ſake) to the churches, by which they were eſtabliſhed? So you, that deny preſcriptions given forth by the power and Spirit of God, do thereby oppoſe the Spirit that gave them forth in all the holy men of God. Were there not ſome all along in the days of Moſes, in the days of the prophets, in the days of Chriſt, and in the days of his apoſtles, who did withſtand that which they gave forth from the Spirit of God? And hath there not been the like ſince the days of the apoſtles? How many have riſen, ſince truth appeared, to oppoſe the order which ſtands in the power and Spirit of God? who are but in the ſame ſpirit which hath oppoſed the Spirit of God all along from the beginning. See what names or titles the Spirit of God gave that oppoſing ſpirit in the old covenant, and alſo in the new; which is the ſame now; for after the Lord had given forth the old covenant, there were ſome among themſelves that did oppoſe; which were worſe than publick enemies. And likewiſe in the days of the new covenant, in the goſpel-times, you may ſee what ſort oppoſed Chriſt and the apoſtles, after they came to ſome ſight of the truth; and how they turned againſt Chriſt and his apoſtles? See what liberty they pleaded for and ran into in the apoſtles days, who could not abide the croſs, the yoke of Jeſus. We ſee the ſame rough and high ſpirit cries now for liberty (which the power and Spirit of Chriſt cannot give) and cries, "Impoſition," yet is impoſing; cries, "Liberty of conſcience," and yet is oppoſing liberty of conſcience; cries againſt preſcriptions, and yet is preſcribing both in words and writing. So with the everlaſting power and Spirit of God this ſpirit is fathomed, its riſe, beginning, and end; and it is judged. This ſpirit cries, "We muſt not judge conſcience, "we muſt not judge matters of faith, we muſt not judge ſpirits, "nor religions," &c. Yes: they that are in the pure Spirit and power of God, which the apoſtles were in, judge of conſcience, whether it be a ſeared conſcience, or a tender conſcience;

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'they judge of faith, whether it be a dead one, or a living one; 'they judge of religion, whether it be vain, or pure and undefiled; 'they judge of ſpirits, and try them, whether they be of God, or 'no; they judge of hope, whether it be that of hypocrites, or the 'true hope that purifies, even as God is pure; they judge of belief, 'whether it be that which is born of God, and overcometh the 'world, or that which runs into the ſpirit of the world, which luſts 'to envy, and doth not overcome the world; they judge of wor-'ſhips, whether they be will-worſhips, and the worſhip of the beaſt 'and dragon, or the worſhip of God in Spirit and in truth; they judge 'of angels, whether they be fallen, or thoſe that keep their habitation; 'they judge the world, that grieves and quenches the Spirit, hates 'the light, turns the grace of God into wantonneſs, and reſiſts the 'Holy Ghoſt. They judge of the hearts, ears, and lips, which are 'circumciſed, and which are uncircumciſed. They judge of miniſters, 'apoſtles, and meſſengers, whether they be of Satan or of Chriſt. 'judge of differences in outward things, in the church or elſewhere; 'yea, the leaſt member of the church hath power to judge of ſuch 'things, having the one true meaſure and true weight to weigh 'things and meaſure things withal, without reſpect to perſons. 'This judgment is given, and all theſe things are done by the ſame 'power and Spirit the apoſtles were in. Such alſo can judge of 'election and reprobation; and who keep their habitation, and who 'not; who are Jews, and who are of the ſynagogue of Satan; who 'are in the doctrine of Chriſt, and who are in the doctrines of 'devils; who preſcribes and declares things from the power and 'Spirit of God, to preſerve all in the power and Spirit of God, 'and who preſcribes and declares things from a looſe ſpirit, to let 'all looſe from under the yoke of Chriſt, the power of God, into 'looſeneſs and liberty. Theſe likewiſe can judge and diſcern who 'brings people into the poſſeſſion of the goſpel of light and life, 'over death and darkneſs, and into the truth where the devil cannot 'get in; and who brings them into the poſſeſſion of death and dark-'neſs, out of the glorious liberty of the goſpel, and of Jeſus Chriſt, 'his faith, truth, Spirit, light, and grace. For there is no true 'liberty but in that; and that liberty anſwers the grace, the truth, 'the light, the Spirit, the faith, the goſpel of Chriſt in every man 'and woman, and is the yoke to the contrary in every man and 'woman. That makes it rage, and ſwell, and puff up; for that is 'reſtleſs, unruly, out of patience, and ready to curſe his God, and 'that which reigns over him, becauſe it hath not its will. It works 'with all ſubtilty and evaſion with its reſtleſs ſpirit, to get in and 'defile the minds of the ſimple, and to make rapes upon the virgin 'minds. But as they receive the heavenly wiſdom, by which all 'things were made (which wiſdom is above that ſpirit) through 'this wiſdom they will be preſerved over that ſpirit. And Chriſt 'hath given judgment to his ſaints in his church, though he be 'judge of all; and the ſaints, in the power and Spirit of God, had 'and have power to judge of words and manners, of lives and con-'verſations, growths, and ſtates, from a child to a father in the 'truth; and to whom they are a ſavour of death, and to whom 'they are a ſavour of life; and who ſerve the Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

'and

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'and preach him, and who preach themſelves, and ſerve themſelves; and who talk of the light, of faith, of the goſpel, of hope, of grace, and preach ſuch things; yet in their works and lives deny them all, and God and Chriſt, and preach up liberty, from that in themſelves to that in others, which ſhould be under the yoke and croſs of Chriſt, the power of God. So the ſaints in the power and ſpirit of Chriſt can diſcern and diſtinguiſh who ſerves God and Chriſt, and who ſerves him not; and can put a diſtinction between the prophane and the holy. But ſuch as have loſt their eye-ſalve, and their ſight is grown dim, loſe this judgment, diſcerning, and diſtinction in the church of Chriſt; and ſuch come to be ſpewed out of Chriſt's mouth, except they repent: and if not, they come to corrupt the earth, and burden it, that it vomits them out of it. Therefore all are exhorted to keep in the power and Spirit of Chriſt Jeſus, in the Word of life and the wiſdom of God (which is above that which is below) in which they may keep their heavenly underſtandings and heavenly diſcernings; and ſo ſet the heavenly ſpiritual judgment over that which is for judgment, which diſhonours God, which leads into looſe and falſe liberty; out of the unity which ſtands in the heavenly Spirit, which brings to be conformable to the image of the Son of God, and his goſpel, the power of God (which was before the devil was) and his truth (which the devil is out of) in which all are of one mind, heart, and ſoul, and come to drink into one Spirit, being baptized into one Spirit, and ſo into one body, which Chriſt is the head of; and ſo keep one fellowſhip in the Spirit, and unity in the Spirit, which is the bond of peace, the Prince of princes peace. And thoſe that cry ſo much againſt judging, and are afraid of judgment, whether they be apoſtates, profeſſors, or prophane, are the moſt judging with the cenſorious falſe ſpirits and judgment; yet cannot bear the true judgment of the Spirit of God, nor ſtand in his judgment. This hath been manifeſt from the beginning, they having the falſe meaſures and the falſe weights: for none have the true meaſure and the true weight, but who keep in the light, power, and Spirit of Chriſt. There is a looſe ſpirit that cries for liberty, and againſt preſcriptions; yet is preſcribing ways, both by words and writings. The ſame ſpirit cries againſt judging, and would not be judged, yet is judging with a wrong ſpirit. This is given forth in reproof to that ſpirit.

'G. F.

'London, the 9th of the
'4th month, 1678.'

When I had finiſhed what ſervice I had for the Lord at this time here, I went towards Hertford, viſiting friends, and having ſeveral meetings in the way. At Hertford I ſtaid ſeveral days, having much ſervice for the Lord there; both amongſt friends in their meetings, and in conferences with ſuch as, having let in evil ſurmiſings and jealouſies concerning friends, ſtood in oppoſition to the order of truth; and in anſwering ſome books written againſt truth and friends. Hertford.

While

1678. Hertford. While I was here, it came upon me to write a few lines, and ſend them abroad amongſt friends, as followeth:

'Dear friends,

'LET the holy Seed of life reign over death and the unholy ſeed 'in you all; that in the holy Seed of the kingdom ye may all 'feel the everlaſting holy peace with God, through Chriſt Jeſus your 'Saviour, and ſit down in him, your life and glorious reſt, the holy 'rock and foundation, that ſtandeth ſure over all from everlaſting 'to everlaſting, in whom all the fulneſs of bleſſedneſs is; ſo that 'ye may glory in him that liveth for evermore, Amen! who is 'your eternal joy, life, and happineſs, through whom you have 'peace with God. This holy Seed bruiſeth the head of the ſer-'pent, and will outlive all his wrath, malice, and envy; who was 'before he and it was, and remains when he and it is gone into the 'fire that burns with brimſtone. The Seed Chriſt will reign; and 'ſo will ye, as ye live and walk in him, ſit down in Chriſt, and 'build up one another in the love of God.

'G. F.

'Hertford, the 10th of the
'5th month, 1678.'

Next day a freſh exerciſe came upon me, with reſpect to thoſe unruly and diſorderly ſpirits which were gone out from us, and were labouring to draw others after them into a falſe liberty. In the ſenſe I had of the hurt and miſchief theſe might do, where they were given way to, I was moved to write a few lines to warn friends of them, as followeth:

'All friends,

'KEEP in the tender life of the Lamb, over that unruly, puffed 'up and ſwelling ſpirit, whoſe work is for ſtrife, contention, 'and diviſion, drawing into looſeneſs and falſe liberty, under a pre-'tence of conſcience, and endangers the ſpoiling of youth. Thoſe 'that encourage them will be guilty of their deſtruction, and ſet up 'a ſturdy will, inſtead of conſcience, in their rage and paſſion; which 'will quench the univerſal Spirit in themſelves, and in every man 'and woman; and ſo that Spirit ſhall not have liberty in themſelves, 'nor in others; thus they ſhut up the kingdom of heaven in them-'ſelves, and alſo in others. So a looſe ſpirit getting up under a 'pretence of liberty of conſcience, or a ſtubborn will, making pro-'feſſion of the words of truth in a form without power, all looſe-'neſs and vileneſs will be ſheltered and covered under this pretence, 'which is for eternal judgment: for that doth diſhonour God. 'Therefore keep to the tender Spirit of God in all humility, that in 'it you may know that ye are all members of one another, and all 'have an office in the church of Chriſt. All theſe living members 'know one another in the Spirit, and not in the fleſh. So here is 'no man ruling over the woman, as Adam did over Eve in the fall; 'but Chriſt, the ſpiritual man, among and over his ſpiritual mem-

'bers, which are edified in the heavenly love that is ſhed in their 1678.
'heart from God, where all ſtrife ceaſes.

'G. F.'

Hertford.

'Hertford, the 11th of the
'5th month, 1678.'

I went from Hertford to a meeting at Rabley Heath, and thence to Edward Crouch's of Stevenage. Next day I went to Baldock, where I had a meeting that evening, and after had meetings at Hitchin and Aſhwell. Then paſſing through part of Bedfordſhire, where I had a meeting or two, I went to Huntingdon, in which county I ſtaid ſeveral days, having many meetings, and much ſervice amongſt friends; labouring to convince gainſayers, and to confirm and ſtrengthen friends in the way and work of the Lord. At Ives in Huntingdonſhire George Whitehead came to me, and travelled with me in the work of the Lord five or ſix days in that county, and ſome part of Northamptonſhire. Leaving me in Great Bowden in Leiceſterſhire, he went towards Weſtmoreland. I ſtaid in Leiceſterſhire, viſiting friends at Saddington, Wigſton, Knighton, Leiceſter, Sileby, Swannington, and divers other places; where I had very precious meetings, and good ſervice amongſt friends, and others; for there was great openneſs, and many weighty and excellent truths did the Lord give me to deliver amongſt them.

Rabley-Heath. Stevenage. Baldock. Hitchin. Aſhwell. Bedfordſhire. Huntingdon. Ives. Northamptonſhire. Leiceſterſhire. Great Bowden. Saddington. Wigſton. Knighton. Leiceſter. Sileby. Swannington.

At Leiceſter I went to the gaol to viſit the friends in priſon for the teſtimony of Jeſus, with whom I ſpent ſome time, encouraging them in the Lord to perſevere ſtedfaſtly and faithfully in their teſtimony, and not to be weary of ſuffering for his ſake. And when I had taken my leave of the friends, I ſpoke with the gaoler, deſiring him to be kind to them, and let them have what liberty he could, to viſit their families ſometimes.

Leiceſter.

I had a meeting or two in Warwickſhire, and then went into Staffordſhire, where I had ſeveral ſweet and opening meetings, both for gathering into truth, and eſtabliſhing therein. While I was in Staffordſhire, I was moved to give forth the following paper:

Warwickſh. Staffordſhire.

'DEAR friends of the quarterly and monthly meetings every-
'where: My deſire is, that ye may all ſtrive to be of one mind
'in the Lord's power and truth, which is peaceable (into which
'ſtrife and enmity cannot come) and alſo in the wiſdom of God,
'which is pure, peaceable, and eaſy to be intreated (which is above
'that which is below, that is earthly, deviliſh, and ſenſual) and
'that in this heavenly wiſdom that is peaceable, and eaſy to be in-
'treated, you may be all ordered, and do what ye do to God's
'glory. And, dear friends, if there ſhould happen at any time any
'thing that tends to ſtrife, diſpute, or contention in your monthly
'or quarterly meetings, let it be referred to half a dozen, or ſuch
'a like number, to debate and end out of your meeting, as it was
'at firſt, that all your monthly and quarterly meetings may be kept
'peaceable. And then they may inform the meeting what they
'have done; that the weak and youth amongſt you may not be
'hurt, through hearing of ſtrife or contention in your meetings,

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'where no ſtrife or contention ought to be: but all to go on, and 'determine things in one mind, in the power of God, the goſpel-'order; in which goſpel of peace ye will preſerve the peace of all 'your meetings. If any man or woman have any thing againſt 'any one, let them ſpeak to one another, and end it betwixt them-'ſelves; if they cannot ſo end it, let them take two or three to 'end it. In caſe theſe determine it not, let it be laid before the 'church; and let half a dozen, or a proper number out of your 'monthly or quarterly meeting hear it, and finally end it, without 'reſpect of perſons. Let all prejudice be laid aſide and buried; alſo 'all ſhortneſs one towards another; and let love, which is not puffed 'up, envies not, ſeeks not her own, but bears all things, have the 'dominion in all your meetings; for that doth edify the body 'which Chriſt is the head of, and this will rule over all ſounding 'braſs and tinkling cymbals. This love will ſuffer long, and is 'kind; will keep down that which would vaunt itſelf, be puffed 'up, behave itſelf unſeemly, or is eaſily provoked: it hath a ſway 'over all ſuch fruits which are not of the Spirit, the fruit of which 'is love, &c. And that with this Holy Spirit ye may all be bap-'tized into one body, and be made to drink into one Spirit; in 'which Spirit ye will have unity, in which is the bond of the King 'of Kings and the Lord of Lords his peace. They that dwell in 'love, dwell in God, for God is love: therefore let every one keep 'his habitation. My love to you in Chriſt Jeſus, the everlaſting 'Seed, which is over all.

'G. F.'

'Staffordſhire, the 20th of the
'6th month, 1678.'

Derbyſhire. Moniaſh. Yorkſhire.

Out of Staffordſhire I went to viſit John Gratton at Moniaſh in Derbyſhire, with whom I tarried one night, and went next day to William Shaw's, of the Hill in Yorkſhire, where I appointed a meeting to be on firſt day following. Many friends out of Derby-ſhire, and from ſeveral meetings in Yorkſhire came, and a precious, comfortable meeting it was; wherein was opened the bleſſed eſtate that man was in before he fell; the means by which he fell; the miſerable condition into which he fell, and the right way of coming out of it into a happy ſtate again by Chriſt, the promiſed Seed.

Lancaſhire. Kellet. Weſtmore-land. Arnſide. Swarthmore.

I ſpent about two weeks in Yorkſhire, and many heavenly meet-ings I had in that county. Then viſiting Robert Widders at Kellet in Lancaſhire, I paſſed to Arnſide in Weſtmoreland, where I had a precious living meeting in the Lord's bleſſed power, to the great ſatisfaction and comfort of friends, who came from divers parts to it. The next day I went to Swarthmore: and it being the meeting-day there, I had a ſweet opportunity with friends; our hearts being opened in the love of God, and his bleſſed life flowing amongſt us.

I had not been long at Swarthmore ere a concern came upon me to viſit the churches of Chriſt, by an epiſtle, as followeth:

'Dear

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Swarthmore.

'Dear friends,

'TO you is my love in the heavenly Seed, in whom all nations are bleſſed. Oh, keep all in this Seed, in which ye are bleſſed, and in which Abraham and all the faithful were bleſſed, without the deeds of the law: for the promiſe was and is to and with the Seed, and not with the law of the firſt covenant. In this Seed all nations and ye are bleſſed, which bruiſeth the head of the ſeed that brought the curſe, and ſeparated man from God. This is the Seed which reconciles you to God; and this is the Seed in which ye are bleſſed both in temporals and ſpirituals; through which ye have an inheritance among the ſanctified, that cannot be defiled, neither can any defiled thing enter into its poſſeſſion; for all defilements are out of this Seed. This is that which leavens into a new lump, and bruiſeth the head of the wicked ſeed that leavens into the old lump, upon whom the Sun of righteouſneſs goes down and ſets, but never goes down and ſets to them that walk in the Seed in which all nations are bleſſed; by which Seed they are brought up to God, which puts down that ſeed which ſeparated them from God, ſo that there comes to be nothing betwixt them and God. Now all my dear friends, my deſires are, that ye may all be valiant in this heavenly Seed for God and his truth upon the earth, and ſpread it abroad, anſwering that of God in all; that with it the minds of people may be turned towards the Lord, that he may come to be known, ſerved, and worſhipped, and that ye may all be as the ſalt of the earth, to make the unſeaſoned ſavoury. And in the name of Jeſus keep your meetings, who are gathered into it, in whoſe name ye have ſalvation; he being in the midſt of you, whoſe name is above every name under the whole heaven. So ye have a Prophet, Biſhop, Shepherd, Prieſt, and Counſellor (above all the counſellors, prieſts, biſhops, prophets, and ſhepherds under the whole heaven) to exerciſe his offices among you, in your meetings, gathered in his name. For Chriſt's meeting and gathering is above all the meetings and gatherings under the whole heaven; and his body, his church, and he the head of it, is above all the bodies, churches, and heads under the whole heaven. And the faith that Chriſt is the author of, and the worſhip that he hath ſet up, and his fellowſhip in the goſpel, is above all hiſtorical faiths, and the faiths that men have made, together with their worſhips and fellowſhips under the whole heaven. And now, dear friends, keep your men's and women's meetings in the power of God, the goſpel, the authority of them, which brings life and immortality to light in you; and this goſpel, the power of God, will preſerve you in life and in immortality (which hath brought it to light in you) that ye may ſee over him that hath darkened and kept from the knowledge of the things of God: for it is he and his inſtruments (which hath darkened you from life and immortality) that would throw down your men's and women's meetings (which were ſet up in the power of God, the goſpel) and would darken you again from this life and immortality which the goſpel hath brought to light, and will preſerve you therein, as your faith ſtands in this power of God,

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'the goſpel, in which every one ſees your work and ſervice for God. 'Every heir in the power of God, the goſpel, hath right to this au-'thority, which is not of man nor by man; which goſpel, the 'power of God, is everlaſting, an everlaſting order, an everlaſting fel-'lowſhip: and in the goſpel is everlaſting joy, comfort, and peace, which 'will out-laſt all thoſe joys, comforts, and peaces that will have an end, 'and that ſpirit alſo that oppoſes its order and glorious fellowſhip, 'peace and comfort in it. And, my dear friends, my deſire is, that 'ye may keep in the unity of the Spirit, that baptizes you all into 'one body, which Chriſt is the heavenly and ſpiritual head of, ſo 'that ye may ſee and bear witneſs to your heavenly and ſpiritual 'head, and ſo all drink into the one Spirit; which all people on the 'earth are not like to do, while they grieve, quench, and rebel 'againſt it, nor to be baptized into one body, and to keep the unity 'of the Spirit, which is the bond of peace, yea the King of Kings 'and Lord of Lords his peace; which is the duty of all true Chriſtians 'to keep, who are inwardly united to Chriſt. My love to you all 'in the everlaſting Seed.

'G. F.'

'Swarthmore, the 26th of
'the 7th month, 1678.'

There were about this time ſeveral friends in priſon for bearing teſtimony to the truth; to whom I was moved to write a few lines to comfort, ſtrengthen, and encourage them; having a true ſenſe of their ſufferings upon my ſpirit, and a ſympathizing with them there-in. That which I wrote was after this manner:

'My dear friends,

'WHO are ſufferers for the Lord Jeſus ſake, and for the teſtimony 'of his truth, the Lord God Almighty with his power uphold 'and ſupport you in all your trials and ſufferings, and give you pa-'tience and content in his will, that ye may ſtand valiant for Chriſt 'and his truth upon the earth, over the perſecuting deſtroying ſpirit, 'which makes to ſuffer in Chriſt (who bruiſes the head) in whom 'ye have both election and ſalvation. For his elect's ſake the 'Lord hath done much from the foundation of the world, as may 'be ſeen throughout the ſcriptures of truth. They that touch them 'touch the apple of God's eye, they are ſo tender to him; and there-'fore it is good for his ſuffering children to truſt in the Lord, and to 'wait upon him; for they ſhall be as mount Sion, that cannot be 'removed from Chriſt, their rock and ſalvation, the foundation of 'all the elect of God, of the prophets and apoſtles, and of God's 'people now and to the end; glory to the Lord and the Lamb 'over all! Remember my dear love to all friends, and do not 'think the time long; for all time is in the Father's hand, his power. 'Therefore keep the word of patience, and exerciſe that gift. The 'Lord ſtrengthen you in your ſufferings, in his holy Spirit of faith. 'Amen.

'G. F.'

'Swarthmore, the 5th of the
'12th month, 1678.'

I abode

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I abode in the north above a year, having ſervice for the Lord amongſt friends there, and being much taken up in writing in anſwer to books publiſhed by adverſaries; and for opening the principles and doctrines of truth to the world, that they might come to have a right underſtanding thereof, and be gathered thereunto. Several epiſtles alſo I wrote to friends in this time. One was to the yearly meeting held in London this year, 1679; a copy of which here follows:

'My dear friends and brethren,

'WHO are aſſembled together in the name and power of the 'Lord Jeſus Chriſt, grace, mercy, and peace from God the 'Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, fill all your hearts, and 'eſtabliſh you in his grace, mercy, and peace upon Chriſt, the holy 'living Rock and Foundation, who is the Firſt and Laſt, and over 'all the foundations and rocks in the whole world; a Rock and 'Foundation of Life for all the living to build upon, which ſtands 'ſure in his heavenly, divine light, which is the life in him; by 'whom all things were made, who is the precious Stone laid in 'Sion (and not in the world) which all the wiſe maſter builders re-'jected, who pretended to build people up to heaven with the 'words of the prophets, and the law from mount Sinai, but out of 'the life of both; therefore ſuch builders could not receive the law of 'life from Chriſt, the precious Stone laid in Sion, nor the word 'from heavenly Jeruſalem. But you, my dear friends, that have 'received this law from heavenly Sion, and the word from heavenly 'Jeruſalem, in the new covenant, where the life and ſubſtance is 'enjoyed, you ſee the end and aboliſhing of the Jews law and cere-'monies from mount Sinai. And therefore my deſire is, that you 'may all keep in the law of life and love, which ye have in Chriſt 'Jeſus, by which love the body is edified, knit, and united together 'to Chriſt Jeſus, the Head. Which love doth bear all things, ful-'fills the law, will preſerve all in humility, and in it to be of one 'mind, heart, and ſoul. So all may come to drink into that one 'Spirit, that doth baptize them and circumciſe them, plunging 'down and cutting off the body of the ſins of the fleſh, that is got 'up in man and woman by their tranſgreſſing of God's commands. 'So that in this holy pure Spirit all may ſerve and worſhip the 'pure God in ſpirit and in truth, which is over all the worſhips that 'are out of God's Spirit and his truth. In this Spirit ye will all have 'a ſpiritual unity and fellowſhip over all the fellowſhips of the un-'clean ſpirits, which are out of truth in the world. By this holy 'Spirit all your hearts, minds, and ſouls may be knit together to 'Chriſt, from whence it comes; and by the grace and truth, which 'is come by Jeſus Chriſt, which all ſhould be under the teachings 'of in the new covenant, and not under the law, as the outward 'Jews were in the old covenant. By this grace and truth in the 'new covenant, all may be made God's free men and women, to 'ſerve God in the new life, the new and living way; ſhewing forth 'the fruits of the new heart and new Spirit, in the new covenant, 'over death and darkneſs. Glory be to the Lord for ever! In this 'grace and truth is heavenly, gracious, and true liberty to every

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'ſpiritual mind, which makes you free from him that is out of 'truth, where your bondage was. Alſo your liberty in the holy, 'divine, and precious faith, which gives you victory over that which 'once ſeparated you from God and Chriſt, by which faith ye have 'acceſs to God again through Jeſus Chriſt. So in this divine and 'holy faith, ye have divine, holy, and precious liberty, yea and 'victory over him that ſeparated you from God; and this faith is 'held in a pure conſcience. So the liberty in the Spirit of God is 'in that which baptizes and plunges down ſin and iniquity, and 'puts off the body of death and ſins of the fleſh, that are got up by 'tranſgreſſing God's command. And alſo the liberty of the goſpel, 'which is ſent from heaven by the Holy Ghoſt, which is the 'power of God, which was and is again to be preached to all na-'tions; in this goſpel is the true liberty, and the goſpel-fellowſhip 'and order. So that the evil ſpirit or conſcience, or falſe dead faith, 'that which is ungracious, out of truth, and not in the Spirit of 'God, nor in his goſpel, nor in the divine faith, its liberty is in 'the darkneſs; for all true liberty is in the goſpel, and in the truth 'that makes free; in the faith, in the grace, and in Chriſt Jeſus, 'who deſtroys the devil and his works, that hath brought all man-'kind into bondage. So in this heavenly peaceable Spirit, truth, 'and faith, which works by love, and in the goſpel of peace, and 'in Chriſt Jeſus is all the ſaints peace, and pure, true, and holy 'liberty; in which they have ſalt, ſenſe, feeling, diſcerning, and 'ſavour, yea and unity and fellowſhip one with another, and with 'the Son and the Father, that heavenly, eternal fellowſhip. So all 'being ſubject to the grace and truth, and to the faith and goſpel '(the power of God) and to his good Spirit, in this they diſtinguiſh 'all true, pure, and holy liberty from that which is falſe. This 'will bring all to ſit low; for patience runs the race, and the Lamb 'muſt have the victory; and not the rough, unruly, and vain 'talkers, unbaptized, uncircumciſed, and unſanctified. Such travel 'not in the way of regeneration, but in the way of unregeneration; 'neither go they down into the death with Chriſt by baptiſm. Such 'are not like to reign with him in his reſurrection, who are not 'buried with him in baptiſm. Therefore all muſt go downward 'into the death of Chriſt, and be crucified with him, if they will 'ariſe and follow him in the regeneration before they come to reign 'with him. And, friends, many may have precious openings; 'but I deſire all may be comprehended in that which doth open to 'them, and that they may all keep in the daily croſs; then they 'keep in the power that kills and crucifies that which would lead 'them amongſt the beaſts and goats, to leaven them into their rough, 'unruly ſpirit; that through the croſs, the power of God, that may 'be crucified, and they in the power might follow the Lamb. For 'the power of God keeps all in order, ſubjection, and humility, in 'that which is lovely, virtuous, decent, comely, temperate, and 'moderate; ſo that their moderation comes to appear to all men. 'My deſire is, that all your lights may ſhine as from a city ſet upon a 'hill, that cannot be hid; and that ye may be the ſalt of the earth, 'to ſalt, ſeaſon, and make it ſavoury to God, and you all ſeaſoned

'with

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'with it. Then all your ſacrifices will be a ſweet ſavour to the 'Lord, and ye will be as the lilies and roſes, and garden of God, 'which gives a ſweet ſmell unto him; whoſe garden is preſerved by 'his power, the hedge that hedges out all the unruly and unſavoury, 'the deſtroyers and hurters of the vines, buds, and plants, and 'God's tender blade, which ſprings up from his ſeed of life, who 'waters it with his heavenly water and word of life every moment, 'that they may grow and be fruitful; that ſo he may have a pleaſant 'and fruitful garden. Here all are kept freſh and green, being 'watered every moment with the everlaſting holy water of life from 'the Lord, the fountain. My dear friends, my deſire is that this 'heavenly ſeed, that bruiſes down the head of the ſerpent both 'within and without, may be your crown and life, and ye in him 'one another's crown and joy, to the praiſe of the Lord God over 'all, bleſſed for evermore. This holy ſeed will out-laſt and wear 'out all that which the evil ſeed ſince the fall of man hath brought 'forth and ſet up. As every one hath received Chriſt Jeſus the 'Lord, ſo walk in him in the humility which he teaches: and ſhun 'the occaſions of ſtrife, vain janglings, and diſputings with men of 'corrupt minds, who are deſtitute of the truth; for the truth is peace-'able, the goſpel is a peaceable habitation in the power of God; 'his wiſdom is peaceable and gentle, and his kingdom ſtands in 'peace. Oh! his glory ſhines over all his works! in Chriſt Jeſus 'ye will have peace, who is not of the world; yea a peace that the 'world cannot take away; for the peace which ye have from him 'was before the world was, and will be when it is gone. This 'keeps all in that which is weighty and ſubſtantial over all chaff. 'Glory to the Lord God over all for ever and ever. Amen.

'And now, my dear friends, the Lord doth require more of you 'than he doth of other people, becauſe he hath committed more to 'you. He requires the fruits of his Spirit, of the Light, of the 'the Goſpel, of the Grace, and of the Truth; for herein is he glori-'fied (as Chriſt ſaid) in your bringing forth much fruit, fruits of righ-'teouſneſs, holineſs, godlineſs, virtue, truth, and purity; ſo that 'ye may anſwer that which is of God in all people. Be valiant for 'his everlaſting, glorious goſpel, in God's holy Spirit and truth, 'keeping in the unity, and in the holy Spirit, light, and life, which 'is over death and darkneſs, and was before death and darkneſs were. 'In this Spirit we have the bond of peace, which cannot be broken 'except ye go from the Spirit, and then ye loſe this unity and bond 'of peace, which ye have from the prince of peace.

'The world alſo expects more from friends than from other peo-'ple; becauſe you profeſs more. Therefore you ſhould be more 'juſt than others in your words and dealings, more righteous, holy, 'and pure in your lives and converſations, ſo that your lives and con-'verſations may preach. For the world's tongues and mouths have 'preached long enough; but their lives and converſations have de-'nied what their tongues have profeſſed and declared.

'And, dear friends, ſtrive to excel one another in virtue, that ye 'may grow in love, that excellent way which unites all to Chriſt 'and God. Stand up for God's glory, and mind that which con-

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'cerns the Lord's honour, that in no wiſe his power may be abuſed, 'nor his name evil ſpoken of by any evil talkers or walkers; but 'that in all things God may be honoured, and ye may glorify him 'in your bodies, ſouls, and ſpirits, the little time ye have to live. 'My love to you all in the holy Seed of Life, that reigns over all, 'and is the firſt and laſt, in whom ye all have life and ſalvation, and 'your election and peace with God, through Jeſus Chriſt, who de-'ſtroys him that hath been betwixt you and God; ſo that nothing 'may be betwixt you and the Lord but Chriſt Jeſus. Amen.

'My life and love is to you all, and amongſt you all. The Lord 'God Almighty by his mighty power, by which he hath preſerved 'his people unto this day, preſerve and keep you all in his power, 'and peaceable holy truth, in unity and fellowſhip one with an-'other, and with the Son and the Father. Amen.

'G. F.'

'The 24th of the 3d
'month, 1679.'

Divers other epiſtles and papers I wrote to friends during my ſtay in the north; one was 'To encourage friends to be bold and valiant 'for the truth, which the Lord had called them to bear witneſs to.' It was thus:

'Dear friends,

'ALL be valiant for the Lord's truth upon the earth, which the 'ſerpent, ſatan, the devil is out of; and in the truth keep 'him out, in which you all have peace, life, and unity with God 'and his Son, and one with another. Let the love of God fill all 'your hearts, that in it ye may build up and edify one another in 'the light, life, holy Spirit, and power of God, the glorious, com-'fortable goſpel of Chriſt, the heavenly Man, your Lord and Sa-'viour, who will fill all your veſſels with his heavenly wine and 'water of life, cloath you with his heavenly cloathing, his fine linen 'that never waxeth old; and arm you with his heavenly armour, 'that ye may ſtand faithful witneſſes for God and his Son, who is 'come, and hath given you an underſtanding to know him, and ye 'are in him. So walk in him, in whom ye all have life and ſalva-'tion, and peace with God. My love to you in the Lord Jeſus 'Chriſt, in whom I have laboured; and God Almighty, in his 'eternal power and wiſdom, preſerve you to his glory. Amen.

'G. F.'

'Swarthmore, the 29th of the
'10th month, 1679.'

The next day, having a ſenſe upon me that ſome who had received the truth, and had openings thereof, for want of keeping low had run out therefrom, I was moved to give forth the following epiſtle, as a 'warning and exhortation to all to dwell in humility.'

'My

1679.
Swarthmore.

'My dear friends,

'WHOM the Lord in his tender mercies hath viſited with the day-ſpring from on high, and hath opened you to confeſs and bow to his name; keep low in your minds, and learn of Chriſt who teacheth you humility, to keep in it; ſo that in no wiſe ye that be younger be exalted, puffed up, or conceited through your openings, and by that means loſe your conditions, by being carried up into preſumption; then fall into deſpair, and ſo abuſe the power of God. For it was the apoſtles care, that none ſhould abuſe the power of the Lord God; but in all things their faith was to ſtand therein, that they all might be comprehended into the truth which they ſpoke to others, that they might not be preachers to others and themſelves caſt-aways. Therefore it doth concern you to be comprehended into that which ye preach to others, and keep low in it; then the God of truth with exalt the humble in his truth, light, grace, power, and Spirit, and in his wiſdom to his glory. Here all are kept in their meaſures of grace, light, faith, and the Spirit of Chriſt, the heavenly and ſpiritual Man. So let none quench the Spirit, nor its motions, nor grieve it, nor err from it; but be led by it, which keeps every one in their tents: which holy Spirit of God giveth them an underſtanding, how to ſerve, worſhip, and pleaſe the holy, pure God, their Maker and Creator in Chriſt Jeſus, and how to wait, ſpeak, and anſwer the Spirit of God in his people; in which holy Spirit is the holy unity and fellowſhip. The holy Spirit teacheth the holy, gentle, meek, and quiet lowly mind to anſwer the ſeed that Chriſt hath ſown upon all grounds; and to anſwer the light, grace, and Spirit, and the goſpel in every creature, though they are gone from the Spirit, grace, light, and goſpel in the heart. So by holy walking all may come to do it, as well as by holy preaching, that God in all things may be glorified by you, and that ye may bring forth fruits to his praiſe. Amen.

'G. F.'

'Swarthmore, the 30th of the
'10th month, 1679.'

About the latter end of this year I was moved of the Lord to travel into the ſouth again. I ſet forward the beginning of the firſt month, 1679-80, and paſſing through part of Weſtmoreland and Lancaſhire, I viſited friends at ſeveral meetings, and came into Yorkſhire. Divers large and weighty meetings I had in Yorkſhire, before I came to York city. When I came there it was the aſſize-time, and there being many friends in priſon for truth's ſake, I put thoſe at liberty upon drawing up the ſufferings of the friends in priſon, that they might be laid before the judges; and I aſſiſted them therein. The quarterly meeting of friends was alſo at that time, ſo I had a brave opportunity amongſt them. Many weighty and ſerviceable things did the Lord open through me to the meeting, relating to the inward ſtate of man, how man by faith in Chriſt comes to be grafted into him, and made a member of his ſpiritual body; and alſo the outward ſtate of the church, how each member ought to walk and

Weſtmoreland.
Lancaſhire.
Yorkſhire.

1680. act, according to its place in the body. I ſpent ſeveral days in York, having divers meetings; and all was peaceable and well. I went alſo to the caſtle, to viſit the priſoners; with whom I ſpent ſome time, encouraging and ſtrengthening them in their teſtimony.

York.

Yorkſhire. Lincolnſhire. Burton. Nottinghamſhire. Derbyſhire. Leiceſterſh. Warwickſh. Warwick.

Then leaving York, I travelled ſouthward, having meetings amongſt friends, till I came to Burton in Lincolnſhire; where on firſt-day I had a large and precious meeting. Then turning into Nottinghamſhire, I travelled through good part of that county, in which I had ſeveral very good meetings, and then paſſed into Derbyſhire, Leiceſterſhire, and Warwickſhire, having meetings all along as I went, till I came to Warwick: there William Dewſberry came to me, and ſeveral other friends; and we had a little meeting in that town. Then paſſing through Southam and Radway, at each of which places I had a very good meeting, I came to Nathaniel Ball's, of North-Newton, in Oxfordſhire, and ſo to Banbury to a monthly meeting there. After I had viſited friends at their meetings in the bordering parts of Oxfordſhire, Glouceſterſhire, and Northamptonſhire, I paſſed to Richard Baker's, of Biddleſden, in Buckinghamſhire; and the next day, being firſt-day, I had a very large meeting in Biddleſden, at an old abbey-houſe, which a friend rented and dwelt in. Many friends and people came to this meeting out of Oxfordſhire, Northamptonſhire, and the parts adjacent; and of good ſervice it was. After this, I viſited friends in thoſe parts, having meetings at Lillingſtone, Lovel, and Bugbrook. Then going to Stony-ſtratford, I went into ſome parts of Bedfordſhire, till I came to Edward Cheſter's of Dunſtable. Whence paſſing on by Market-ſtreet, I had a meeting at Albans; and calling on friends at Mims and Barnet, I came to the widow Haly's, at Gutterſhedge, in Hendon, Middleſex, on a ſeventh-day night, and had a very large and good meeting there the day following.

Southam. Radway. Oxfordſhire. North-Newton. Banbury. Oxfordſhire. Glouceſterſh. Northamptonſhire. Buckinghamſhire. Biddleſden. Lillingſtone. Lovel. Bugbrook. Stony-ſtratford. Bedfordſhire. Dunſtable. Market-ſtreet. Albans. Mims. Barnet. Middleſex. Gutterſhedge in Hendon.

I paſſed from thence to London the third-day following, and went directly to the Peel-meeting at John Elſon's, and next morning to the meeting at Gracechurch-ſtreet, which was very large and quiet; and friends rejoiced in the Lord to ſee me. The yearly meeting was in the week following, to which many friends came out of moſt parts of the nation, and a bleſſed opportunity the Lord gave us together; wherein the ancient love was ſweetly felt, and the heavenly life flowed abundatly over all. After the yearly meeting, I continued about a month or five weeks in and about London, labouring in the work of the Lord both in and out of meetings; for beſides the publick teſtimony, which the Lord gave me to bear both to friends and to the world in meetings, I had much ſervice lay upon me with reſpect to friends ſufferings, in ſeeking to get eaſe and liberty for them in this and other nations. Much pains and time I ſpent, while I was at London, in writing letters to friends in divers parts of England, and in Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, and ſeveral other parts of America.

London yearly meeting.

After this I was moved of the Lord to viſit friends in ſome parts of Surrey and Suſſex. I went to Kingſton by water, and tarried certain days; for while I was there, the Lord laid it upon me to write both to the great Turk and the dey of Algiers ſeverally, to warn them

Surrey. Suſſex. Kingſton.

and the people under them to turn from their wickedneſs, and fear the Lord, and do juſtly, leſt the judgments of God ſhould come upon them, and deſtroy them without remedy. To the Algerines I wrote more particularly, concerning the cruelty they exerciſed towards friends and others, whom they held captives in Algiers. When I had finiſhed that ſervice, and viſited friends in their meetings at Kingſton, I went further into the country, and had meetings amongſt friends at Worpleſdon, Guildford, Eſher, Capell, Patchgate, Worminghurſt, Bletchington, Horſham, Iſield, Rygate, Gatton, &c. and ſo came back to Kingſton again, and from thence to Hammerſmith. And having ſpent ſome days in the ſervice of truth amongſt friends at Hammerſmith, Batterſea, Wandſworth, and thereabouts, I croſſed over, by Kenſington, to Hendon, where I had a very good meeting on firſt-day; and went from thence to London.

1680. Kingſton. Worpleſdon. Guildford. Eſher. Capell. Patchgate. Worminghurſt. Bletchington. Horſham. Iſield. Rygate. Gatton, &c. Kingſton. Hammerſmith. Batterſea. Wandſworth. Kenſington. Hendon. London.

When I had been about ten days in London, I was drawn again to viſit friends in the country; and went to Edmonton to Chriſtopher Taylor's, who kept a ſchool for the education of friends children. I had ſome ſervice amongſt the youth, and then went towards Hertford, viſiting friends in the way. At Hertford I met with John Story, and ſome others of his party; but the teſtimony of truth went over them, and kept them down, ſo that the meeting was quiet. It was on a firſt-day, and the next day being the men's and women's meeting for buſineſs, I viſited them alſo; and the rather becauſe ſome in that place had let in a diſeſteem of them. Whereupon I was moved to open the ſervice of thoſe meetings, and the uſefulneſs and benefit thereof to the church of Chriſt, as the Lord opened the thing in me; and it was of good ſervice to friends. I had a meeting alſo with ſome of thoſe that were gone into ſtrife and contention, to ſhew them wherein they were wrong; and having cleared myſelf of them, I left them to the Lord. After another publick meeting in the town, I returned towards London by Waltham-abbey, where I had a publick meeting the firſt-day following, and another with friends in the evening. Next day I went to Chriſtopher Taylor's at Edmonton, and ſtaid a day or two, having ſome things upon me to write for the ſervice of truth. When I had finiſhed that ſervice, I went to London by Shacklewell, where was a ſchool kept by friends, for the breeding up young maidens that were friends daughters.

Edmonton. Hertford. Waltham-abbey. Edmonton. Shacklewell.

I abode at London moſt part of this winter, having much ſervice for the Lord there, both in and out of meetings; for as it was a time of great ſufferings among friends, I was drawn in ſpirit to viſit friends meetings more frequently, to encourage and ſtrengthen them by exhortation and example. The parliament was alſo ſitting, and friends were diligent to wait upon them, to lay their grievances before them. We received freſh accounts almoſt every day of the ſad ſufferings friends underwent in many parts of the nation. In ſeeking relief for my ſuffering brethren, I ſpent much time, together with other friends who were freely given up to that ſervice, attending at the parliament-houſe many days together, and watching all opportunities to ſpeak with ſuch members of either houſe as would hear our juſt complaints. And indeed ſome of the members of each houſe

London.

1680. London. houſe were very courteous, and appeared willing to help us if they could; but the parliament being then earneſt in examining the popiſh plot, and contriving ways to diſcover ſuch as were popiſhly affected, our adverſaries took advantages againſt us (becauſe they knew we could not ſwear nor fight) to expoſe us to thoſe penalties that were made againſt Papiſts; though they knew in their conſciences we were no Papiſts, and had experience that we were no plotters. To clear our innocency and ſtop the mouths of our adverſaries, I drew up a ſhort paper to be delivered to the parliament; as followeth:

'IT is our principle and teſtimony to deny and renounce all plots and plotters againſt the king, or any of his ſubjects; for we have the Spirit of Chriſt, by which we have the mind of Chriſt, who came to ſave men's lives, and not to deſtroy them. We deſire the ſafety of the king and all his ſubjects. Wherefore we do declare, that we will endeavour, to our power, to ſave and defend him and them, by diſcovering all plots and plotters, which ſhall come to our knowledge, that would deſtroy the king or his ſubjects. This we do ſincerely offer unto you. But as to ſwearing and fighting, which in tenderneſs of conſcience we cannot do, ye know that we have ſuffered theſe many years for our conſcientious refuſal thereof. And now that the Lord hath brought you together, we deſire you to relieve and free us from thoſe ſufferings, and that ye will not put upon us to do thoſe things which we have ſuffered ſo much and ſo long already for not doing; for if ye do, you will make our ſufferings and bonds ſtronger inſtead of relieving us.

'G. F.'

About this time I received two very envious books written againſt truth and friends; one of them by a doctor (ſo called) of Bremen, in Germany, the other by a prieſt, of Dantzick, in Poland. They were both full of groſs falſhoods and reproachful ſlanders. I found it upon me to anſwer them, and that I might not be over-much interrupted by other buſineſs and company, I went to Kingſton upon Thames, where I wrote an anſwer to each of them, and alſo to ſome other ſcandalous papers which had been printed and ſcattered about to miſrepreſent friends.

Kingſton upon Thames.

While I was there I wrote alſo the following paper, to perſuade the magiſtrates to moderation towards diſſenters, and take off their edge to perſecution. Becauſe it ſhould have its full ſervice, I directed it——

'To

1680. Kingston.

'To all the rulers, magiſtrates, and law-makers in England, 'Scotland, and Ireland, from the higheſt to the loweſt, and to 'all other magiſtrates every-where in that which is called 'Chriſtendom; deſiring their health, peace, tranquility, life, 'and ſalvation in Chriſt Jeſus, the Lord of Glory and Lamb of 'God, who takes away the ſins of the world, and is the King 'of Kings and Lord of Lords, to whom all power in heaven and 'in earth is given, and who will reward every man according 'to his words and works.

'YOU that bear the name of Chriſtian magiſtrates, my deſire is 'that you may all be found in Chriſt, and not only have the 'name, but be made partakers of his divine nature; that ye may be 'not only ſayers of the word, but doers of the word, not only pro-'feſſors of Chriſt, and talkers of Chriſt, but let Chriſt rule in your 'hearts by faith, and be walkers in Chriſt. For as Chriſt's great 'apoſtle ſaith, "As every one hath received the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, "ſo let him walk in him; for in him there is peace." If all that 'profeſs Chriſt did walk in Chriſt, they would walk in peace, and 'be in unity; for the apoſtle exhorted the Chriſtians in his day to 'keep the unity of the Spirit, which is the bond of peace, yea of 'Chriſt the King of Kings peace. All Chriſtians who have the 'ſcriptures, and are not in this Spirit of Chriſt, are not in unity one 'with another, and ſo have broken this bond of peace, which ſhould 'knit and unite them together. Likewiſe all that profeſs the truth 'of Chriſt ſhould live in it; for it is peaceable, and the goſpel is 'the goſpel of peace; which if all Chriſtians lived in, they would 'be at peace one with another, and in the glorious fellowſhip of 'the goſpel. And if all Chriſtians kept in the fear of God, which is 'the beginning of the pure, heavenly, peaceable, and gentle wiſ-'dom, which is eaſy to be intreated (above that wiſdom which is 'earthly, ſenſual, deviliſh, and deſtroying) there would be no differ-'ence and deſtroying about matters of religion.

'I do declare the mighty day of the Lord is come and coming, 'and the Lord God is come to teach his people himſelf by 'his Son (Hebrews 1.) who bruiſes the ſerpent's head, that 'falſe teacher, that led Adam and Eve from God their Teacher. 'God will teach his people by his Son, the Teacher of Adam and 'Eve in paradiſe, before they fell, diſobeyed the Lord and forſook 'him, and followed the ſerpent; whoſe head Chriſt bruiſeth, 'and renews man and woman up again into the image of God 'which Adam and Eve were in before they fell: glory and honour 'be to God through Jeſus Chriſt, who hath called us by his Son 'into his glorious image, to ſerve and worſhip him in his Spirit and 'truth; which holy Spirit and truth the devil is out of, and cannot 'come into.

'I deſire all Chriſtian magiſtrates to take heed of perſecuting 'any, though they differ from you in matters of faith, worſhip, 'and religion. For Chriſt ſaith, "Let the tares and the wheat "grow together till the harveſt;" and he forbad ſuch as would be 'plucking up tares: the reaſon was, "Leſt they ſhould pluck up

1680: Kingſton.

" the wheat alſo;" for Chriſt ſaid, it ſhould be his angels work to ſeparate the tares from the wheat. Moreover Chriſt ſaid, they ſhould go into everlaſting puniſhment that did not viſit him in priſon in his members; then what will become of them that caſt him into priſon, where he is made manifeſt in his members! Oh! lay theſe things to heart! A day of judgment will come, vengeance and recompence upon every one according to their works.

'To thoſe diſciples, who would have had fire to come down from heaven to conſume them that would not receive him, he turned about, rebuked, and told them, " They did not know what ſpirit " they were of; for he came not to deſtroy men's lives, but to ſave " them."

'Therefore let all magiſtrates and prieſts, in that which is called Chriſtendom, conſider who have deſtroyed men's and women's lives ſince the apoſtles days, becauſe they could not receive the religions, ways, and worſhips, which they have made and ſet up; have they known what ſpirit they have been of? Are they not all reproved by, and come under the judgment of Chriſt? Therefore let all perſecution be laid aſide concerning religion; let love bear the ſway, to overcome evil and enemies; let patience overſway paſſion in all, that all may retain the heavenly reaſon and the pure underſtanding, that your moderation in true Chriſtianity may be known to all men. For have you not the Turks, Jews, Tartars, Indians, and Atheiſts eyes upon you? Therefore be in unity, and let not the name of God and Chriſt be blaſphemed amongſt them by means of any that bear the name of Chriſtians. So God may be glorified by all and in all through Jeſus Chriſt, who is over all, who calls all to peace, and is bleſſed for ever.

'I would have you to be as noble as the Bereans, and ſearch the ſcriptures of Chriſt and the apoſtles. Where did he or they give any command to impriſon, baniſh, perſecute, or put to death any that would not receive or conform to them, or that were contrary-minded to them in religion, or differed from them in matters of worſhip?

'Again I deſire all Chriſtian magiſtrates to ſearch both ſcriptures and chronicles, and ſee what was the end of all perſecutors, and what judgments came upon them. What fell upon Cain, who was the firſt perſecutor for matters of faith and ſacrifice? Did not he become a vagabond and a fugitive in the earth? What became of the old world that grieved God, and Noah, a preacher of righteouſneſs? What became of Sodom that vexed juſt Lot? What became of Pharaoh that perſecuted God's people in Egypt? (though the more he perſecuted them the more they grew) What became of Ahab and Jezebel that perſecuted the Lord's prophets? And what became of Haman that would have deſtroyed the Jews? What became of the Jews and Jeruſalem that perſecuted Chriſt and the apoſtles? What was the end of all theſe? Are they not become vagabonds in the earth, and driven away from their native country? Therefore I beſeech you in the love and fear of God, be ſo noble as to ſearch both ſcripture and hiſtory, and let not your

1680. Kingſton.

'divine underſtanding be clouded. What will become of the beaſt and whore ſpoken of in the Revelations, with their falſe prophets, that have drunk the blood of the ſaints, martyrs, and prophets of Jeſus? Muſt they not all go with the devil, who is a murderer, deſtroyer, and adverſary of mankind, into the lake of fire that burns with brimſtone? Ye may be ſure that ſpirit that ſtirs you up to perſecution, let it be in whomſoever it will, is not of Chriſt, and of his lamb-like nature, who takes away the ſins of the world, not the lives of men.

'Paul was a perſecutor, a haler to priſon, before he was converted to Chriſtianity, but never after. And therefore are not all in Saul's nature, let them be of what name or profeſſion ſoever, that are perſecutors, and unconverted into Paul's life of Chriſtianity? He ſaid the life that he lived after he was converted, was by faith in the Son of God; and that he lived, yet not he, but "Chriſt lived in him," who came to ſave men's lives, and not to deſtroy them. This life ſhould be the life of all Chriſtians now, which Paul in his converted ſtate lived in. And the apoſtle ſaith, "The law is good, if a man uſe it lawfully; knowing this, that the "law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawleſs, for "the ungodly and ſinners, for unholy and prophane, for mur-"derers of fathers and mothers, for manſlayers, for whore-"mongers, and for them that defile themſelves with mankind, for "men-ſtealers, liars, and perjured perſons," 1 Tim. i. So the law in its place is good againſt ſuch. Again the apoſtle ſays, "The "law was added becauſe of tranſgreſſion," Gal. iii. 19. Here all magiſtrates may ſee what the law in its place is good againſt, and what it was made for and againſt, and what evils, the apoſtle ſays, it takes hold upon. He does not ſay, the law ſhould be laid upon men that differed from them in their religion and judgment, nor upon righteous men. So you may ſee in what condition the law is good, and what it was made againſt; not againſt righteous men, againſt whom they have nothing, only becauſe they differ from them in matters of religion; letting manſlayers, whoremongers, perjured perſons, ungodly, prophane perſons, liars, &c. go unpuniſhed; ſo do not uſe, nor execute the law lawfully, as the apoſtle ſays; "The law is good, if a man uſe it lawfully." Therefore it ought to be uſed lawfully; which law, the apoſtle ſays, is for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and a praiſe to them that do well, as may be ſeen, Rom. xiii. So, as the apoſtle ſaid, "We do not "break the law, nor make it void; but we eſtabliſh the law," Rom. iii. 31.

'This is from him who deſires the eternal good and ſalvation 'of you all in Chriſt Jeſus, Amen.

'Kingſton upon Thames, the
'4th of the firſt month,
'1680-1.'

'G. F.'

After

1680. London.

After I had finiſhed theſe ſervices, I returned to London, where I ſtaid about a month, labouring amongſt friends in the work of the Lord, both in publick meetings for worſhip, and in thoſe relating to the outward affairs of the church. Then feeling my ſpirit drawn to viſit friends about Enfield, I went to Waltham Abbey, where I had a very precious meeting, and another at Flamſtead Heath. Having ſpent ſome time amongſt friends thereabouts, and had divers good meetings at Edmonton, Enfield, Winchmore-hill, and other places, I came back to London a little before the yearly meeting, which was in the third month 1681. It was a very precious meeting, in which the glorious preſence and power of the Lord was eminently felt and enjoyed.

Waltham Abbey. Flamſtead Heath. Edmonton. Enfield. Winchmore-hill. London yearly meeting. 1681.

Some time after it came upon me to write the following epiſtle:

'To the quarterly men's and women's meetings that are gathered
'in the name and power of Jeſus:

'CHRIST, the ſecond Adam, who is both head and huſband of 'his church, the Redeemer, Purchaſer, Saviour, Sanctifier, 'and Reconciler of his ſons and daughters to God, I ſay, his pre- 'ſence (to wit, Chriſt's) feel among you, to exerciſe his prophetical office, in opening you with his light, grace, truth, power, and 'ſpirit; and to exerciſe his office, as he is a biſhop, to overſee you 'with his light, grace, power, and ſpirit, that ye do not go aſtray 'from God. As Chriſt is a Shepherd, feel, ſee, and hear him exerciſing that office, who has laid down his life for his ſheep, is 'feeding them in his living paſtures of life, and makes them to 'drink of his living, eternal ſprings. Let him rule and govern in 'your hearts, as he is King, that his heavenly and ſpiritual government all may live under, as true ſubjects of his righteous, peaceable kingdom, which ſtands in righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in 'the Holy Ghoſt, over Satan and his power, the unclean, unholy 'ghoſt, and all unrighteouſneſs. So all ye ſubjects to Chriſt's kingdom of peace, if ye want wiſdom, knowledge, life, or ſalvation, 'Chriſt is the treaſure; feel him the treaſure among you. And 'every one, as ye have received Chriſt, walk in him in whom ye 'have peace; who bruiſes the head of the ſerpent, the author of all 'ſtrife, diſtraction, and confuſion: yea, you have peace with God, 'and one with another, though the trouble be from the world and 'the world's ſpirit. Therefore, my dear friends, brethren, and 'ſiſters, love one another with the love that is of God ſhed in your 'hearts, that ye may bear the marks of Chriſt's diſciples, and it 'may appear that Chriſt is in you, and ye in him, ſo that God Almighty may be glorified among you. Whatever ye do, let it be 'done in the name of Jeſus, to the praiſe of God the Father, keeping in unity in the Holy Spirit of God, which was before the unholy ſpirit was: which Holy Spirit is your bond of peace, yea, 'the holy King of Kings and Lord of Lords his peace. And in 'this holy, pure Spirit is your eternal unity and fellowſhip; in 'which Spirit of truth ye ſerve and worſhip the God of truth, who

'is

'is God over all, bleſſed for ever, Amen. So the Lord guide you all with his Word of patience, Word of life, power, and wiſdom, in all your actions, lives, converſations, and meetings to God's glory. My love to you all in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom all things were made, who is over all, the Firſt and the Laſt. 1681. London.

'G. F.'

'London, the 9th of the
'4th month, 1681.'

About this time I had occaſion to go to ſeveral of the judges chambers, upon a ſuit about tithes. For my wife and I, with ſeveral other friends, were ſued in Cartmel-Wapentake-Court in Lancaſhire, for ſmall tythes, and we had demurred to the juriſdiction of that court. Whereupon the plaintiff proſecuted us in the exchequer court at Weſtminſter; where they run us up to a writ of rebellion, for not anſwering the bill upon oath, and got an order of court to the ſerjeant to take me and my wife into cuſtody. This was a little before the yearly meeting, at which time it was thought they would have taken me up; and according to outward appearance it was likely, and very eaſy for him to have done it, I lodging at the ſame places where I uſed to lodge, and being very publick in meetings. But the Lord's power was over them, and reſtrained them, ſo that they did not take me. Yet underſtanding a warrant was out againſt me, as ſoon as the yearly meeting was well over, I took William Mead with me, and went to ſeveral of the judges chambers, to let them underſtand both the ſtate of the caſe, and the ground and reaſon of our refuſing to pay tithes. The firſt we went to was judge Gregory, to whom I tendered mine and my wife's anſwer to the plaintiff's bill; in which was ſet forth, That my wife had lived three-and-forty years at Swarthmore, and in all that time there had been no tithe paid nor demanded: and an old man, who had long been a tithe-gatherer, had made affidavit that he never gathered tithe at Swarthmore Hall in judge Fell's time, nor ſince. There were many particulars in our anſwer, but it would not be accepted without an oath. I told the judge, that both tithe and ſwearing among Chriſtians came from the pope; and it was matter of conſcience to us not to pay tithes, nor to ſwear; for Chriſt bid his diſciples, who had freely received, give freely; and he commanded them, 'Not 'to ſwear at all.' The judge ſaid, There was tithe paid in England before popery was. I aſked him by what law or ſtatute they were paid then? But he was ſilent. Then I told him, there were eight poor men brought up to London out of the north about two hundred miles, for ſmall tithes; one of them had no family, but himſelf and his wife, and kept no living creature but a cat. I aſked him alſo, Whether they could take a man and his wife, and impriſon them both for ſmall tithes, and ſo deſtroy a family? If they could, I deſired to know by what law? He did not anſwer me; but only ſaid, That was an hard caſe. When I found there was no help to be had there, we left him, and went to judge Montague's chamber. With him I had a great deal of diſcourſe concerning tithes. Whereupon he ſent for our adverſary's attorney; and when

1681. London. he came, I offered him our anſwer. He ſaid, If we would pay the charges of the court, and be bound to ſtand trial, and abide the judgment of the court, we ſhould not have the oath tendered to us. I told him, they had brought thoſe charges upon us, by requiring us to put in our anſwer upon oath; which they knew before we could not do for conſcience-ſake; and as we could not pay any tithe, nor ſwear, ſo neither ſhould we pay any of their charges. Upon this he would not receive our anſwer. So we went from thence to judge Atkyns's chamber; and he being buſy, we gave our anſwers and our reaſons againſt tithes and ſwearing to his clerk; but neither could we find any encouragement from him to expect redreſs. Wherefore leaving him, we went to one of the moſt noted counſellors, and ſhewed him the ſtate of our caſe, and our anſwers: he was very civil to us, and ſaid, 'This way of proceeding againſt us was ſome-'what like an inquiſition.' A few days after, thoſe eight poor friends, that were brought up ſo far out of the north, appeared before the judges; and the Lord was with them, and his power was over the court, ſo that the friends were not committed to the Fleet. Our cauſe was put off till the next term (called Michaelmas term) and then it was brought before the four judges again. William Mead told the judges, that I had engaged myſelf never to meddle with my wife's eſtate. The judges could hardly believe that any man would do ſo; whereupon he ſhewed them the writing under my hand and ſeal; at which they wondered. Then two of the judges and ſome of the lawyers ſtood up and pleaded for me, that I was not liable to the tithes; but the other two judges and divers lawyers preſſed earneſtly to have me ſequeſtered, alledging that I was a publick man. At length they prevailed with one of the other two judges to join with them, and then granted a ſequeſtration againſt me and my wife together. Thereupon, by advice of counſel, we moved for a limitation, which was granted; and that much defeated our adverſary's deſign in ſuing out the ſequeſtration, for this limited the plaintiff to take no more than was proved. One of the judges, baron Weſton, was very bitter, and broke forth in a great rage againſt me in the open court: but in a little time after he died.

London. After the yearly meeting I tarried about a month in London; then went into Suſſex to viſit friends there, amongſt whom I had many large and very precious meetings in divers parts of that county. Yet I ſpent not much time in Suſſex, but returned pretty ſoon to London, whither I felt drawings in my ſpirit; and had very good ſervice for the Lord there, both in publick meetings and amongſt friends. When I had tarried ſome time in London, I went to Edmonton; and from thence into Buckinghamſhire, where I viſited friends at ſeveral meetings in the upper ſide of that county; and then went by Henley to Reading, where I tarried ſeveral meetings. I went no farther weſtward at this time than Ore, where I had a very large meeting; after which, ſtriking through the edge of Oxfordſhire, I had a large and very precious meeting at Warborough, in which the glory of the Lord ſhined over all. Many friends came to this meeting out of Berkſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Hampſhire. From thence I paſſed to Ilmore in the Vale of Buckinghamſhire, where we had a glorious

Suſſex. Edmonton. Bucks. Henley. Reading. Ore. Oxfordſhire. Warborough. Ilmore in the Vale of Bucks

glorious meeting. The day following I returned to Mary Penington's. From whence I viſited the men's and women's monthly meetings at Hungerhill, and ſome other meetings thereabouts; then paſſed to Watford, where was a marriage of two friends, at which I was preſent. A very large meeting we had on that occaſion, and the Lord's power was over all. I went from Watford to Longford in Middleſex, viſiting friends at Uxbridge in the way. At Longford we had a large meeting, it being on firſt-day, and the preſence of the Lord was preciouſly felt amongſt us; bleſſed be his name! I paſſed from Longford to Kingſton, viſiting friends as I went, at Staines and Sunbury. At Kingſton I abode with friends two meetings, wherein we were ſweetly refreſhed together in the Lord. Paſſing from thence towards London, I had a very precious meeting at Wandſworth: then croſſing over to Hammerſmith, I had a good meeting there; which was the larger by reaſon of a burial, and there being a pretty openneſs in the people on that occaſion, I had a fine opportunity to open the way of truth amongſt them. 1681. Hungerhill. Watford. Middleſex. Uxbridge. Longford. Staines. Sunbury. Kingſton. Wandſworth. Hammerſmith.

After I was come to London, I was moved to write the following paper, concerning that ſpirit which had led ſome, who profeſſed truth, into ſtrife and diviſion, and to oppoſe the way and work of the Lord: London.

'Friends,

'YOU that keep your habitation in the truth that is over all, do 'ſee that it is the ſame ſpirit which leads the backſliders and 'apoſtates now from the ſpiritual fellowſhip and unity of the church 'of Chriſt, that led Adam and Eve from God. This ſpirit was 'the ſame that was in the world, which got into the Jews when 'they were gone from the Spirit of God; and then turned againſt 'God and his prophets, and againſt Chriſt and his apoſtles. That 'ſpirit led them to be as bad as Pilate, or worſe. The enmity or 'adverſary was got within them againſt the truth, and thoſe that 'walked in it, and the Spirit of the Lord; ſo that they killed and 'deſtroyed the Juſt. This was the ſpirit of the devil, the deſtroyer, 'who ſought not only to deſtroy the truth, but the order of it, and 'thoſe that walked in it, when true Chriſtianity was planted among 'the poſſeſſors of the light, grace, and truth, the holy goſpel faith 'and Spirit, who enjoyed Chriſt in their heart. But when ſome began 'to err from the Spirit and faith, to hate the light, diſobey the goſpel, 'turn the grace of God into wantonneſs, walk deſpitefully againſt the 'Spirit of grace, turn from the truth, crucify to themſelves Chriſt 'afreſh, and put him to open ſhame; theſe were they that let in the 'ſpirit of the world, who held the form of godlineſs, but denied 'the power thereof; and troubled the churches in the apoſtles 'days. When the ſpirit of Satan had got into ſuch, they were 'more troubleſome to the church than the open perſecutors without. 'Theſe got into the aſſemblies to deceive the hearts of the ſimple; 'having the good words and fair ſpeeches, the ſheep's cloathing. 'Paul, Peter, John, Jude, and James had much to do with ſuch, to 'keep them from troubling the church of Chriſt: for they are out 'of the light, power, and Spirit; therefore the apoſtles of Chriſt

'exhorted

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'exhorted the ſaints to keep to the Word of life within; to the Anointing; to the grace, truth, and Holy Spirit in their hearts. This foul ſpirit will profeſs all the ſcriptures in words; but by the Spirit of God, which is holy, that ſpirit is tried, and its fruits. So the apoſtates went from the power and Spirit of God, and turned againſt the prophets and martyrs of Jeſus; and became the whore, whoſe cup all nations drank of. The dragon with his tail threw down many of the ſtars, and would have devoured the woman with his flood; but the woman, the true church, was preſerved, for the gates of hell cannot prevail againſt her; and then the dragon made war with her Seed. So the dragon, the whore, beaſt, and falſe prophets, all made war againſt the Lamb and the ſaints; but the Lamb and the ſaints will overcome them, and have the victory. And now the everlaſting goſpel is preached again to all nations, tongues, and people; and many are gathered into the goſpel, the power of God, turned to the light, which is the life in Chriſt, grafted into him, and are come to walk in the order of the new covenant of light and life, in the goſpel of peace and ſalvation. The ſame ſpirit that oppoſed the apoſtles and the churches in their days, oppoſes now; yea, it is the ſame that oppoſed Chriſt and diſdained him, that diſdaineth God's ſervants now. The ſame that oppoſed the prophets, and rebelled againſt Moſes, oppoſes and rebels againſt God's ſervants and people now. It is the ſame dark, blind, diſobedient, faithleſs, wilful, jealous ſpirit, that perſecutes ſome with the hands, and others with the tongue. It is the ſame ſpirit that is now going about ſometimes like a roaring lion, ſometimes like a twiſting ſerpent to tempt, to deceive, and to devour, in thoſe that have fair ſpeeches and good words, the ſheeps cloathing, in a form of godlineſs, under pretence of light and liberty, but deny the power thereof, and inwardly are ravening wolves. If it were poſſible, they would deceive the very elect. But the elect are in the covenant of light and life, in the power of God over them, and in Chriſt, who will grind them to pieces, and ſlay all his enemies with his ſpiritual ſword, who will not have him to rule over or in them. In Chriſt all his people have reſt and peace, who is their ſanctuary over all ſtorms and tempeſts. In Chriſt, the ſanctuary, no deceiver nor deſtroyer can come; for he is a place of ſweet reſt and ſafety. Hallelujah! praiſe the Lord for his ſanctuary, Amen.

'G. F.'

Sufferings continuing ſevere upon friends at London, I found my ſervice lay moſtly there: wherefore I went but little out of town, and not far; being frequent at the moſt publick meetings, to encourage friends both by word and example, to ſtand faſt in the teſtimony to which God had called them. At other times I went from houſe to houſe, viſiting thoſe friends that had their goods taken away for their teſtimony to truth. And becauſe the wicked informers were grown very audacious, by reaſon they had much countenance and encouragement from ſome juſtices, who, truſting wholly to

to their information, proceeded againſt friends without hearing them: whereby many were made to ſuffer, not only contrary to right, but even contrary to law alſo. I adviſed with ſome friends about it; and we drew up a paper, which was delivered to moſt of the magiſtrates in and about the city, as followeth: 1682. London.

'WHEREAS informers have obtained warrants of ſome juſtices of peace, who have convicted many of us without hearing us, or once ſummoning us to appear before them; by which proceedings many have had their goods ſeized and taken away, being generally fined ten pounds apiece for an unknown ſpeaker: and ſome of thoſe perſons ſo fined have not been at the meetings they were fined for; and the ſpeaker notwithſtanding hath himſelf been fined for the ſame meeting, the ſame day the others were fined for the unknown ſpeaker. The juſtices may ſee the wickedneſs of theſe informers, by whoſe falſe oaths we have been convicted for an unknown preacher, when the preacher hath been both known and fined. Alſo in their ſwearing ſuch perſons to have been at ſuch a meeting ſuch a day, when indeed thoſe ſo ſworn againſt have not been at that meeting. By which proceedings ſeveral families of the king's peaceable ſubjects are like to be ruined, if a ſpeedy ſtop be not put thereunto. Therefore we hope and deſire that you, the king's juſtices, for the time to come, when any informers ſhall come to any of you with an information againſt any of us, will ſummon ſuch as are accuſed to appear before you, and hear us and our accuſers face to face; that none may ſuffer for what they are not guilty of. For Pilate the governor heard Chriſt and his accuſers face to face before he condemned him, John xix. The council and chief prieſts heard Stephen and his accuſers, with the witneſſes that were brought againſt him, face to face, before they condemned him, Acts vii. The Roman captain heard Paul and his accuſers face to face, Acts xxiii. Felix the governor heard Paul and Ananias the high-prieſt, and the elders that accuſed Paul, face to face, Acts xxiv. And when the high-prieſts and chief of the Jews accuſed Paul to Feſtus, he heard Paul and his accuſers, and them that witneſſed againſt him, face to face, Acts xxv. Doth the law of God, or did the Roman law, or doth the law of the land judge any man before he and his accuſers, and they that witneſs againſt him, be heard face to face?'

This ſomewhat moderated the juſtices: and after this ſeveral friends, who had been illegally proſecuted and fined, entered their appeals; upon trial whereof they were acquitted, and the informers caſt: which was a great diſcouragement to the informers, and ſome relief to friends.

A little before the time for chooſing new ſheriffs for the city, thoſe who put up to be choſen deſiring our friends to give their voices for them, I wrote a few lines, tending to diſcover what ſpirit they were of, and how they ſtood affected to true liberty; it was by way of inquiry, thus:

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'DO any here in London, who ſtand to be choſen ſheriffs, own that Chriſt, who was crucified without the gates of Jeruſalem, to be the light of the world, that "enlightens every man "that cometh into the world," who ſaith, "Believe in the light, "that ye may become children of the light?" Is any of you againſt perſecuting people for their religion and worſhip of God in Spirit and truth, as Chriſt commandeth? For Chriſt ſaid, "I am not "of this world, nor my kingdom;" therefore he doth not uphold his ſpiritual worſhip and pure religion with worldly and carnal weapons. Chriſt ſaid, "Swear not at all;" and his apoſtle James ſaith the ſame: but will not you force us to ſwear, and break Chriſt's and his apoſtle's commands, in putting oaths to us? Chriſt ſaith to his apoſtles, "Freely ye have received, freely give:" Will not you force us to give tithes and maintenance to ſuch teachers as we know God hath not ſent? Shall we be free to ſerve and worſhip God, and keep his and his Son's commands, if we give our voices freely for you? for we are unwilling to give our voices for ſuch as will impriſon and perſecute us, and ſpoil our goods.'

But whatever the candidates were, I obſerved heat and ſtrife in the ſpirits of the people that were to chooſe; wherefore I wrote a few lines to be ſpread amongſt them, directed,

'To the people who are chuſing ſheriffs in London:

'People,

'ALL keep in the gentle and peaceable wiſdom of God, which is above that which is earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh; and live in that love of God that is not puffed up, nor is unſeemly; which envieth not, but beareth and endureth all things. In this love ye will ſeek the good and peace of all men, and the hurt of no man. Keep out of all heats, be not hot-headed; but be cool and gentle, that your Chriſtian moderation may appear to all men; for the Lord is at hand, who beholds all men's words, thoughts, and actions, and will reward every one according to their work: what every man ſoweth, that ſhall he reap.'

I had ſome inclination to go into the country to a meeting: but hearing there would be a buſtle at our meetings, and feeling great diſquietneſs in people's ſpirits in the city about chooſing ſheriffs, it was upon me to go to the meeting in Gracechurch-ſtreet on firſt day. William Penn went with me, and ſpoke in the meeting. While he was declaring the truth, a conſtable came in with his great ſtaff, and bid him give over, and come down: but William Penn held on, declaring truth in the power of God. After a while the conſtable drew back; and when William Penn had done, I ſtood up, and declared to the people 'the everlaſting goſpel which was preached in the apoſtles days, and to Abraham; which the church in the apoſtles days did receive, and came to be heirs of. This goſpel, I declared, was ſent from heaven by the Holy Ghoſt in the

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'the apoſtles days, and is ſo now; and was not of man, neither by man, but by the revelation of the Holy Ghoſt. And now this goſpel is preached again (as John ſaw, and ſaid it ſhould be) to all nations, tongues, and people; and all people now are to hear Chriſt the Prophet, in this his goſpel of the new covenant. For as Moſes ſaid, "Like unto me will God raiſe up a prophet, and him "ſhall ye hear in all things:" ſo, ſaid I, this prophet Chriſt is come, and all the Jews in Spirit, the true believing Chriſtians in the light, who have the law of God written in their hearts, and put into their minds, are to hear Chriſt in his goſpel, new teſtament, and new covenant, which is the law of the Spirit of life in Chriſt Jeſus, who bruiſes the ſerpent's head (which is the head of enmity) and makes free from the law of ſin and death. I ſhewed, that all whom Chriſt quickens and makes alive, he makes to ſit together in the heavenly places in himſelf. So that they do not wander up and down, like the fool's eye in the corners of the earth; nor are their eyes abroad in the world, to ſit down in the world's invented ſeats of religion; but they ſit together in him, as the ſaints did in the apoſtles days. So Chriſt was and is their treaſure of wiſdom, life, knowledge, and ſalvation.' As I was thus ſpeaking, two conſtables came in with their great ſtaves, and bid me 'give over ſpeaking, and come down.' But I, feeling the power of the Lord with me, ſpoke on therein, both to the conſtables, and to the people. To the conſtables I declared, 'That we were a 'peaceable people, who meet to wait upon God, and worſhip him 'in Spirit and in truth; and therefore they needed not to have come 'with their ſtaves againſt us, who were met in a peaceable manner, 'deſiring and ſeeking the good and ſalvation of all people.' Then turning my ſpeech to the people again, I declared what further was upon me to them. While I was ſpeaking, the conſtables drew towards the door, and the ſoldiers ſtood with their muſkets in the yard. When I had done ſpeaking, I kneeled down, and prayed, deſiring the Lord to open the eyes and hearts of all people, high and low, that their minds might be turned to God by his Holy Spirit; that he might be glorified in all and over all. After prayer the meeting roſe, and friends paſſed away, the conſtables being come in again without the ſoldiers; and indeed both they and the ſoldiers carried themſelves civilly. William Penn and I went into a room hard by, as we uſed to do, and many friends went with us; and leſt the conſtables ſhould think we would ſhun them, a friend went down and told them, if they would have any thing with us, they might come where we were, if they pleaſed. One of them came to us ſoon after, but without his ſtaff; which he choſe to do, that he might not be obſerved; for he ſaid, 'The people told him, he buſied 'himſelf more than he needed.' We deſired to ſee his warrant; and we therein found the informer was one Hilton, a north country man, reputed a Papiſt. The conſtable was aſked, Whether he would arreſt us by his warrant on that day, it being firſt day, which in their law was called the Lord's day? He ſaid, 'He thought he 'could not.' He told us alſo, 'He had charged the informer to 'come along with him to the meeting, but he had run away from 'him.'

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'him.' We ſhewed the conſtable, that both he and we were clear; yet to free him from all fear of danger, we were free to go to the alderman that granted the warrant. A friend preſent ſaid, He would go with the conſtable to ſpeak with the alderman; which they did, and came preſently back again, the alderman being gone from home. We ſeeing the conſtable in a ſtrait, and finding him a tender man, bid him ſet an hour to come to us again, or ſend for us, and we would come to him. So he appointed the fifth hour in the afternoon, but neither came nor ſent for us; and a friend meeting him afterwards in the evening, the conſtable told him, 'He thought it 'would come to nothing, and therefore did not look after us.' So the Lord's power was over all; to him be the glory!

The fourth day following, it was upon me to go to Gracechurch-ſtreet meeting again: for I had heard they would come to break up the meeting that day. The neighbours, it ſeems, were informed ſo, a juſtice had granted a warrant for that purpoſe, and the conſtable told a friend that Hilton the informer had been with him about it. The conſtable would have had the informer to have gone with him to the meeting, but he would not; and would have the conſtable go without him: whether that put the conſtable by, I know not; but he did not come. I was in a travail of ſpirit in the power of God, and was moved in it to go to the meeting; and the Lord's power did chain all down. Though they threatened to bring the red coats, none of them came, nor was there any diſturbance; but a glorious, powerful meeting it was, and very peaceable; glory, honour, and praiſes be to the Lord over all for ever, Amen!

During the time I abode at London, as I had leiſure between meetings, and from other publick ſervices, I wrote divers books and papers; ſome of which were printed, and others ſpread about in manuſcript. Of theſe, one was directed, 'To the biſhops and 'others, that ſtirred up perſecution; to ſhew them from the holy 'ſcriptures, that they did not walk therein according to the royal 'law, "To love their neighbour as themſelves, and to do to others "as they would be done unto." Another was, 'To all the ſeveral 'ſorts of profeſſed Chriſtians, as well Proteſtants as Papiſts, whoſe 'religion and worſhip ſtands in outward obſervances and ceremonies; 'preſſing them, from thoſe words of the apoſtle Paul to the Gala-'tians, chap. v. ver. 2, 3, 4. "Behold, I Paul ſay unto you, that "if ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing. For I "teſtify again to every man that is circumciſed, that he is a debtor "to the whole law. Chriſt is become of no effect unto you, who-"ſoever of you are juſtified by the law: ye are fallen from grace," 'to conſider, whether they, being gone back into legal obſervations 'and ſhadowy ceremonies (in upholding tithes, offerings, firſt-'fruits, prieſt's garments, outward altars, temples, lamps, lights, '&c. and in obſerving days, months, times, years, with many 'other things commanded by the law) were not gone into the ſame 'ſtate that the Galatians were running into; and ſo were fallen from 'grace, and become debtors to the whole law.' Another was, 'To 'direct and turn all people to the Spirit of God, that they might 'thereby receive a right underſtanding, and be able to diſtinguiſh

'between right and wrong, truth and error; that under pretence of punishing evil-doers, they might not themselves do evil in persecuting the righteous. Which is here inserted: 1682. London.

'THE Spirit of God, which he hath poured upon all, giveth an understanding to all that are led by it; and to those who do not quench the motions of it, it giveth knowledge and understanding to distinguish good from evil, light from darkness, Christ from Antichrist, the old testament or covenant from the new, the old way from the new and living way; the sheep and lambs from the goats and wolves; the worship of God, which Christ set up above sixteen hundred years ago, from the dragon's and beast's worship; and all those that worship the works of men's hands, and the will-worshippers, from them that worship God in his Spirit and in his truth, in which God's people worship him; which worship is over all false worships and worshippers. Those who believe in the light, which is the life in Christ, become the children of light, and are the lambs of Jesus. These lambs follow the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world; they will not follow the hirelings, nor the strangers, to be led into strange ways, doctrines, religions, and churches: for the lambs of Christ follow Christ the Lamb of God, and know his heavenly voice. They know also, that those who are without Christ are dogs and wolves, adulterers, idolaters, liars, and unbelievers, who would devour the lambs: but these are in the hand of the Lord, which is his power, that is over all; such do good in his power unto all; for they have the mind of Christ, who would have all come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved. Those that do good to all, do hurt to none: for that spirit, that doth hurt to any, is not of God; but that Spirit, which doth good to all, and especially to the household of faith, is of God. Christ came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them: it is the devil that is the destroyer of men's lives about religion, who corrupts men and women, makes them deaf and blind to the things of God, and to halt out of God's way. Those that obey the evil one, and forsake the Lord, such the destroyer doth destroy: but Christ destroys that destroyer, and in Christ all have life.

'G. F.'

I wrote also concerning meditation, delight, exercise, and study; shewing from the scriptures of truth what true Christians ought to meditate upon, exercise their minds and take delight in, and what they should study to do. For in these things not prophane and loose people only, but even great professors of religion, are very much mistaken; taking delight in earthly, fading, perishing things; whereas they ought to meditate on heavenly things, delight in the law of God after the inward man, and exercise themselves to have always a 'conscience void of offence towards God and towards men,' as the apostle Paul did.

As sufferings continued very sore and heavy upon friends not only in the city, but in most parts of the nation, I drew up a paper to be presented to the king; setting forth our grievances, and desiring

1682. London. redreſs from him in thoſe particular caſes which I underſtood were in his power. But not having relief from him, it came upon me to write an epiſtle to friends, to encourage them in their ſufferings, that they might bear with patience the many exerciſes brought upon them, both by magiſtrates and falſe brethren and apoſtates; whoſe wicked books and filthy ſlanders grieved the upright-hearted. This Dalſton. epiſtle I wrote at Dalſton, whither I went to viſit an ancient friend that lay ſick.

'FRIENDS and brethren in Chriſt Jeſus, whom the Lord hath called and gathered into himſelf, in him abide: for without him ye can do nothing, and through him ye can do all things. He is your ſtrength and ſupport in all your trials, temptations, impriſonments, and ſufferings, who for Chriſt's ſake are accounted as ſheep for the ſlaughter: in all theſe things we are more than conquerors, through Chriſt who hath loved us. Therefore, friends, though ye ſuffer by the outward powers, ye know that the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles, ſuffered by the unconverted. And though ye ſuffer by falſe brethren and apoſtates for a time, and by their filthy books and tongues, whoſe tongues indeed are become no ſlander, let them ſpeak, write, or print what they will: for the ſober people even of the world hardly regard it. It is well they have manifeſted themſelves to the world, that their folly may proceed no farther; though to the utmoſt of their power they have ſhewed their wicked intent to ſtir up the magiſtrates, profeſſors, and prophane againſt us, and to ſpeak evil of the way of truth. God's judgments will overtake them, as ſure as they have come upon thoſe that are gone before them. Let their pretence be ever ſo high, mark their end; for they will fall like untimely figs, and wither like the graſs on the top of the houſe. Though they may ſeem to flouriſh, and make a boaſt and a noiſe for a time; yet the Seed is on the head of ſuch, which will grind them to powder; which Seed bruiſeth the ſerpent's head. Therefore in this Seed, Chriſt, who is your ſanctuary, reſt, peace, and quiet habitation, who is the Firſt and the Laſt, and over all, in him walk; for the Lord taketh pleaſure in his faithful people, that ſerve and worſhip him. Therefore let the ſaints be joyful in glory; and the God of Peace, the God of all grace, who hath called us into his eternal glory by Jeſus Chriſt, after that ye have ſuffered a while, make you perfect, ſtabliſh, ſtrengthen, and ſettle you. Caſt all your care upon the Lord, for he careth for you. And dearly beloved, think it not ſtrange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened to you; for it is better, if the will of God be ſo, that ye ſuffer for well-doing than for evil-doing; and rejoice, inaſmuch as ye are made partakers of Chriſt's ſufferings. Wherefore let them that ſuffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their ſouls to him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator: for unto you is given, in the behalf of Chriſt, not only to believe in him, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. So it is given, or is a gift from Chriſt to ſuffer for his name; and therefore rejoice, inaſmuch as ye

1682. Dalſton.

'ye are made partakers of Chriſt's ſufferings. If ye be reproached 'or evil-ſpoken of for the name of Chriſt, happy are ye; for the 'Spirit of glory and of God reſteth upon you: on their part he is 'evil-ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified. Therefore if any 'ſuffer as Chriſtians, let them not be aſhamed, but glorify God on 'this behalf. Though now for a ſeaſon ye are in ſufferings, trials, 'and temptations, that the trial of your faith, being much more pre-'cious than that of gold which periſhes, though it be tried with 'fire, may be found unto praiſe, honour, and glory, who are kept 'by the power of God, through faith, unto ſalvation. Therefore 'mind your keeper, where-ever ye are, or what ſufferings ſoever ye 'be in; and mind the example of the apoſtle, how he ſuffered trouble 'as an evil-doer, unto bonds. But the Word of God is not bound, 'which is everlaſting and endures for ever: and they who are in 'that which is not everlaſting, and doth not endure for ever, cannot 'bind the Word. The apoſtle ſaid, "I endure all things for the "elect's ſake; that they may alſo obtain the ſalvation which is in "Chriſt Jeſus, with eternal glory (mark, with eternal glory.) And "if we ſuffer with Chriſt, we ſhall reign with Chriſt, who abide "faithful." Therefore ſtrive not about words to no profit; but 'ſhun prophane and vain babblings, for they will increaſe unto 'more ungodlineſs; that ye may be veſſels of honour, ſanctified and 'meet for Chriſt your maſter's uſe, and prepared unto every good 'work. Follow after righteouſneſs, godlineſs, faith, love, patience, 'and meekneſs. Fight the good fight of faith with your heavenly 'weapons; which faith is victory (or gives victory) by which ye lay 'hold on eternal life, and have acceſs unto God, "who will render "to every man according to his deeds: to them, who by patient "continuing in well-doing, ſeek for glory, and honour, and immor-"tality, eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do "not obey the truth, but obey unrighteouſneſs, indignation and "wrath, tribulation and anguiſh upon every ſoul of man that doth "evil; but glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh "good." Chriſt ſaid to his diſciples, "If the world hate you, ye "know that it hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the "world, the world would love its own: but becauſe ye are not of "the world, but I have choſen you out of the world, therefore the "world hateth you." And, "If they have perſecuted me, they "will alſo perſecute you." And John in his general epiſtle to the 'church ſaith, "Marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you. "We know that we have paſſed from death to life, becauſe we "love the brethren." And Chriſt in his prayer to his Father ſaith 'of his followers, "As thou haſt ſent me into the world, even ſo "have I alſo ſent them into the world; and the glory which thou "gaveſt me I have given them, that they may be one, even as we "are one." Therefore all ye that know God and Jeſus Chriſt (whom 'to know is eternal life) and are partakers of his glory, keep the 'teſtimony of Jeſus, and be valiant for his truth upon earth, that 'ye may be all ſettled upon Chriſt, the rock and foundation.

'G. F.

'Dalſton, the 3d of the
'8th month, 1682.'

I made

1682. I made but little ſtay at Dalſton, but returned to London, where
London. I continued moſt part of the winter; labouring in the ſervice of
Kingſton. truth amongſt friends: ſave that I was a little while at Kingſton, in the tenth month of this year, where I wrote a book, ſetting forth 'The ſtate of the birth temporal, and the birth ſpiritual: and the 'duty and ſtate of a child, youth, young men, aged men and fathers 'in the truth,' &c. But I ſtaid not long at Kingſton neither; for the heat of perſecution ſtill continuing, I felt my ſervice to be moſt
London. at London, where our meetings were for the moſt part diſturbed and broken up, or friends were forced to meet without-doors, being kept out of their meeting-houſes by the officers. Yet ſometimes, beyond expectation, we got a quiet and peaceable meeting in the houſes. One time I was minded to have gone a mile or two out of town, to viſit a friend that was not well: but hearing that the king had ſent to the mayor to put the laws in execution againſt diſſenters, and that the magiſtrates thereupon intended to nail up the meeting-houſe doors, I had not freedom to go out of town, but was moved to go the meeting at Gracechurch-ſtreet; and, notwithſtanding all their threats, a great meeting it was, and very quiet; and the glory of the Lord ſhone over all.

Peel meeting. The ſame week I went to the meeting at the Peel in John's-ſtreet, and the ſeſſions were holden the ſame day at Hicks's-hall. I went in the morning; and William Mead being to appear at the ſeſſions for not going to the ſteeple-houſe worſhip, came once or twice from Hicks's-hall to me at the Peel; which ſome ill-minded people obſerving, went and informed the juſtices at the bench, that he was gone to a meeting at the Peel. Whereupon they ſent a meſſenger to ſee if there was a meeting; but this being in the forenoon, there was no meeting, ſo the meſſenger went back and told them. Then others informed the juſtices that there would be a meeting there in the afternoon: whereupon they ſent for the chief conſtable, and aſked him, 'Why he ſuffered a meeting to be at the Peel, ſo nigh 'him?' He told them, 'He did not know of any meeting there.' They aſked him, 'How he could but know it, and live ſo nigh it?' He ſaid, 'He was never there in his life, and did not know there 'was a meeting there.' They would have perſuaded him, that he muſt needs know of it; but he ſtanding ſtedfaſt in the denial of it, they ſaid, 'They ſhould take order to have it looked after in the after-'noon.' But a multitude of buſineſs coming before them at the ſeſſions, when dinner-time came, they haſtened to their dinner, without giving order; and when they came to the bench again after dinner, the Lord put it out of their minds, ſo the meeting was quiet, beginning and ending in peace; and a bleſſed meeting we had, the Lord's preſence being preciouſly amongſt us. Many friends had a concern upon their minds, when they ſaw me come into the meeting, leſt I ſhould have been taken; but I was freely given up to ſuffer, if it was the Lord's will, before I went, and had nothing in my mind concerning it but the Lord's glory. I do believe that the Lord put it out of their minds, that they ſhould not ſend to break up our meeting that day. Yet the firſt day after, three or four juſtices (as I heard) came to the Peel, and put friends out of their

1682.

their meeting-houſe, and kept them out; and inquired for William Mead, but he was not there.

London. Gracechurch-ſtreet meeting.

That day I was moved to go to Gracechurch-ſtreet meeting; and it was expected that the officers would come, to break up the meeting, or keep friends out; and many hundreds of people came to ſee what would be done to us. But the officers came not; ſo we were in peace and quietneſs; and many of the people that came to look on, ſtaid all the time; and a glorious, precious meeting we had, for the Lord's preſence was plentifully amongſt us, and his power came over all; glory to his name for ever, who is over all!

I had ſeen the mayor's printed ſpeech for putting the laws in execution againſt diſſenters: and it was much in my mind that we ſhould draw up a paper to ſend to the mayor and aldermen, to clear ourſelves from being ſuch as thoſe laws were made againſt; and to ſet forth our peaceable behaviour both towards the king and the government. Accordingly a paper was drawn up, ſigned, and delivered to the mayor; and copies thereof delivered to the aldermen, and the biſhop of London, who generally took it kindly, and were civil to the friends that delivered it.

About this time I was moved to write the few lines following to friends:

'Dear friends,

'FEEL the power of God in you all, and over all, and by it 'let your hearts be united to one another, and to the Lord 'God, who hath gathered you by himſelf by his power and 'Spirit, to be a people to ſerve and worſhip him. So you may all 'ſtrive to excel one another in virtue, and in that love that beareth 'all things, and edifieth the body of Chriſt, the body of the ſecond 'Adam. For the body of old Adam in the fall is full of malice, 'envy, and vice. Therefore you that are called out of old Adam 'in the fall, and have put on Chriſt the ſecond Adam that never fell, 'walk in him, the treaſure of life, wiſdom, and knowledge, in whom 'ye have peace with God, who is the Firſt and Laſt, the Beginning 'and the Ending. So let all be gathered up to God, into him 'who reconcileth all things in one, both things in heaven and things 'on earth; who is the faithful and true witneſs in male and female. 'In him ſit down, who is above the ſubtle foxes in their holes, and 'the fowls of the air in their neſts; I ſay, ſit down in Chriſt, who 'hath no place among them to lay his head; he is your reſt. So in 'him is my love to you all.

'G. F.

'London, the 20th of the
'11th month, 1682.'

Not long after, I received an account by letter, from ſome friends that were priſoners at Denbigh in Wales, that many friends there were under great ſufferings for the teſtimony of a good conſcience. In the tender ſenſe whereof I was moved in the love of God to viſit them with a few lines, as a word of conſolation to them in their

 ſufferings;

1682. London. sufferings; and of exhortation, to stand fast in the testimony committed to them, after this manner:

'DEAR suffering lambs for the name and command of Jesus! be valiant for his truth, and faithful, and ye will feel the 'presence of Christ with you. Look at him who suffered for you, 'hath bought you, and will feed you, who saith, 'Be of good 'comfort, I have overcome the world:' who destroys the devil and 'his works, and bruises the serpent's head. I say, look at Christ 'your sanctuary, in whom ye have rest and peace. To you it is 'given not only to believe, but to suffer for his name's sake. They 'that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution by the 'ungodly professors of Christ Jesus who live out of him. There-'fore be valiant for God's truth upon the earth, and look above that 'spirit that makes you suffer, up to Christ, who was before it was, 'and will be when it is gone. Consider all the prophets, Christ, 'and the apostles, who suffered and were persecuted; but they were 'never persecuted as true men, but as deceivers, and yet true. Christ 'is the same to-day as yesterday, a rock and foundation for your 'age and generation, for you to build upon. I have written con-'cerning you (after I heard your letter) to friends in Cheshire to 'visit you, understanding that you belong to their quarterly meet-'ing: I desire some friends of your county would go, and lay your 'suffering condition before the monthly or quarterly meeting in 'Cheshire. I have written likewise to Richard Davis, that some 'of that side may go and visit you, and see how your condition is. 'My love is to you in the Lord, who is your alone support.

'G. F.

'London, the 27th of the
'11th month, 1682.'

Devonshire-house meeting.

Because the magistrates were many of them unwilling to have fines laid upon meeting-houses, they kept friends out in many places, setting officers and guards of soldiers at the doors and passages; yet sometimes friends were fined for speaking or praying, though it were abroad. One first day it was upon me to go to Devonshire-house meeting in the afternoon; and because I had heard friends were kept out there that morning (as they were that day at most meetings about the city) I went somewhat the sooner, and got into the yard, before the soldiers came to guard the passages: but the constables were got there before me, and stood in the door-way with their staves. I asked them to let me go in: they said, 'They could not, 'nor durst not; for they were commanded the contrary, and were 'sorry for it.' I told them, I would not press upon them; so I stood by, and they were very civil. I stood till I was weary; then one gave me a stool to sit down on: and after a while the power of the Lord began to spring up among friends, and one began to speak. The constables soon forbad him, and said, he should not speak; and he not stopping, they began to be wroth. But I gently laid my hand upon one of the constables, and wished him to let him alone. The constable did so, and was quiet; and the man did not speak long.

long. After he had done, I was moved to ſtand up and ſpeak: and in my declaration ſaid, 'They need not come againſt us with ſwords 'and ſtaves; for we were a peaceable people, and had nothing in 'our hearts but good-will to the king and magiſtrates, and to all 'people upon the earth. We did not "meet under pretence of re-"ligion to plot and contrive againſt the government, or to raiſe in-"ſurrections;" but to worſhip God in Spirit and in truth. We had 'Chriſt to be our Biſhop, Prieſt, and Shepherd, to feed us and 'overſee us, and he ruled in our hearts; ſo we could all ſit in ſilence, 'enjoying our teacher. So to Chriſt, their Biſhop and Shepherd, I 'recommended them all.' I ſat down, and after a while was moved to pray, and the power of the Lord was over all; and the people, with the conſtables and ſoldiers, put off their hats. When the meeting was done, and friends began to paſs away, the conſtable put off his hat, and deſired the Lord to bleſs us: for the power of the Lord was over him and the people. 1682. London.

After this I went up and down, viſiting friends at their houſes, who had their goods taken from them for worſhipping God. We took an account of what had been taken from them: and ſome friends met together about it, and drew up the caſe of the ſufferings of our friends in writing, and gave it to the juſtices at their petty ſeſſions. Whereupon they made an order, 'That the officers ſhould 'not ſell the goods of friends which they had in their hands, but 'keep them till the next ſeſſions;' which gave ſome diſcouragement to the informers, and put a little ſtop to their proceedings.

The next firſt day it was upon me to go to the meeting at the Savoy; and by that time it was gathered, the beadle came in; and after him the wild people, like a ſea, but the Lord's power chained them all. The Spirit of the Lord went through and over all, and they were quiet, and we had a glorious, peaceable meeting; bleſſed be the Lord for his unſpeakable goodneſs! This was in the twelfth month 1682. Savoy meeting.

In the firſt month 1683 I went to Kingſton upon Thames. As I went to the meeting, I met the chief conſtable who had been at the meeting-place, and had ſet watchmen to keep us out; yet he was pretty civil, and the watchmen let friends have a couple of forms out, to ſit upon in the highway: ſo friends met together there, and a very precious meeting we had; for the refreſhing preſence of the Lord was with us, in which we parted in peace. 1683. Kingſton upon Thames.

Having viſited and encouraged friends there, I returned to London, and went to the meeting at Bull and Mouth, where the conſtables with their watchmen kept a guard, to keep friends out of the houſe. So we met in the ſtreet; and when any friend ſpoke, the officers and watchmen made a great buſtle to pull him down, and take him into cuſtody. After ſome other friends had ſpoken, it was upon me to ſpeak. I ſaid, "Heaven is God's throne, and earth is his foot-'ſtool: and will ye not let us ſtand upon God's footſtool to worſhip 'and ſerve the living God?' While I ſpoke, they were quiet: and after I had cleared myſelf, we broke up our meeting in peace. This was on the ſixth day of the week. London. Bull and Mouth meeting.

1683.

On the firſt day following I was moved to go to the meeting at Gracechurch-ſtreet. When I came there, I found a guard ſet at the entrance in Lombard-ſtreet, and another at the gate in Gracechurch-ſtreet, to keep friends out of the meeting-place; ſo we were fain to meet in the ſtreet. After ſome time I got a chair, ſtood up in it, and ſpoke largely to the people, 'Opening the principles of truth to them, and declaring many weighty truths concerning magiſtracy, and the Lord's prayer.' There was, beſides friends, a great multitude of people, and all was very quiet; for the Lord's power was over all, and in his time we broke up our meeting, and departed in peace.

London. Gracechurch-ſtreet meeting.

Next day I went to Guildford in Surry; and having viſited friends there, paſſed to Worminghurſt in Suſſex, where I had a very bleſſed meeting among friends, free from diſturbance. While I was there, James Claypole of London (who with his wife was there alſo) was ſuddenly taken very ill with ſo violent a fit of the ſtone, that he could neither ſtand nor lie; but through the extremity of pain cried out like a woman in travail. When I heard it, I was much exerciſed in ſpirit for him, and went to him. After I had ſpoken a few words to him, to turn his mind inward, I was moved to lay my hand upon him, and prayed the Lord to rebuke his infirmity. As I laid my hand on him, the Lord's power went through him; and by faith in that power he had ſpeedy eaſe, ſo that he quickly fell into a ſleep. When he awaked, the ſtone came from him like dirt; and he was ſo well, that the next day he rode with me five-and-twenty miles in a coach, though he uſed formerly (as he ſaid) to lie ſometimes two weeks, ſometimes a month, with one of thoſe fits of the ſtone. But the Lord was intreated for him, and by his power ſoon gave him eaſe at this time: bleſſed and praiſed be his holy name therefore!

Surry. Guildford. Suſſex. Worminghurſt.

After I had had ſome meetings in Suſſex and Surry, and viſited friends thereaway, I returned to London by Kingſton, where I had a meeting on the firſt day of the ſecond month, being firſt day. We were kept out of the meeting-houſe by a conſtable and watchmen, ſo were fain to meet in the highway. But it being the monthly meeting day, and many people being there, the meeting was pretty large, and very quiet; aud the Lord's bleſſed preſence was amongſt us; bleſſed be his name for ever!

Kingſton.

Being come to London, I went to the meeting at Wheeler-ſtreet near Spitalfields, which that day proved very large, and a glorious, bleſſed meeting it was: for the Lord's power and truth was over all, and many deep and weighty things were opened to the people, to their great ſatisfaction.

London. Wheeler-ſtreet meeting.

I tarried in and near London, viſiting meetings, and labouring in the ſervice of the goſpel, till the yearly meeting came on, which began the 28th of the third month. It was a time of great ſufferings; and much concerned I was, leſt friends, that came up out of the country on the church's ſervice, ſhould be taken and impriſoned at London. But the Lord was with us, his power preſerved us; and gave us a ſweet and bleſſed opportunity to wait upon him, and be refreſhed together in him, and to perform thoſe ſervices for his truth and people, for which we met. As it was a time of great

perſecution, and we underſtood that in moſt counties friends were under great ſufferings either by impriſonments or ſpoiling of goods, or both, a concern was weightily upon me, leſt any friends, eſpecially traders and dealers in the world, ſhould hazard the loſing of other men's goods or eſtates through their ſufferings. Wherefore, as the thing opened in me, I drew an epiſtle of caution to friends in that caſe, which I communicated to the yearly meeting; and from thence it was ſent among friends throughout the nation; a copy of which here followeth: 1683. London.

'Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

'WHO is your only ſanctuary in this day of ſtorm and perſecution, ſpoiling of goods, and impriſonments! Let every one's eye be unto him, who has all power in heaven and earth given unto him; ſo that none can touch an hair of your head, nor you, nor any thing ye have, except it be permitted or ſuffered in this day to try his people, whether their minds be with the Lord or in outward things. Dear friends, take care that all your offerings be free, and of your own, that has coſt you ſomething; ſo that ye may not offer of that which is another man's, or that which ye are intruſted withal (and not your own) or fatherleſs or widows eſtates; but all ſuch things ſettle and eſtabliſh in their places. You may remember many years ago, in a time of great perſecution, divers friends, who were traders, ſhop-keepers, and others, had the concerns of widows and fatherleſs, and other people's eſtates in their hands. And when a great ſuffering, perſecution, and ſpoiling of goods came upon friends, eſpecial care was taken that all might offer up to the Lord in their ſufferings what was really their own, and not any other people's eſtates or goods which they had in their hands; and that they might not offer up another body's, but that which they had bought and paid for, or were able to pay for. Afterwards ſeveral letters came out of the country to the meeting at London, from friends that had goods of the ſhop-keepers at London upon credit, which they had not paid for; who wrote to their creditors, intreating them to take their goods again. And ſome friends came to London themſelves, and treated with their creditors, letting them underſtand "they lay liable to "have all they had taken from them;" and told them, "they "would not have any man to ſuffer by them; neither would they "by ſuffering offer up any thing but what was really their own, or "what they were able to pay for." Upon which ſeveral took their goods again. This wrought a very good ſavour in the hearts of many people, when they ſaw ſuch a righteous, juſt, and honeſt principle in friends, that would not make any ſuffer for their teſtimony; but what they did ſuffer for the teſtimony of Jeſus ſhould be really and truly their own, not other people's. In this they owed nothing to any but love. So in this every man and woman ſtands in the free offering, a free people, whether it be ſpiritual or temporal which is their own; and in that they wrong no man, neither inwardly nor outwardly. Ornan ſaid unto David, "I give thee the threſhing-floor, &c. and the oxen for burnt-

1683. London. " offerings: and the threſhing-inſtruments for wood, and the " wheat for the meat-offering, I give it all." But king David ſaid ' unto Ornan, " nay, but I will verily buy it for the full price; for I " will not take that which is thine for the Lord, nor offer burnt- " offerings without coſt," 1 Chron. xxi. 22, &c. So it ſhould be ' his own, and ſo ſhould it be every man's that offers. You may ' ſee here, that David would not accept of another man's gift for an ' offering to the Lord; he would not offer up that which coſt him ' nothing, but what ſhould be really his own, Pſal. cxii. 5. " A " good man——will guide his affairs with diſcretion."

' Let this be read in your monthly and quarterly men's and ' women's meetings.

' G. F.'

' London, the 2d of the
' 4th month, 1683.'

Kingſton upon Thames. Some time after the yearly meeting I went to Kingſton upon Thames to viſit friends; and while I was there, it came upon me to write the following epiſtle to friends in general, as a ſalutation of love, and to ſtir up the pure mind in them.

' Dear friends and brethren,

' WHO are turned from darkneſs to light, and from the power ' of Satan to God, who are believers in the light, which is the ' life in Chriſt, and are become children of the light and of the ' day, grafted into Chriſt, the ſecond Adam, the Lord from hea- ' ven, and are gathered in the name of Jeſus, in whom ye have ' ſalvation, and not in any other name under the whole heaven. For ' Chriſt Jeſus ſaith, " Where two or three are gathered together in " my name, there am I in the midſt of them," Matth. xviii. 20. ' So you being gathered in the name of Jeſus, he is in the midſt of ' you, a Saviour, a Mediator, a Prophet, a Shepherd, a Biſhop, a ' Leader, a Counſellor, the Captain of your Salvation, who bruiſes ' the ſerpent's head, and deſtroys the devil and his works. There- ' fore, brethren in Chriſt Jeſus, exhort one another daily, while it ' is called to-day, leſt any of you be hardened through the deceit- ' fulneſs of ſin. For you are made partakers of Chriſt, if ye hold ' faſt the beginning of your confidence ſtedfaſt to the end, Hebr. ' iii. 14. Therefore hear Chriſt's voice; for he is in the midſt of ' you a teacher. Take heed leſt there be in any of you an evil ' heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God, as there is in ' too many in this day of provocation and temptation. While it is ' to-day hear his voice, and let us conſider one another, to provoke ' unto love and to good works. Let us hold faſt the profeſſion of ' our faith without wavering (for he is faithful that hath promiſed, ' and hath called you) not forſaking the aſſembling of ourſelves to- ' gether, as the manner of ſome is; mark, " as the manner of " ſome is," that did and do forſake the aſſembling of themſelves to- ' gether; but exhorting one another, and ſo much the more as you ' ſee the day of light appearing. For if we ſin wilfully after we have

received

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‘ received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more ſacri-
‘ fice for ſins, but a certain, fearful looking for of judgment and
‘ fiery indignation, which ſhall devour the adverſaries, Hebr. x.
‘ Therefore it is good not to forſake the aſſembling of ourſelves to-
‘ gether, but exhort one another daily; for Chriſt is in the midſt of
‘ his people a teacher and a prophet, who ſaith, “ Learn of me,
“ the way, the truth, and the life.” We being many are one body
‘ in Chriſt, gathered in his name, and every one members one of
‘ another. Having then gifts, differing according to the grace that
‘ is given us, whether they be prophecy, let us propheſy according
‘ to the proportion of faith; and let thoſe that miniſter wait on their
‘ miniſtry, thoſe that be teachers on their teaching, and he that ex-
‘ horteth on exhortation; he that gives, let him do it with ſimplicity;
‘ and he that ruleth, with diligence; and he that ſheweth mercy is
‘ to do it with chearfulneſs. Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that
‘ which is good. Be kindly affectioned one towards another, with
‘ brotherly love, in honour preferring one another. Rejoice in hope,
‘ be patient in tribulations, “ be not overcome with evil, but over-
“ come evil with good;” and, if it be poſſible, as much as lieth in
‘ you, “ live peaceably with all men;” Rom. xii. This is and was
‘ the practice of the church of Chriſt. And now the God of hope
‘ fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in
‘ hope through the power of the Holy Ghoſt. I myſelf alſo am per-
‘ ſuaded of you, my brethren, that ye alſo are full of goodneſs,
‘ filled with all knowledge, and are able alſo to admoniſh one an-
‘ other, Rom. xv. 13, 14. Here the church of Chriſt, in which
‘ he was in the midſt, a teacher and the head of the church, were
‘ and are able through him to admoniſh one another. Let the peace
‘ of God rule in your hearts, to which ye are alſo called into one
‘ body, to wit, of Chriſt. Let the word of Chriſt dwell in you
‘ richly in all wiſdom, teaching and admoniſhing one another, &c.
‘ Col. iii. “ Whatſoever ye do, in word or deed, do all in the name
“ of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, giving thanks to God and the Father by
“ him;” and above all things put on charity, which is the bond of
‘ perfectneſs. The apoſtle ſaith to Timothy, “ Be not thou aſhamed
“ of the teſtimony of our Lord, nor of me his priſoner; but be
“ thou partaker of the afflictions of the goſpel, according to the
“ power of God, who hath ſaved us, and called us with an holy
“ calling; not according to our works, but according to his own
“ purpoſe and grace, which was given us in Chriſt Jeſus before the
“ world began,” 2 Tim. i. 8, 9. It concerns every one not to be
‘ aſhamed of the teſtimony of our Lord, who hath called them by
‘ his grace; and not to be aſhamed of any of Chriſt's priſoners, and
‘ afflicted ones for Chriſt's and his goſpel's ſake, who aboliſhes
‘ death, and brings life and immortality to light through his goſpel;
‘ you that believe in the light, know it. Peter ſaith in his general
‘ epiſtle to the church of Chriſt, “ As every man,” mark every
‘ man, “ hath received the gift, ſo miniſter the ſame one to an-
“ other, as good ſtewards of the manifold grace of God. If any
“ man ſpeak, let him ſpeak as the oracles of God,” ſo not of men.
“ If any man miniſter let him do it as of the ability which God
“ gives,”

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" gives," ſo not of the ability of men's arts and ſciences, " that " God in all things may be glorified through Jeſus Chriſt, &c." For ' theſe gifts and grace come from Jeſus into the hearts of the members of his church, whom he is in the midſt of. And if any man ' ſuffer as a Chriſtian, let him not be aſhamed, but let him glorify ' God, &c. Every true Chriſtian hath the preſence of Chriſt, who ' hath all power in heaven and in earth given him, to ſupport them ' with his power, light, and life. Chriſt ſaith to his believers, " Beware of men, for they will deliver you up to the councils, and " they will ſcourge you in the ſynagogues, and you ſhall be brought " before governors and kings for my name's ſake, for a teſtimony " againſt them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, " take no thought how or what ye ſhall ſpeak; for it ſhall be given " you in the ſame hour what ye ſhall ſpeak: for it is not you that " ſpeak, but the Spirit of your Father that ſpeaketh in you. And ye " ſhall be hated of all men for my name's ſake; but he that endureth to the end ſhall be ſaved. The diſciple is not above his " maſter, nor the ſervant above his lord: it is enough for the diſciple that he be as his maſter, and the ſervant as his lord; for if " they have called the maſter of the houſe Beelzebub, what will " they do to his ſervant? Fear not them which kill the body, but " are not able to kill the ſoul, &c. A ſparrow ſhall not fall to the " ground without your heavenly Father, &c. The hairs of your " head are all numbered, ye are of more value than many ſparrows. Whoſoever therefore ſhall confeſs me before men, him " will I confeſs alſo before my Father which is in heaven; but " whoſoever ſhall deny me before men, him will I alſo deny before my Father which is in heaven. And whoſoever ſhall be " aſhamed of me and of my words, of him ſhall the Son of Man " be aſhamed, &c." Matth. x. Again Chriſt ſaith, " Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and " ſinful generation, of him alſo ſhall the Son of Man be aſhamed, " when he comes in the glory of his Father with his holy angels," ' Mark viii. 38. And Chriſt ſaith to his diſciples, " He that " receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth " him that ſent me; he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a " prophet, ſhall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a " righteous man in the name of a righteous man, ſhall receive a " righteous man's reward. Whoſoever ſhall give to drink unto one " of theſe little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a diſciple, verily I ſay unto you he ſhall in no wiſe loſe his reward," ' Matth. x. 40, 41, 42. Here ye may ſee how Chriſt encourages ' his diſciples, and them that receive them. And John ſaith, " Among the chief rulers of the Jews many believed in Chriſt; but " becauſe of the Phariſees they did not confeſs him, leſt they ſhould " be put out of the ſynagogue," John xii. 42. Too many ſuch be- ' lievers are now-a-days, who dare not confeſs Chriſt, leſt they ' ſhould loſe the favour of men. But Chriſt encourages the faithful " diſciples, and told them, they would put them out of their ſyna- ' gogues; yea, that the time ſhould come, that whoſoever killed ' them would think they did God ſervice. " Theſe things," ſaid ' he,

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'he,' "will they do unto you, becauſe they have not known the "Father, nor me. But theſe things have I told you, that when the "time ſhall come ye may remember that I told you of them," 'John xvi. 2, 3, 4. Here ye may ſee what Chriſt told his Diſ-'ciples ſhould come to paſs to them. And Saul, before he was 'converted, did compel the Chriſtians to blaſpheme, and make ha-'vock of the church of Chriſt, Acts viii. and chap. 22 and 26. 'Did not the beaſt in the Revelations compel both ſmall and great 'to worſhip him and his image? And did not all worſhip it, but 'thoſe who had their names written in the Lamb's book of life? 'Did not Nebuchadnezzar ſet up an image of ſixty cubits high, 'and ſix cubits broad? And did not he cauſe a herald to cry aloud, "It is commanded that all people, and nations, and languages fall "down and worſhip the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar hath ſet "up; and whoſo falleth not down and worſhippeth ſhall the ſame "hour be caſt into the midſt of the fiery furnace?" And were not 'Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego caſt into the furnace? Dan. iii. 'But God delivered them. Therefore it is good to be faithful to 'God and his worſhip in ſpirit and truth. The Jews agreed, that if 'any man ſhould confeſs Chriſt he ſhould be put out of their ſyna-'gogue, John ix. 22. So it was for Chriſt's ſake they were excom-'municated out of their ſynagogues. But, as it is written, "Be-"hold I lay in Sion a ſtumbling-ſtone, and a rock of offence; and "whoſo believes on him ſhall not be aſhamed." So Chriſt is a 'ſtumbling-ſtone and a rock of offence to all the unbelievers in the 'light, which is the life in Chriſt, whether they be Jews, Chriſ-'tians, or Gentiles. The Jews did believe Chriſt was to come, from 'the ſcriptures, and the Chriſtians believe he is come, by the ſcriptures, 'but do not believe in the light as Chriſt commands, and ſo do not 'become children of the light. Therefore ye that are believers in 'the light, and are become the children of light, walk in Chriſt, 'your way, life, and ſalvation.

'G. F.'

'Kingſton the fifth month,
'1683.'

Before I left Kingſton ſomething further opened in me, which I was moved to write and ſend amongſt friends; as followeth.

'Dear friends,

'MY love is to you all in the holy ſeed that reigns over all. And 'my deſire is that every one, both male and female, may feel 'the ſeed Chriſt in you, which is heir of the promiſe of life eternal, 'that ye may all grow up in Chriſt Jeſus, your head, and be built 'upon him the rock and foundation that God hath laid, which ſtands 'ſure over all rocks and foundations in the world. That ye may eat 'and drink of this ſpiritual rock, the ſpiritual water and food; ſo 'that ye may truly and inwardly ſay, your rock and foundation, 'your bread and water of life is from heaven, and your bread 'and water is ſure; alſo that ye know his voice that feeds, 'and leads you into the paſtures of life, which are always

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'freſh and green. In this your affections are ſet on things above, 'ſeeking that which comes down from above more than that which is 'from below, where Chriſt ſits at the right hand of God, making 'interceſſion for you; who is your mediator, making peace betwixt 'God and you; and your heavenly biſhop to overſee you, that ye 'keep in his light, life, and power, and do not go aſtray from his 'heavenly fold and paſture, that he your ſhepherd may feed you there-'in. He is your prophet, to open to you the fulfilling of the pro-'miſes and prophecies, himſelf being the ſubſtance; that ye may 'live in him, and he in you, yea, and reign in your hearts; there 'to exerciſe his offices, his prophetical, prieſtly, and kingly 'office, who is heavenly and ſpiritual. That ye may know the 'three that bear witneſs in the earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the 'Blood, which is the Life of Chriſt, which cleanſeth from all ſin; 'the Water that waſhes and refreſhes you, the Spirit that baptizes, 'circumciſes, and leads you into all truth; that ye may come all to 'drink into one Spirit, and keep the unity of the Spirit, which is 'the bond of the heavenly peace. So being led by the Spirit of God, 'ye are his ſons and daughters, and by his Spirit will come to 'know the three that bear witneſs in heaven, the Father, the Word, 'and the Holy Ghoſt. Theſe are the three witneſſes that are in 'heaven, that bear record of all things; for he is God in the hea-'ven, and God in the earth. Therefore I deſire that ye may all feel 'his love ſhed in your hearts, and in it live (above the love 'of the world, which is enmity) and in that you will keep in the ex-'cellent way. For love edifies the body of Chriſt, builds his 'church up, and keeps out of the enmity; for it is above it, and 'brings and keeps all in true humanity, and in the true divinity; 'and to be courteous, kind, and tender one towards another. And 'ſhew forth the nature of Chriſt, and true chriſtianity, in all your 'lives and converſations, that the bleſſings of the Lord may reſt 'upon you, as ye all live in the ſeed of the goſpel, the ſeed of the 'kingdom of God, in which all nations are bleſſed. In that ye 'will all have a care of God's glory. There is the hill or mountain 'where the light ſhines to the anſwering the witneſs of God in all, 'and the ſalt that is a good ſavour to the witneſs of God in the 'hearts of all; which ſavour and ſalt being kept in, it doth not come 'under the feet of men. So my love to you all in Chriſt Jeſus, 'whom God hath given to be a ſanctuary for all his people, who 'is from above, and not of this world, in whom ye have life, 'peace, and ſalvation. In him God Almighty keep and preſerve 'you all to his glory, Amen. As you live in the peaceable 'truth of God, it keeps you under and within his protection; but 'they that make profeſſion of the ſcriptures of truth, and yet live 'out of the truth, in the ſpirit of ſtrife, unquietneſs, and diſcon-'tent, in a contriving, plotting, ravenous, deſtroying ſpirit, which 'is of the devil, and not of God, that ſpirit is judged out of the 'truth, and to be of him in whom there is no truth, whoſe portion 'is in the lake, and in the fire that burns.

'Kingſton, the 27th of the 'G. F.
'5th month, 1683.'

Having

1683.

Having viſited friends at and about Kingſton I returned to London; for it being a ſuffering time with friends there, I had not freedom to be long from the city. I went to the meeting at the Peel; which but a little before the juſtices and conſtables had broken up, and had carried themſelves very roughly; but that day the meeting was in the houſe, and quiet, and a glorious meeting it was, bleſſed be the Lord. London. Peel meeting.

On firſt-day following I went to the meeting at Gracechurch-ſtreet, where I found three conſtables in the meeting-houſe, who kept friends out; ſo we met in the court. After I had been ſome time in the meeting, I ſtood up, and ſpoke to the people, and continued ſpeaking a pretty while. Then one of conſtables came, took hold of my hand, and ſaid, 'I muſt come down.' I deſired him to be patient, and went on ſpeaking to the people; but after a little time he plucked me down, and had me into the meeting-houſe. I aſked them, if they were not weary of this work? One of them ſaid, 'Indeed they were.' They let me go into the widow Foſter's houſe, which joined to the meeting-houſe, where I ſtaid, being hot. When the meeting was ended, for one prayed after I was taken away, the conſtables aſked ſome friends, 'Which of them would 'paſs their words that I ſhould appear, if they ſhould be queſtioned 'about me?' But the friends telling them, 'They need not re-'quire that, for I was a man well known in the city to be one that 'would neither fly nor ſhrink;' they came not to me, but went their way, and I heard no further of it. Gracechurch ſtreet meeting.

The ſame week I was at the meeting at the Savoy, which uſed to be kept out and diſturbed; but that day it was within doors and peaceable, and a precious meeting it was. Savoy meeting.

The firſt-day after it was upon me to go to the meeting at Weſtminſter, where uſed to be great diſturbances; but there alſo the meeting was within doors that day, and was very large. The Lord's power was over all, and kept all quiet and ſtill; for though many looſe ſpirits were there, yet they were bound down by the power and Spirit of the Lord, that they could not get up to make diſturbance. Weſtm. meeting.

About this time I was moved to write the following epiſtle:

'Friends and brethren,

'WHO have received the peaceable truth, let the fruits of its peace-'ableneſs, and of your quiet ſpirit appear in all your meetings, 'and in all your words and actions; for he that inhabits eternity dwells 'with an humble heart, and he gives grace to the humble, and reſiſt-'eth the proud. Heaven is his throne, and the earth ye walk upon is 'his footſtool: happy are ye that ſee and know him that is inviſible. 'And now, friends, let all things be done in your meetings and 'otherwiſe, in love, without ſtrife, or vain-glory. For love fulfils 'the law, love overcomes and edifies the body of Chriſt. There is 'neither ſelf, nor envy in love, neither is it puffed up; but abides 'and bears all things. See that this love of God have the ſway in 'you all, and over you all. Chriſt ſaith, "Bleſſed are the poor in "ſpirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; bleſſed are they that "mourn, for they ſhall be comforted. Bleſſed are the meek, for

"they

1683. London.

" they ſhall inherit the earth. Bleſſed are they that hunger and " thirſt after righteouſneſs, for they ſhall be filled. Bleſſed are the " merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy. Bleſſed are the pure in " heart, for they ſhall ſee God. Bleſſed are the peace-makers, for " they ſhall be called the children of God. Bleſſed are they that " are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the kingdom of " heaven. Bleſſed are ye when men ſhall revile you and perſecute " you, and ſhall ſay all manner of evil againſt you falſely for my " ſake; rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in " heaven; for ſo perſecuted they the prophets that were before you."

'Now friends, here is a great deal in theſe words. All muſt be in 'theſe ſtates and conditions, if they have theſe bleſſings. The children of God are peace-makers, and ſtrive to make peace in the 'truth; and to live in peace with all men, if it be poſſible. So 'live in the peace and the good-will to all men; which good-will is 'both for their ſanctification and ſalvation. And friends, conſider, 'the wiſdom of God, which is from above, is pure, peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocriſy. Dear friends, let this pure, 'peaceable, gentle wiſdom that is from above, that is eaſy to be 'intreated, and is full of mercy and good fruits, be exerciſed and 'practiſed in all the true churches of Chriſt; that wiſdom may be 'juſtified of her children. For the works of the fleſh, or fleſhly ſpirit, are hatred, variance, wrath, ſtrife, envyings, drunkenneſs, 'revellings, adultery, fornication, laſciviouſneſs, uncleanneſs, &c. 'and they which do ſuch things, ſhall not inherit the kingdom of 'God. But the fruits of the Spirit of God are love, joy, peace, 'long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, faith, meekneſs, temperance, '&c. So, dear friends and brethren, ſtrive to exceed one another 'and all people upon the earth in humility, in meekneſs, in gentleneſs, in temperance, in love, in patience, in pureneſs, and in 'mercy; then ye will ſhew forth the fruits of the Spirit of God, 'and of his heavenly wiſdom that is from above. In this, wiſdom 'will be juſtified of her children; and ye will be the ſalt of the 'earth, and a light to the world ſet on an hill, that cannot be hid: 'and your moderation will appear to all men. Be ye juſt and righteous, faithful and true in all your words, dealings, and converſations; that ye may anſwer the truth in all people: for Chriſt ſaith, 'his father is glorified by ſuch as bring forth fruits, when men ſee 'their good works; for he that doth righteouſneſs, is accepted with 'God. And he that dwells in love, dwells in God; for love is his 'habitation. Let that be the habitation of every one that hath received the truth: for if it be not, ſuch do not dwell in God, let 'them profeſs what they will. Therefore my deſire is, that all 'you, who have received Chriſt the ſeed, which bruiſes the ſerpent's 'head, may walk in him your ſanctuary, life, and ſalvation, your 'reſt and peace, Amen.

'G. F.

'London, the 14th of
'the 6th month, 1683.'

I continued

I continued yet at London, labouring in the work and ſervice of the Lord both in and out of meetings; ſometimes viſiting friends in priſon for the teſtimony of Jeſus, encouraging them in their ſufferings, and exhorting them to ſtand faithful and ſtedfaſt in the teſtimony which the Lord had committed to them to bear: ſometimes alſo viſiting thoſe that were ſick and weak in body, or troubled in mind, helping to bear their ſpirits up from ſinking under their infirmities. Sometimes our meetings were quiet and peaceable, ſometimes they were diſturbed and broken up by the officers. One firſt day it was upon me to go to the meeting at the Savoy, which was large; for many profeſſors and ſober people were there. The Lord opened many precious, weighty things in me to the people, which I declared amongſt them, and 'directed them to the Spirit of God in themſelves, which the Lord had given them a meaſure of; that all by 'the Spirit might underſtand the Scriptures, which were given forth 'from the Spirit of God; and that by the Spirit of God they 'might know God, and Chriſt whom God hath ſent, whom to 'know is eternal life; and that by the Spirit they might all come 'into Chriſt, and know him to be their ſanctuary, who deſtroys the 'devil, the deſtroyer, and his works, and bruiſes the ſerpent's head. 'For Chriſt was a ſanctuary to them to whom he was a Saviour, 'whom he ſaved from the deſtroyer. And Chriſt did baptize them 'with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire, and did thoroughly purge his 'floor, and burn up their chaff with unquenchable fire; that is, ſin 'and corruption, which is got into man and woman by their tranſ'greſſion; but Chriſt gathereth his wheat into his garner. So all 'that are baptized with Chriſt's baptiſm, their wheat is in God's 'garner; and no ſpoiler can get into God's garner to meddle with 'the wheat there, though they may be permitted to meddle with 'the outward goods,' &c. As I was ſpeaking in the power of the Lord, and the people were greatly affected therewith, on a ſudden the conſtables, with the rude people, came in like a ſea. One of the conſtables ſaid, 'Come down,' and laid hands on me. I aſked him, 'Art thou a Chriſtian? We are Chriſtians.' He had hold on my hand, and was very fierce to pluck me down; but I ſtood ſtill, and ſpoke a few words to the people; deſiring of the Lord, that the bleſſings of God might reſt upon them all. The conſtable ſtill called upon me to come down, and at length plucked me down, and bid another man with a ſtaff, 'Take and carry me to priſon.' That man had me to another officer's houſe, who was more civil; and after a while they brought in four friends more, whom they had taken. I was very weary, and in a great ſweat; and ſeveral friends hearing where I was, came to me in the conſtable's houſe: but I bid them all go their ways, leſt the conſtables and informers ſhould ſtop them. After a while the conſtables had us almoſt a mile to a juſtice, who was a fierce, paſſionate man: who, after he had aſked me my name, and his clerk had taken it in writing, upon the conſtable's informing him, 'That I preached in the meeting," ſaid in an angry manner, 'Do not you know that it is contrary to the king's laws to 'preach in ſuch conventicles, contrary to the liturgy of the church 'of England?' There was preſent one Shad (a wicked informer,

1683. London.

Savoy meeting.

1683. London. who was ſaid to have broken gaol at Coventry, and to have been burnt in the hand at London) who hearing the juſtice ſpeak ſo to me, ſtepped up to him, and told him, 'That he had convicted them 'on the act of the 22d of king Charles the Second.' 'What! 'you convict them?' ſaid the juſtice. 'Yes,' ſaid Shad, 'I have 'convicted them, and you muſt convict them too upon that act.' With that the juſtice was angry with him, and ſaid, 'You teach 'me! What are you? I'll convict them of a riot.' The informer hearing that, and ſeeing the juſtice angry, went away in a fret; ſo he was diſappointed of his purpoſe. I thought he would have ſworn ſomebody againſt me; whereupon I ſaid, 'Let no man ſwear againſt 'me, for it is my principle, 'Not to ſwear;' and therefore I would 'not have any man ſwear againſt me.' The juſtice thereupon aſked me, 'If I did not preach in the meeting?' I told him, 'I did 'confeſs what God and Chriſt had done for my ſoul; and did praiſe 'God. I thought I might have done that in the ſtreets, and in all 'places, viz. praiſe God, and confeſs Chriſt Jeſus; which I was 'not aſhamed to confeſs. Neither was this contrary to the liturgy 'of the church of England.' The juſtice ſaid, 'The laws were 'againſt ſuch meetings as were contrary to the liturgy of the church 'of England.' I ſaid, 'I knew no ſuch laws againſt our meetings; 'but if he did mean that act that was made againſt ſuch as did 'meet to plot, contrive, and raiſe inſurrections againſt the king, we 'were no ſuch people, but did abhor all ſuch actions; and did bear 'true love and good-will to the king, and to all men upon the 'earth.' The juſtice then aſked me, 'If I had been in orders?' I told him, No. Then he took his law-books, and ſearched for laws againſt us, bidding his clerk take the names of the reſt the mean time. But when he could find no other law againſt us, the clerk ſwore the conſtable againſt us. Some of the friends bid the conſtable 'take heed what he ſwore, leſt he were perjured; for he 'took them in the entry, and not in the meeting.' Yet the conſtable, being an ill man, ſwore, 'That they were in the meeting.' However, the juſtice ſaid, 'Seeing there was but one witneſs, he 'would diſcharge the reſt; but he would ſend me to Newgate, and 'I might preach there.' I aſked him, 'If it ſtood with his con-'ſcience to ſend me to Newgate for praiſing God, and for confeſſ-'ing Chriſt Jeſus?' He cried, 'Conſcience! conſcience!' but I felt my words touched his conſcience. He bid the conſtable 'take me 'away, and he would make a mittimus to ſend me to priſon when 'he had dined.' I told him, 'I deſired his peace, and the good of 'his family; and that they might be kept in the fear of the Lord.' So I paſſed away, and as I went the conſtable took ſome friends word that I ſhould come to his houſe the next morning by the eighth hour. Accordingly I did go with thoſe friends, and the conſtable told us he went to the juſtice for the mittimus after he had dined; and the juſtice bid him, 'Come again after the evening ſer-'vice;' which he did; and then the juſtice told him, 'He might 'let me go.' So, ſaid the conſtable, you are diſcharged. I blamed him for turning informer, and ſwearing againſt us. He ſaid, 'He 'would do ſo no more.' Next day, the juſtice meeting with Gil-

bert

bert Laty, asked him, 'If he would pay twenty pounds for George 1683.
'Fox's fine?' He said, 'No.' Then,' said the justice, 'I am London.
'disappointed; for, being but a lodger, I cannot come by his fine;
'and he having been brought before me, and being of ability him-
'self, I cannot lay his fine on any other.'

After I was discharged, I went into the city. The same week the sessions coming on, where many friends were concerned, some as prisoners, and some on trials of appeals upon the conventicle act, I went to a friend's house not far off, that I might be in readiness to assist those friends with counsel, or otherwise, as occasion should offer; and I found service in it. But as my spirit was concerned on behalf of friends, with respect to their outward sufferings by the persecutors without; so an exercise also came weightily upon me at this time, in the sense I had of the mischievous working of that adulterated spirit, which, being gone out from the heavenly unity, and having drawn out some that professed truth into enmity and opposition against friends, endeavoured to trouble the church of Christ with their janglings and contention. And as a further discovery of the working of that seducing spirit, and a warning to all friends to beware of it, I was moved to write the following epistle:

'To all the elect, faithful, called, and chosen of God, the flock
'and heritage of God, who have been acquainted with the
'dealings of the Lord, and have kept your habitations in his
'life, power, and truth, being built upon the holy heavenly
'Rock and Foundation Christ Jesus, who was the foundation
'of the prophets and apostles; which foundation stands sure:

'MANY foundations have been laid since the apostles days, by
'such as have gone from Christ the true and sure founda-
'tion: and their foundations have proved rotten, and come to
'nought, and themselves have come to loss. Many since the day of
'Christ, and the truth hath appeared in this nation, have had some
'openings and sights, and come among us for a time, and then
'gone from us again; who have been the comers and goers, like
'those in the apostles days. Such had an outward profession of the
'truth, and have gone from the true foundation Christ Jesus, and
'so from the heavenly society and unity of the saints in light.
'Then they set up foundations of their own, and having a form of
'godliness, but out of the power thereof, out of the order thereof,
'such have turned to janglings and vain disputings. This spirit you
'have been acquainted with, who have kept your habitations in
'Christ Jesus, the First and the Last. And you are not insensible
'of the scurrilous and filthy books of lies and defamations which
'have been spread abroad in this nation and beyond sea against the
'faithful. It is very well that the Lord hath suffered them to pub-
'lish their own shame in print, that truth's enemies may be dis-
'covered; their fruits and spirits have appeared, and manifested
'themselves both in print and otherwise. And I believe the Lord
'will yet suffer this spirit so to publish its fruits, its shame and
'nakedness, to professor and profane, and to all sober, moderate,

1683. London.

'and innocent people, that its ſhame and nakedneſs may more 'fully appear. Though for a time it hath been hid and covered 'with the fig-leaves of an outward profeſſion, and ſometimes with 'fawning and flattering words (as at other times it hath diſcovered 'itſelf by rough, lying, and defaming words) yet the Lord God 'will blaſt all ſuch vain talkers, that do not walk in the order of 'life, truth, and the goſpel. Therefore, ye that are faithful, ſtand 'faſt in the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made you free in his 'government. It is upon his ſhoulders: he bears it up: of the in-'creaſe of it and of its peace there is no end. For all quarrellers 'againſt his order and government are not in him, nor in his hea-'venly, ſpiritual government and peace. Therefore, ye faithful 'ones, who have ſtood the trial through many perſecutions, impri-'ſonments, ſpoilings of goods, you know there is a crown of glory 'laid up for you. You that ſuffer with Chriſt, ſhall reign with 'him in his kingdom of glory; ye that die with Chriſt, ſhall live 'with him in eternal life, in the world that hath no end, who have 'gone through the ſufferings without, and within by falſe brethren, 'by comers and goers, that have cauſed the way of truth to be 'evil ſpoken of, and have been perſecutors of the faithful with their 'tongues; and by printing and publiſhing their lying, defaming 'books againſt the faithful. Theſe have ſtirred up magiſtrates and 'prieſts, who were willing to get any occaſion to ſpeak evil of the 'right way and precious truth of Chriſt, by which his people are 'made free: ſuch had better never have been born. But God hath 'brought them to light, and their fruits and ravenous ſpirit are 'ſeen, ſavoured, and known; who are become Judas's and ſons of 'perdition, to betray Chriſt now within (where he is made mani-'feſt) to the prieſts, magiſtrates, and profane, as Judas betrayed 'Chriſt without to the prieſts and Pilate. Though ſome of the 'magiſtrates and ſober people ſee their envy and folly, and that they 'have more malice than matter againſt the faithful. The Lord 'will conſume this Judas, or ſon of perdition! The Lord will con-'ſume him with the Spirit of his mouth, and deſtroy him with 'the brightneſs of his coming! So let all the faithful look unto the 'Lord. And let that wicked ſon of perdition know, though he 'may be got as high as Judas (who was partaker of the miniſtry 'with the apoſtles) "the Lord will conſume him with the Spirit "of his mouth, and deſtroy him with the brightneſs of his coming." 'That is his portion. The brightneſs of the Lord will deſtroy him, 'and the Spirit of his mouth will conſume him. And when he is 'deſtroyed and conſumed, there will not be a ſon of perdition to 'betray Chriſt in his people, and his people that live and walk in 'Chriſt, who hath all power in heaven (mark, in heaven) and in 'earth given to him; and with his holy and glorious power he limits 'and orders; ſo that nothing ſhall be done againſt his people, but 'what is ſuffered for their trial and their good, neither by apoſtates, 'perſecutors with the tongue, Judas's, ſons of perdition to betray, 'or the outward powers to impriſon, or ſpoil goods; all theſe are li-'mited by Chriſt, who hath all power in heaven and earth given 'to him. Every one's faith is to ſtand in him and his power.

'Such

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'Such rejoice in his power, and ſee the increaſe of his righteous, 'holy, heavenly, ſpiritual, peaceable government, in which the 'glorious, holy order of life is lived and walked in by all his ſons 'and daughters; and in his Spirit is the holy unity and bond of 'peace. Though ye be abſent in body one from another, yet all 'joying and rejoicing, being preſent in his Spirit, and beholding in 'the ſame Spirit your ſpiritual order, unity, fellowſhip, and the 'ſtedfaſtneſs of your faith in Chriſt Jeſus, who is ſtedfaſt for ever, 'the Firſt and the Laſt, whoſe preſence is among his people, and 'who is their head. Here is heavenly Sion known, and heavenly 'Jeruſalem, and the innumerable company of angels (which are 'ſpirits) and the ſpirits of the juſt men made perfect. Here is the 'general aſſembly, or general meeting, and a general, heavenly, 'holy, and ſpiritual joy and rejoicing, lauding and praiſing the Lord 'God Almighty, and the Lamb that lives for evermore, Amen.

'London, the 14th of the
'8th month, 1683.

G. F.

'Read this in your aſſemblies amongſt the faithful.'

Bull and Mouth Meeting.

I tarried a little in London, viſiting friends and meetings, and labouring in the work of the Lord. And being on a firſt day at the Bull and Mouth, where the meeting had long been kept without, it was that day in the houſe, peaceable and large: the people were ſo affected with the truth, and refreſhed with the powerful preſence of the Lord, that when the meeting ended, they were loth to go away.

Kingſton.

After ſome time, having ſeveral things upon me to write, I went to Kingſton, that I might be free from interruptions. When I came there, I underſtood the officers had been very rude at the meeting, abuſing friends, and had driven them out of the meeting-place, and very abuſive they continued to be for ſome time. Whilſt I was there I wrote a little book (printed ſoon after) the title whereof was: 'The ſaints heavenly and ſpiritual worſhip, unity, and com-'munion, &c. wherein is ſet forth what the true goſpel-worſhip is, 'and in what the true unity and communion of the ſaints ſtands; 'with a diſcovery of thoſe that were gone from this holy unity and 'communion, and were turned againſt the ſaints that abode therein.'

Eſſex. Dalſton.

When I had finiſhed the ſervices for which I went thither, and had viſited the friends, I returned to London, and viſited moſt of the meetings in and about the city. Afterwards I went to viſit a friend in Eſſex; and returning by Dalſton, I made ſome ſtay at the widow Stot's, where I wrote an epiſtle to friends, which may be read amongſt my other printed books.

London. Kingſton. London.

I came from Dalſton to London, and the next day was ſent for in haſte to my ſon Rouſe's at Kingſton; whoſe daughter Margaret lay very ſick, and had a deſire to ſee me. I tarried at Kingſton about a week, and then returned to London; where I continued moſt part of the winter and the ſpring following, until the general meeting in 1684 (ſave that I went once as far as Enfield, to viſit friends thereabouts). In this time I ceaſed not to labour in the work of

1684. London. the Lord, being frequent at meetings, and viſiting friends that were priſoners, or that were ſick, and in writing books for the ſpreading of truth, and opening the underſtandings of people to receive it.

Yearly meeting. The yearly meeting was in the third month. A bleſſed, weighty meeting it was, wherein friends were ſweetly refreſhed together; for the Lord was with us, and opened his heavenly treaſures amongſt us. And though it was a time of great difficulty and danger, by reaſon of informers and perſecuting magiſtrates, yet the Lord was a defence and place of ſafety to his people.

Now I had drawings in Spirit to go into Holland, to viſit the ſeed of God in thoſe provinces. And as ſoon as the yearly meeting was over, I prepared for my journey. There went with me from London Alexander Parker, George Watts, and Nathaniel Braſſey, who alſo had drawings into that country. We took coach the 31ſt of the third month 1684, and got to Colcheſter that night. Next day, being firſt day, we went to the meeting there; and though there was no notice given of my coming, our being there was preſently ſpread over the town, and in ſeveral places in the country, at ſeven and ten miles diſtance; ſo that abundance of friends came in double-horſed, which made the meeting very large. I had a concern and travail in my mind, leſt this great gathering ſhould have ſtirred up the town, and been more than the magiſtrates could well bear; but it was very quiet and peaceable, and a glorious meeting we had, to the ſettling and ſtabliſhing of friends both in the town and country: for the Lord's power was over all; bleſſed be his name for ever! Truly, the Lord's power and preſence was beyond words; for I was but weak to go into a meeting, and my face (by reaſon of a cold) was ſore: but God manifeſted his ſtrength in us and with us, and all was well; the Lord have the glory for evermore for his ſupporting power. After the meeting came, I think, above an hundred friends of the town and country to ſee me at John Furley's. Very glad we were to ſee one another, and greatly refreſhed we were together, being filled with the love and riches of the Lord; bleſſed be his name for ever!

Colcheſter.

We tarried at Colcheſter two days more; which we ſpent in viſitings friends, both at their meetings for buſineſs, and at their houſes.

Harwich. Early in the morning on fourth day we took coach for Harwich, where we met William Bingley and Samuel Waldenfield, who went over with us. About the eighth hour at night we went on board the paquet-boat, Richard Gray, maſter; but by reaſon of contrary winds it was the firſt hour in the morning before we ſailed. We had a very good paſſage; and about the fifth hour in the afternoon next day we landed at the Brill in Holland, where we ſtaid that night. Early next morning we went to Rotterdam, where we abode ſome days. The next day after we came to Rotterdam, one Wilbert Frouzen, a burgo-maſter, and kinſman of Aarent Sunneman's, hearing I was there, invited me to his country-houſe, having a deſire to ſpeak with me about ſome buſineſs relating to Aarent Sunneman's daughters. I took George Watts with me, and a brother of Aarent Sunneman's had us thither. The burgomaſter received us very kindly, was glad to ſee me, and entering into diſcourſe about his kinſman's daughters, I found he was apprehenſive that, their father being

Holland. Brill. Rotterdam.

being dead, and having left them considerable portions, they might be stolen, and married to their disadvantage. Wherefore I told him, 'It was our principle and practice, that none should marry amongst 'us, unless they had a certificate of the consent of their relations 'or guardians; for it was our Christian care to watch over and 'look after all young people that came among us, especially those 'whose relations were dead. And as for his kinsman's daughters, we 'should take care that nothing should be offered to them but what 'should be agreeable to truth and righteousness, and that they might 'be preserved in the fear of God, according to their father's mind.' This seemed to give him great satisfaction. While I was with him, there came many great people to me; and 'I exhorted them all 'to keep in the fear of God, and to mind his good Spirit in them, 'to keep their minds to the Lord.' After I had staid two or three hours, and discoursed with them of several things, I took my leave, and he very kindly sent me to Rotterdam in his chariot. 1684. Rotterdam.

Next day, being first day, we were at the meeting at Rotterdam, which was pretty large, and declared to the people by an interpreter. The day following alderman Gaul came to speak with me, with whom we had much discourse about religious matters; wherewith he seemed to be well satisfied, and was very tender. Several other persons of account intended to have come to speak with me, but being hindered by extraordinary business (as I understood) they came not.

We went next day from Rotterdam to Amsterdam, where we had a large and very precious meeting. In the afternoon I was at another meeting with friends there, about business. Amsterdam.

There is a yearly meeting at Amsterdam for the friends of Holland and Germany, &c. which begun now the eighth of the fourth month, and ended the twelfth. Here we had a fine opportunity of seeing friends from divers parts, and of being refreshed together in the love of God. After this meeting, before those that came out of the several provinces were gone, we had a meeting with some particular friends, about the places and countries into which we, who came out of England in the work of the ministry, were to travel; and to inquire who among them were suitable persons to go along with us as interpreters. This concluded on, William Bingley and Samuel Waldenfield took shipping for Friesland, with Jacob Claus their interpreter.

Alexander Parker and George Watts remained with me. We tarried a few days longer at Amsterdam, where I had further service. Before I left Amsterdam, I went to visit Galenus Abrahams, a teacher of chief note among the Mennonites, or Baptists. I had been with him when I was in Holland about seven years before; and William Penn and George Keith had disputes with him. He was then very high and very shy, so that he would not let me touch him, nor look upon him (by his good-will) but bid me "Keep my eyes off him; "for," he said, "they pierced him." But now he was very loving and tender, and confessed in some measure to truth: his wife also and daughter were tender and kind, and we parted from them very lovingly.

Feeling

1684. Friezland. Feeling our ſpirits drawn towards Friezland, Alexander Parker, George Watts, and I, having John Claus of Amſterdam with us for our interpreter, took ſhipping at Amſterdam for Friezland, and having ſailed nine or ten leagues, we left the ſhip and travelled through Friezland, viſiting friends and tender people in the towns and villages, having commonly one, ſometimes two meetings in a day. After we had been at Leuwarden, we paſſed by Franeker to Harlingen in Weſt-Friezland, which was the furtheſt place we went to that way. And having been out ſix days from Amſterdam, and had very good ſervice in that time, in viſiting friends and publiſhing truth amongſt the people, we took ſhip at Harlingen for Amſterdam the 26th of the fourth month, and arrived there that night. The firſt-day following we were at the meeting at Amſterdam, which was very large and precious. Many of the people were there, and ſome of their teachers, ſome great perſons alſo. They ſeemed very attentive, and a good opportunity we all had, one after another, to declare the word of the Lord and open the way of truth amongſt them, John Claus interpreting for us. I tarried the next day at Amſterdam; but George Watts went to a burial at Harlem, where many hundreds of people were; amongſt whom he had a good opportunity, and came back at night to us.

Leuwarden, Franeker. Harlingen in Weſt-Friezland. Amſterdam.

Oſanoverton in Waterland. The day following we went by boat to Oſanoverton in Waterland, and from thence in another ſmall boat about a league over a ſmall river, where we paſſed over and by an hundred bridges, and ſo to Lanſmeer to a friend's, whoſe name was Timon Peters; where we had a very good meeting. We returned to Amſterdam at night, and were at the meeting there next day. Many were at this meeting beſides friends, among the reſt the great Baptiſt-teacher Galenus, who was very attentive to the teſtimony of the truth, and when the meeting was done came and got me by the hand very lovingly.

Lanſmeer. Amſterdam.

Alkmaer. Sardam. We went next day by boat to Alkmaer, about eight leagues from Amſterdam, paſſing through Sardam, the great town of ſhip-carpenters, and ſeveral other towns in the way. At Alkmaer, which is a pretty city, we ſtaid and had a meeting next day at William Williams's. There were, beſides friends, many very ſober people at this meeting, who were very attentive to the teſtimonies of truth that were borne by Alexander Parker, George Watts, and myſelf, John Claus being our interpreter. This was on a ſixth-day, and on the ſeventh we returned to Amſterdam, being willing to be at the meeting on firſt-day, becauſe it was like to be the laſt meeting we ſhould have there. Accordingly we were at it, and a very large and open meeting it was. Many great perſons were preſent, ſome earls, we were told, with their attendants, out of Germany, who were very grave and ſober; and the everlaſting goſpel was preached unto them.

Amſterdam.

Harlem. After this meeting we took leave of the friends of Amſterdam, and next morning departed to Harlem, where we had a meeting at a friend's, whoſe name is Abraham Frondenberg. Great numbers of people were at this meeting, and of great ſervice it was. After the meeting, a watch-maker of Amſterdam, who with his wife was at the meeting, deſired to ſpeak with me concerning religion. I had pretty much diſcourſe with him, and both he and ſhe were very low and

and tender, received with gladneſs what I ſpoke to them, and ſeemed to depart well ſatisfied. 1684.

We went next day to Rotterdam, where we tarried two meetings, and the ſixteenth of the fifth month went to the Brill, to take ſhip for England. Rotterdam. Brill.

About four in the afternoon, we went on board the packet-boat, William Sherman maſter, and ſet ſail from the Brill. When we had gone over the Maſe about a league, we caſt anchor at a place called the Pit, becauſe it is near the ſands, where we tarried till about four next morning; when having a pretty fair wind, and the tide with us, we weighed anchor, and by four next day were within five leagues of Harwich, over againſt Alborough caſtle; but the wind falling ſhort, and the tide being weak, it was the firſt hour in the afternoon before we came ſo near Harwich that boats could come to receive the paſſengers and goods. There were on board about forty paſſengers in all, of which ſome were Engliſh, ſome Scots, ſome Dutch, ſome French, ſome Spaniſh, ſome Flemiſh, and ſome Jews. The Pit. Harwich.

I ſpent a day with friends at Harwich, while Alexander Parker and George Watts went to viſit friends at Ipſwich, and returned at night. Next morning early we all took coach for Colcheſter, and were at the meeting there, which was large and peaceable; after the meeting we travelled to Witham and lodged there that night. Next day, William Mead meeting us on the way at Hareſtreet, I went with him to his houſe, and the other friends went for London. Colcheſter. Witham. Hareſtreet.

Here, being weak with travel and continual exerciſe, I ſpent ſome time to reſt myſelf and recover my health; viſiting in the mean time friends in that part of the country as I was able to get abroad. When I was a little recovered I went to Enfield, viſiting friends there and thereabouts, ſo to Dolſton to ſee the widow Scot, and from thence to London; ſome friends being come over from New Jerſey in America about buſineſs which I was deſired to be preſent at. Enfield. Dolſton.

It was the latter end of the ſummer when I came to London, where I ſtaid the winter following; ſave once or twice, my wife being in town with me, I went with her to her ſon Rouſe's at Kingſton. And though my body was very weak, yet I was in continual ſervice either in publick meetings, when I was able to bear them, or in particular buſineſſes among friends, and viſiting thoſe that were ſufferers for truth, either by impriſonment or loſs of goods. Many things alſo in this time I wrote, ſome for the preſs and ſome for particular ſervice; as letters to the king of Denmark, and one to the duke of Holſtein, on behalf of friends that were ſufferers in his dominions; whereof the following is a copy: London.

'For the duke of Holſtein:

'Whom I do intreat in the love of God to read over this which is ſent 'in love to him.

'I UNDERSTAND that formerly, by ſome evil-minded per-'ſons, it was reported to thee, when Elizabeth Hendricks 'came to Frederickſtadt to viſit the people called Quakers,

1684. London.

" that it was a ſcandal to the Chriſtian religion that a woman ſhould " be ſuffered to preach in a publick aſſembly religiouſly gathered to- " gether," &c. Upon which thou gaveſt forth an order to the ' rulers of Frederickſtadt, " to make the ſaid people leave that place " forthwith, or to ſend them away." But the ſaid Rulers being ' Arminians, and they or their fathers being come to live there as a ' people perſecuted in Holland, not much above threeſcore years ' ago, made anſwer to the duke, " they were not willing to perſe- " cute others for conſcience-ſake, who had looked upon perſecution " on that account in their own caſe as antichriſtian," &c. But after ' that, the people of God, in ſcorn called Quakers, did write to ' thee, from Frederickſtadt; and ſince that time they have had ' their liberty, and their meetings peaceable, to ſerve and worſhip ' God almoſt theſe twenty years at Frederickſtadt and thereabouts, ' freely without moleſtation; which liberty they have acknowledged ' as a great favour and kindneſs from thee.

' And now, O duke, thou profeſſing chriſtianity from the great ' and mighty name of Chriſt Jeſus, who is King of kings and Lord ' of lords, and the holy ſcriptures of truth of the Old and New ' Teſtament, do not you uſe many women's words in your ſervice ' and worſhip out of the Old and New Teſtament? The apoſtle ' ſaith, " Let your women keep ſilence in the churches;" and ' that he " did not permit a woman to ſpeak, but to be under " obedience; and if ſhe will learn any thing, to aſk her huſband at " home; for it is a ſhame for a woman to ſpeak in the church." ' And 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. " Women are to learn in ſilence, and not " ſuffered to teach, nor to uſurp authority over the man, but to be " in ſilence," 1 Cor. xiv. 34. Here the duke may ſee what ſort of ' women were to be in ſilence and ſubjection, whom the law ' commands to be ſilent, and not to uſurp authority over the ' man, nor to ſpeak in the church; theſe were unruly women. In ' the ſame chapter he commands " not to plait nor broider their hair, " nor to wear gold, pearls, or coſtly array." Theſe things were for- ' bidden by the apoſtle, and women that wear ſuch things are to ' learn in ſilence and to be ſubject, and not to uſurp authority over ' the men; for it is a ſhame for ſuch to ſpeak in the church. But do ' not ſuch women as theſe that wear gold and ſilver, pearls and ' gaudy apparel, or coſtly array, and plait and broider their hair, ' ſpeak in your church, when your prieſt ſets them to ſing pſalms? ' Don't they ſpeak when they ſing pſalms? Conſider this, O duke! ' Yet you ſay, " Your women muſt keep ſilence in the church, and " muſt not ſpeak in the church;" but when they ſing pſalms in your ' churches are they ſilent? Though the apoſtle forbids ſuch women ' as before-mentioned to ſpeak in the church, yet in another place he ' encourages the good or holy women to be teachers of good things, ' Tit. ii. 3, 4. The apoſtle alſo ſaid, " I intreat thee, true yoke- " fellow, help thoſe women which laboured with me in the goſpel, " and with other my fellow-labourers, whoſe names are written in " the book of life." Here he owns theſe holy women, and encou- ' rages them which laboured with him in the goſpel, and did not for- ' bid them, Phil. iv. 2, 3. He likewiſe commends Phœbe unto

Women that laboured in the goſpel.

' the

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‘ the church of the Romans, calls her a “ ſervant unto the church “ of Cenchrea,” ſends his epiſtle by her to the Romans from ‘ Corinth, and deſires the church at Rome to “ receive her in the “ Lord, as becometh ſaints;” and to aſſiſt her “ in whatſoever buſi- “ neſs ſhe had need of; for ſhe had been a ſuccourer of many, and “ of him alſo:” And he ſaid, “ Greet Priſcilla and Aquila, my “ helpers in Chriſt Jeſus, who have for my life laid down their “ necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but alſo all the “ churches of the Gentiles.” Now here the duke may ſee, theſe ‘ were good holy women, whom the apoſtle did not forbid ſpeaking, ‘ Rom. xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4. but commended them. And Priſcilla and ‘ Aquila “ inſtructed and expounded unto Apollos the way of God “ more perfectly,” Acts xviii. 26. So here Priſcilla was an inſtructor ‘ as well as Aquila, which holy women the apoſtle doth not forbid. ‘ Neither did he forbid Philip's four daughters, who were virgins, ‘ to propheſy. Women might pray and propheſy in the church, 1 ‘ Cor. xi. 5. The apoſtles ſhewed to the Jews the fulfiling of Joel's ‘ prophecy: “ That in the laſt days God would pour out of his “ Spirit upon all fleſh, and their ſons and daughters, ſervants and “ handmaids, ſhould propheſy with the Spirit of God.” So the ‘ apoſtle encourages daughters and handmaids to propheſy, as well as ‘ ſons; and if they do propheſy, they muſt ſpeak to the church or ‘ people, Joel ii. 28. Acts xvii. 18. Did not Miriam the prophet- ‘ eſs ſing unto the Lord, and all the women with her, when the ‘ Lord had delivered the children of Iſrael from Pharaoh? Did not ‘ ſhe praiſe the Lord, and propheſy in the congregation of the chil- ‘ dren of Iſrael? Was not this in the church? Exod. xv. 21. ‘ Moſes and Aaron did not forbid her propheſying or ſpeaking; but ‘ Moſes ſaid, “ Would God all the Lord's people were prophets!” ‘ And the Lord's people are women as well as men. Deborah ‘ was a judge and a propheteſs; and do not you make uſe of Debo- ‘ rah's and Miriam's words in your ſervice and worſhip? See Jud. ‘ v. 1. to 31. Deborah's large ſpeech or ſong. Barak did not forbid ‘ her, nor none of the Jewiſh prieſts. Did not ſhe make this ſpeech ‘ or ſong in the congregation or church of Iſrael? In the book of ‘ Ruth there are good ſpeeches of thoſe good women, which were ‘ not forbidden. Hannah prayed in the temple before Eli, and the ‘ Lord anſwered her prayer. See what a ſpeech Hannah makes, and ‘ a praiſing of God before Eli the high prieſt, who did not forbid ‘ her, 1 Sam. ii. 1. to 10. Joſiah the king ſent his prieſt, with ſe- ‘ veral others, to aſk counſel of Huldah the propheteſs, who dwelt ‘ at Jeruſalem in the college, 2 King. xxii. 14. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22. ‘ So here the king and his prieſts did not deſpiſe the counſel of this ‘ propheteſs; and ſhe propheſied to the congregation of Iſrael, as ‘ may be ſeen in theſe chapters. In Luke i. 41. to 55. ſee what a ‘ godly ſpeech Elizabeth made to Mary, and what a large godly ‘ ſpeech Mary made alſo. Mary ſaid, “ that the Lord did regard “ the low eſtate of his handmaid, &c.” And don't you make uſe in ‘ your worſhip and ſervice of Mary's and Elizabeth's words from ‘ Luke ii. 41. to 55. in your churches, and yet forbid women's ſpeak- ‘ ing in your churches, and but to be in ſilence? Yet all ſorts of women

‘ ſpeak

1684. London.

'ſpeak in your churches when they ſing, and ſay Amen. In Luke 'ii. there was Anna the propheteſs, a widow, of about fourſcore 'and four years, who departed not from the temple, but ſerved God 'with faſting and prayer night and day. Did not ſhe confeſs Chriſt 'Jeſus in the temple, and give thanks to the Lord, "and ſpeak of "Chriſt to all that looked for redemption in Jeruſalem?" Luke ii. '36, 37, 38. So ſuch holy women were not forbidden to ſpeak in 'the church, neither in the law nor goſpel. Was it not Mary Mag-'dalen and other women that firſt preached Chriſt's reſurrection to 'the apoſtles? The woman indeed (namely Eve) was firſt in tranſ-'greſſion; ſo they were women that firſt preached the reſurrection 'of Chriſt Jeſus; for Chriſt ſaid to Mary, &c. "Go to my bre-"thren and ſay unto them, I aſcend unto my Father and to your Fa-"ther, and to my God and to your God," John xx. 17. And Luke 'xxiv. 10. It was Mary Magdalen, Johanna, and Mary the mother 'of James, and other women with them, who told the apoſtles "Chriſt was riſen from the dead; and their words and theſe wo-"men's words were as idle tales to the apoſtles, and they believed "them not," ib. 11. Ver. 22. "Certain women alſo of our com-"pany made us aſtoniſhed," they ſaid. So here it may be ſeen that 'the women's preaching the reſurrection of Chriſt did aſtoniſh the 'apoſtles. Chriſt ſent theſe women to preach his reſurrection; ſo it 'is no ſhame for ſuch women to preach Chriſt Jeſus, neither are 'they to be ſilent when Chriſt ſends them. The apoſtle ſays, "Every tongue ſhall confeſs to God," Rom. xiv. 11. and "Every "tongue ſhall confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord, to the glory of God "the Father," Philip. ii. 11. So here it is clear that women muſt 'confeſs Chriſt as well as men, if every tongue muſt confeſs. And 'the apoſtle ſaith, "There's neither male nor female, for ye are all "one in Chriſt Jeſus," Gal. iii. 28.

'And whereas it is ſaid, "women muſt aſk their huſbands at "home," &c. the duke knows very well virgins have no huſbands, 'nor widows; for Anna, the propheteſs, was a widow; and if 'Chriſt be the huſband, men muſt aſk counſel of him at home, as 'well as women, before they teach. And ſet the caſe that a Turk's 'wife ſhould be a Chriſtian, or a Papiſt's wife ſhould be a Lutheran, 'or a Calviniſt, muſt they aſk and learn of their huſbands at home 'before they confeſs Chriſt Jeſus in the congregation of the Lord? 'Their counſel will be to them to turn Turks or Papiſts.

'I intreat the duke to conſider theſe things. I intreat him to 'mind God's grace and truth in his heart, that is come by Jeſus Chriſt, 'that by his Spirit of grace and truth he may come to ſerve and 'worſhip God in his Spirit and truth; ſo that he may ſerve the 'living eternal God that made him, in his generation, and have his 'peace in Chriſt that the world cannot take away. And I do de-'ſire his good, peace, and proſperity in this world, and his eternal 'comfort and happineſs in the world that is everlaſting, Amen.

G. F.'

'London, the 26th of the
'8th month, 1684.'

Beſides

Beſides the foregoing, I wrote alſo epiſtles to friends; one of which the following is a copy of: 1684. London.

'Friends and brethren in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

'IN whom you have life, peace, and ſalvation; walk in him who is your heavenly Rock and Foundation, that ſtands ſure, who hath all power in heaven and earth given unto him. So his power is over all. Let your faith ſtand in his power, which is over all from everlaſting to everlaſting, over the devil and his power; that in the holy heavenly wiſdom of God ye may be preſerved and kept to God's glory, out of all ſnares and temptations; that God's wiſdom may be juſtified of all his children in this day of his power, and they all may be faithful, ſerving and worſhipping God in Spirit and truth, and valiant for it upon the earth. For, as the apoſtle ſaith, "They that believe are entered into their reſt, and "have ceaſed from their own works, as God did from his." Now this reſt is an eternal reſt in Chriſt, the eternal Son of God, in whom every true believer hath everlaſting life in Chriſt Jeſus, their reſt and everlaſting day. For Chriſt the reſt bruiſeth the ſerpent's head, and through death deſtroyeth death, and the devil, the power of death, and his works. He is the eternal reſt, that giveth eternal life to his ſheep. Chriſt fulfilleth the prophets, and all the figures, ſhadows, and ceremonies, as in the Old Teſtament; and all the promiſes are yea and amen in Chriſt, who was the eternal reſt to all true believers in the apoſtles days, and ever ſince, and is ſo now. Chriſt is the beginning and the ending, the firſt and laſt, aſcended above all principalities, powers, thrones, and dominions, that he might fill all things. For by "Jeſus Chriſt all things were made and created, whe-"ther they be things in heaven or things in the earth;" and he is the Eternal Reſt. They that believe are entered into Chriſt, their Eternal Reſt, in whom they have eternal life, and peace with God. Wherefore I ſay again, in him who is your Reſt live and abide; for in him ye are happy, and his bleſſings will reſt upon you. God Almighty keep and preſerve you all, his true believers, in Chriſt your Reſt and Peace this day. Amen.

'G. F.'

'London, the 18th of the
'12th month, 1684-5.'

About a month after I got a little out of London, viſiting friends at South-ſtreet, Ford-green, and Enfield, where I had meetings. Afterwards I went to Waltham-abbey, and was at a meeting there on a firſt-day; which was very large and peaceable. Then returning through Enfield, and about Edmonton-ſide, I came back to London in the third month, to adviſe with and aſſiſt friends in laying their ſufferings before the parliament then ſitting; and we drew up a ſhort account of our ſufferings, which we cauſed to be printed and ſpread amongſt the parliament-men. 1685. South-ſtreet. Ford-green. Enfield. Watham-abbey. Enfield. Edmonton-ſide.

The yearly meeting coming on, I was much concerned for friends that came up to it out of the country, leſt they ſhould meet with any London yearly meeting.

1685. London. trouble or disturbance in their passage up or down; and the rather, because about that time a great bustle arose in the nation upon the duke of Monmouth's landing in the west. But the Lord, according to his wonted goodness, was graciously pleased to preserve friends in safety, and gave us a blessed opportunity to meet together in peace and quietness, and accompanied our meeting with his living, refreshing presence: blessed for ever be his holy name!

Considering the hurries that were in the nation, it came upon me at the close of this meeting to write a few lines to friends, 'to caution all to keep out of the spirit of the world, in which trouble is, and to dwell in the peaceable truth;' as followeth:

'Dear friends and brethren,

'WHOM the Lord hath called and chosen in Christ Jesus, your Life and Salvation, in whom ye have rest and peace with God; the Lord by his mighty power, which is over all, hath preserved and supported you to this day, to be a peculiar holy people to himself, so that by his eternal Spirit and power ye might be all kept out of the world; for in the world is trouble. In this great day of the Lord God Almighty, he is shaking the heavens and the earth of outward professions, their elements are in a heat, their sun and their moon are darkened, the stars falling, and the mountains and hills shaking and tottering, as it was among the Jews in the day of Christ's appearing. Therefore, dear friends and brethren, dwell in the Seed, Christ Jesus, the Rock and Foundation, that cannot be shaken; that ye may see with the light and Spirit of Christ, that ye are as fixed stars in the firmament of God's power; and in this his power and light you'll see over all the wandering stars, clouds without water, and trees without fruit. That which may be shaken will be shaken, as will all that are wandered from the firmament of God's power.

'Dear friends and brethren, you that are redeemed from the death and fall of Adam, by Christ the second Adam, in him ye have life, rest, and peace; for Christ saith, "In me ye shall have peace, but in the world trouble." And the apostle saith, "They that believe are entered into their Rest," namely Christ, who hath overcome the world, bruiseth the serpent's head, destroys the devil and his works, and fulfils the types, figures, and shadows of the Old Testament, and the prophets. In whom the promises are Yea and Amen; who is the First and Last, Beginning and Ending, the Eternal Rest. So keep and walk in Christ, your Rest, every one that have received him.

'Dear friends and brethren, whatever bustlings and trouble, tumults or outrages, quarrels and strife, arise in the world, keep out of them all; concern not yourselves with them; but keep in the Lord's power and peaceable truth, that is over all such things; in which power ye seek the peace and good of all men. Live in the love which God hath shed abroad in your hearts through Christ Jesus; in which love nothing is able to separate you from God and Christ, neither outward sufferings, persecutions,

'nor

1685. London.

'nor any outward thing that is below and without; nor to hinder 'or break your heavenly fellowſhip in the light, goſpel, and ſpirit of 'Chriſt, nor your holy communion in the Holy Ghoſt, that pro-'ceeds from the Father and the Son, which leads you into all truth. 'In this Holy Ghoſt, in which is your holy communion, that pro-'ceeds from the Father and the Son, you have fellowſhip with the 'Father and the Son, and one with another. This is it which links 'and joins Chriſt's church or body together to him the heavenly 'and ſpiritual head, and in unity in his Spirit, which is the bond of 'peace to all his church and living members, in whom they have 'eternal reſt and peace in Chriſt, and with God everlaſting, who is 'to be bleſſed and praiſed for ever, Amen!

'Dear friends, forſake not the aſſembling of yourſelves together, 'who are gathered in the name of Jeſus, your prophet, whom God 'has raiſed up in the New Teſtament, to be heard in all things; 'who opens to you, and no man can ſhut, who ſhuts and no man can 'open; He is your prieſt, made higher than the heavens by the 'power of an endleſs life; by him you are made a royal prieſthood, 'to offer up to God ſpiritual ſacrifice; He is the biſhop of your 'ſouls, to overſee, you that you do not go aſtray from God; He is 'the good ſhepherd that hath laid down his life for his ſheep, and 'they hear his voice and follow him, and he gives to them eternal 'life.

'Dear friends and brethren, abide in Chriſt the vine, that ye may 'bring forth fruit to the Glory of God. As every one hath received 'Chriſt, walk in him, who is not of the world that lies in wicked-'neſs; ſo that ye may be preſerved out of the vain faſhions and 'cuſtoms of the world, which ſatisfy the luſt of the eye, the luſt 'of the fleſh, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but 'of the world that paſſes away. Whoever joins to that which is not 'of the Father, or encourages it, draws the mind from God the Fa-'ther and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Therefore let Chriſt rule in your 'hearts, that your minds, ſouls, and ſpirits may be kept out of the 'vanities of the world in their words, ways, and actions, that ye 'may be a peculiar people, zealous of good works, ſerving the Lord 'through Jeſus Chriſt, to the praiſe and glory of God; that by the 'Word of his grace your words may be gracious, and in your lives 'and converſations ye may ſhew forth righteouſneſs, holineſs, and 'godlineſs, that God Almighty may be glorified in you all, and 'through you all, who is above all, bleſſed and praiſed for ever, 'Amen.

'G. F.'

'London, the 11th of the
'4th month, 1685.'

I wrote ſeveral other letters to friends in divers foreign countries, from whom I had received letters about the affairs of truth. Which when I had diſpatched, I got a little way out of town, being much ſpent with the heat of the weather, throngs in meetings, and continual buſineſs. I went at firſt to South-ſtreet, where I abode ſome days. And a great ſenſe entered

South-ſtreet.

me

1685. South-ſtreet

me of the growth and increaſe of pride, vanity, and exceſs in apparel, and that not only amongſt the people of the world, but too much alſo in ſome that came among us, and ſeemed to make profeſſion of the truth. In the ſenſe I had of the evil thereof, it came upon me to give forth the following, as a reproof and check thereunto.

'The apoſtle Peter ſaith (in 1 Pet. iii.) of the women's adorning; "Let it not be (mark, let it not be: this is a poſitive prohibition) "that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of "gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of "the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of "a meek and quiet ſpirit, which is in the ſight of God of great "price; for after this manner in old time the holy women alſo, who "truſted in God, adorned themſelves."

'Here ye may ſee what is the ornament of the holy women, which 'was in the ſight of God of great price, which the holy women 'who truſted in God adorned themſelves with. But the un-'holy women, that truſt not in God, their ornament is not a meek 'and a quiet ſpirit; they adorn themſelves with plaiting the hair, 'putting on of apparel, and wearing of gold, which is forbidden 'by the apoſtle in his general epiſtle to the church of Chriſt, the 'true Chriſtians.

'The apoſtle Paul ſaith, 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10. "In like manner "alſo that women adorn themſelves in modeſt apparel, with ſhame-"facedneſs and ſobriety, not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, "or coſtly array; but, which becometh women profeſſing godlineſs, "with good works."

'Here ye may ſee what the women were not to adorn themſelves 'with who profeſſed godlineſs: they were not to adorn themſelves 'with broidered hair, nor gold, nor pearls, nor coſtly array; for 'this was not looked upon to be modeſt apparel for holy women that 'profeſſed godlineſs and good works. But this adorning or apparel 'is for the immodeſt, unſhamefaced, unſober women, that profeſs 'not godlineſs, neither follow thoſe good works that God com-'mands. Therefore it doth not become men and women, who 'profeſs true Chriſtianity and godlineſs, to be adorned with gold, or 'chains, or pearls, or coſtly array, or with broidered hair; for theſe 'things are for the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and pride of 'life, which is not of the Father. All holy men and women are 'to mind that which is more precious than gold; "being redeemed "not with corruptible things, as ſilver and gold, from your vain "converſation, but with the precious blood of Chriſt, as a lamb "without blemiſh and without ſpot. Therefore as obedient chil-"dren to God, not faſhioning yourſelves according to your former "luſts in your ignorance, but as he which hath called you is holy, ſo "be ye holy in all manner of converſation," 1 Pet. i. 14, 15.

'Chriſt ſaith, "The life is more than meat, and the body is "more than raiment," Luke xii. 23.

I read of a wiſe moral philoſopher, who, meeting a woman 'with here neck and breaſt bare, laid his hand upon her and ſaid, "Woman, wilt thou ſell this fleſh?" and ſhe replying, No:

"Then

" Then pray," ſaid he, " ſhut up thy ſhop" (meaning her bare 1685.
' breaſts and neck). So they were looked upon as harlots that went South-ſtreet,
' with their necks, breaſts, and backs bare, and not modeſt people,
' even among the moral heathens. Therefore thoſe that profeſs the
' knowledge of true Chriſtianity ſhould be aſhamed of ſuch
' things. You may ſee a book written by the very Papiſts, and
' another by Richard Baxter the Preſbyterian, againſt bare breaſts
' and bare backs. They that were but in an outward pro-
' feſſion did declare againſt ſuch things, therefore they who
' are in the poſſeſſion of truth and true Chriſtianity ſhould be
' aſhamed of ſuch things. Read, I pray you, the third of Iſaiah.
' There you may ſee the holy prophet was grieved with the
' fooliſh women's vain attire, and was ſent by the Lord to
' reprove them. Envious, perſecuting Jezabel, her attired head and
' bravery, like a painted harlot out of the truth, did not keep her
' from the judgments of God, when the Lord ſtirred up Jehu againſt
' her. Doth not pride go before a fall, and a haughty mind before
' deſtruction ? " God reſiſteth the proud, and giveth grace to the
" humble." Solomon ſaith, " The Lord will deſtroy the houſe of
" the proud," Prov. xv. 25. " For the day of the Lord ſhall be
" upon every one that is proud and lofty, &c. and he ſhall be brought
" low," Iſa. ii. 12. and Mal. iv. Therefore take heed of calling the
' proud happy ; for " the Lord will ſcatter the proud in the imagi-
" nation of their own hearts, and exalt them of low degree."
' You may read in the Revelations (Chap. xvii. 4. and xviii. 16.)
' of the falſe church, how ſhe was outwardly decked, but full of
' abomination, and came to a downfal at laſt. Therefore it is good
' for all that profeſs the truth, to uſe this world as not abuſing it ;
" for the faſhion of this world paſſeth away, but the word of the
" Lord endureth for ever. The Lord taketh pleaſure in his people,
" he will beautify the meek with ſalvation," Pſal. cxlix. 4. All that
' know the truth as it is in Jeſus, are to be beautified and cloathed
' with this ſalvation, which ſalvation is a ſtrong wall or a bulwark
' againſt that ſpirit that would lead you further into the fall from God,
' into thoſe things which the fallen man and woman delight in,
' beautify, or adorn themſelves with. Therefore, all that profeſs the
' truth, be circumſpect, ſincere, and fervent, following the Lord
' Jeſus Chriſt, who is not of this world ; in whom ye have life and
' peace with God.

' G. F.'

" South-ſtreet, the 24th of
" the 4th month, 1685."

After ſome weeks I returned to London. Among other ſervices London.
that I found there, one was to aſſiſt in drawing up a teſtimony to clear our friends of being concerned in the late rebellion in the weſt, and from all plots againſt the government ; which accordingly was done, and delivered to the chief juſtice, who was then to go into the weſt with commiſſion to try priſoners.

1685. Epping-forreſt.

I tarried ſome time in London, viſiting meetings, and labouring among friends in the ſervice of truth. But finding my health much impaired for want of freſh air, I went to Charles Bathurſt's country-houſe at Epping-foreſt, where I ſtaid a few days. There it came upon me to write the following epiſtle to friends:

'Dear friends,

'WHO are called, choſen and faithful in this day of trial, 'temptations, and ſufferings, whom the Lord by his right 'hand hath upholden in all your ſufferings (and ſome to death) for 'the Lord and his truth's ſake. Chriſt ſaith, "Be of good cheer, "I have overcome the world; in me ye have peace, but in the world "ye have trouble." The children of the Seed, which be heirs of 'the kingdom, know this is true. And though ye have trials by 'falſe brethren, Judaſes, and ſons of perdition, that are got into the 'temple of God, and exalted above all that is called God, whom the 'Lord will deſtroy with the breath of his mouth and the brightneſs 'of his coming; and though ye be tried by powers and principalities, yet there is nothing able to ſeparate you from the love of God 'which ye have in Chriſt Jeſus. In that love dwell, which bears 'all things, and fulfils the law; in which edify one another, and be 'courteous, kind, and humble; for to ſuch God giveth his grace 'plentifully, ſuch he teacheth. And pray in the Holy Ghoſt, which 'proceeds from the Father and the Son; in it keep your holy communion and unity in the Spirit, the bond of peace, which is the 'King of kings heavenly peace. In that you are all bound to good 'behaviour, to keep peace among yourſelves, to ſeek the peace of 'all men, and to ſhew forth the heavenly, gentle, and peaceable 'wiſdom to all, in righteouſneſs and truth, anſwering the good in 'all people in your lives and converſations (for the Lord is glorified 'in your bringing forth ſpiritual fruit): that ye may eye and behold 'the Lord in all your actions, that the bleſſings of the Lord ye may 'all feel to reſt upon you. Whether ye be the Lord's priſoners for 'his name and truth's ſake, or at liberty, in all things labour to be 'content, for that is a continual feaſt; and let no trouble move you; 'then ye will be as Mount Sion that cannot be removed. In all 'things exerciſe the word of patience, which word will ſanctify all 'things to you. Study to be quiet, and do the Lord's buſineſs that 'he requires of you, and your own, in truth and righteouſneſs. 'Whatſoever ye do, let it be done to the praiſe and glory of God in 'the name of Jeſus Chriſt. All that make God's people ſuffer, 'make the ſeed ſuffer in their own particulars, and impriſon the juſt 'there. Such will not viſit the ſeed in themſelves, but caſt it into 'priſon in others, and not viſit it in priſon. You may read that 'Chriſt ſaith, "Such muſt go into everlaſting puniſhment." That 'is a ſad puniſhment and priſon. All ſuch as are become apoſtates 'and backſliders, that crucify to themſelves Chriſt afreſh, put him 'to open ſhame, trample under feet the blood of the Son of God 'by which they were cleanſed, and come to be unclean; ſuch grieve, 'vex, quench, and rebel againſt the Spirit of God in themſelves, 'and then ſuch rebel againſt them that walk in the Spirit of God.

'Such

1685. Epping-forreſt.

'Such are unfaithful to God and man, and are enemies to every 'good work and ſervice of God; but their end will be according to 'their works, who are like the earth that hath often received rain, 'but brings forth briars and thorns, which are to be rejected, and 'are for the fire. Therefore, dear friends, in all your ſufferings 'feel the Lord's eternal arm and power, which hath ſupported you 'to this day, and will to the end, as your faith ſtands in it, and 'as you are ſettled upon the rock and foundation Chriſt Jeſus, that 'cannot be removed, in whom ye have life and peace with God. 'The Lord God Almighty, in him, give you dominion, and preſerve 'you all to his glory, that in all your ſufferings ye may feel his pre-'ſence, and that, when ye have finiſhed your teſtimony, ye may re-'ceive the crown of glory which God hath laid up for them that fear 'and ſerve him, Amen.

'G. F.'

'The 15th of the 7th
'month, 1685.'

London.

Having ſpent about a week in the country, I returned to London; where I continued about two months, viſiting meetings, and labouring to get relief for friends from their ſufferings, which yet lay heavy upon them in many parts of the nation. I alſo wrote ſeveral papers relating to the ſervice of truth, one of which was concerning order in the church of God, which ſome that were gone out of the the unity of friends did much oppoſe. It was as followeth:

'AMONG all ſocieties, or families, or nations of people in the 'world, they have among them ſome ſort of order. There was 'the order of Aaron in the Old Teſtament, and there was the order 'of Melchizedeck before that, after whoſe order Chriſt Jeſus came, 'and he did not deſpiſe that order. God is a God of order in his 'whole creation, and in his church; and all believers in the light, 'the life in Chriſt, that paſs from death to life, are in the order of 'the Holy Spirit, power, light, life, and government of Chriſt 'Jeſus, of the increaſe whereof there is no end. This is a myſtery 'to all thoſe diſorderly people, who have written and printed ſo 'much againſt order, which the Lord's power and Spirit hath 'brought forth among his people. And you that cry ſo much 'againſt order, is it not manifeſt that you are gone into a land of 'darkneſs, thick as darkneſs itſelf, and of the ſhadow of death, into 'diſorder, and where the light is as darkneſs? Is not this your 'condition ſeen by all them that live and walk in the truth, and 'whoſe converſations are according to the goſpel of life and ſal-'vation?

'The devil, Satan, dragon, the firſt and ſecond beaſt, the whore 'and falſe prophets, and their worſhippers and followers, all are out 'of the truth, abode not in it, nor in the order of it: and the truth 'is over them all. In Salem is God's tabernacle; and his taberna-'cle is in Shiloh: theſe are far beyond the tabernacles of Ham, 'Pſalm lxxvi. and lxxviii.

'All

1685. London.

'All the figures and ſhadows were and are comprehended in 'time; but Chriſt the ſubſtance is the beginning and the ending. 'And all trials, troubles, perſecutions, and temptations came up 'in time: but the Lord's power, which is everlaſting, is over all 'ſuch things; in which is ſafety.

'The black world of darkneſs lieth in wickedneſs, and by their 'wiſdom know not God that made the world and all things therein: 'for the god of the world and prince of the air ruleth in the hearts 'of all that diſobey the living God who made them. So the 'god of this wicked world hath blinded the eyes of the infidels 'or heathen; ſo that this wicked world by their wiſdom doth not 'know the living God.

'In the Old Teſtament the Lord ſaid, "With all thy offerings "thou ſhalt offer ſalt, Levit. ii. 13. And Chriſt ſaith in his new 'covenant, "Every one ſhall be ſalted with fire, and every ſacrifice "ſhall be ſalted with ſalt. Salt is good; but if the ſalt have loſt "its ſaltneſs, wherewith will you ſeaſon it? Have ſalt in yourſelves, "and have peace one with another," Mark ix. 48, 49, 50.

'We have received the earneſt of the Spirit, which is the earneſt 'of the inheritance that fadeth not away. For God poureth out of 'his Spirit upon all fleſh. It is God's Spirit, which is above our 'natural ſpirit (by which alone we do not know God); for it is 'by the Spirit of God that we know the things of God. And the 'Spirit of God doth witneſs to our ſouls and ſpirits, that it ſelf is 'the earneſt of an eternal inheritance. "God opens his people's "ears to diſcipline, and commands that they turn from iniquity. "If they obey and ſerve him, they ſhall ſpend their days in proſpe-"rity, and their years in pleaſure: but if they obey him not, they 'ſhall periſh by the ſword, and they ſhall die without knowledge," 'Job xxxvi. 10, 11, 12. So the diſobedient, that do not turn from 'their iniquity, have not this proſperity and pleaſure; but die with-'out the knowledge of God; and their ears are ſhut to this diſ-'cipline, which God opens to his people.

'G. F.'

Kingſton. Hammerſmith. London. Bethnal-green.

When I had been about two months in London, I was ſent for to my ſon Rouſe's at Kingſton, to viſit a daughter of his, who at that time lay very ſick; but recovered. Whilſt I ſtaid there, I had ſeveral meetings with friends: and returning by Hammerſmith, ſtaid the firſt-day meeting there, which was large and peaceable. Having viſited friends thereabouts, I came back to London again; being very intent upon the buſineſs of getting redreſs for ſuffering friends. In this and other ſervices I continued at London till the latter end of the eleventh month; ſave that I went to viſit an ancient friend at Bethnal-Green, with whom I tarried three or four days. While I was there, I was much exerciſed, in the ſenſe of the enemy's working, to draw from the holy way of truth into a falſe liberty, and ſo into the world's ways and worſhips again. And the example of the backſliding Jews coming before me, I was moved to write the following, as a warning to all ſuch:

'YOU

'YOU may ſee, when the Jews rebelled againſt the good Spirit of God, which he gave to inſtruct them, they forſook him and his law, way, and worſhip, went a whoring after Balaam's ways, and became like the "wild aſs's colt, ſnuffing up the wind," Jer. ii. 24. In Jer. iii. ſee how Judah played the harlot under every green tree, and upon every high mountain; therefore the Lord divorced Judah, as he had divorced Iſrael when ſhe forſook his way, and followed the ways of the heathen. Though the Lord had fed them to the full, yet they "forſook him, committed adultery, and aſſembled themſelves together in harlots houſes," Jer. v. 7. "And with their whoredom they defiled the land, and "committed adultery with ſtocks and ſtones," Jer. iii. 9. Here you may ſee, when they forſook the living, eternal God, they followed the religions and worſhips of other nations, whoſe gods were made of ſtocks and ſtones, which the Jews worſhipped, and committed adultery withal. When they forſook the living God, and his way and worſhip, they forſook the worſhip at Jeruſalem at the temple, and followed the heathens worſhips in the mountains and fields: So it was called adultery and whoredom, to join with other religions, and forſake God, Jer. xiii. 27. 1 85. Bethnal-green.

'And now, if the children of the New Jeruſalem that is above would forſake the worſhip that Chriſt in his New Teſtament ſet up, (which is in Spirit and in truth) and follow the worſhip of nations, which men have ſet up; will not they commit adultery with them, in forſaking God's worſhip, and Chriſt the new and living way?'

'In Jer. xliv. ye may ſee how the children of Judah provoked the Lord againſt them, by worſhipping the works of their own hands, and following the gods of the land of Egypt. In this they committed adultery, forſaking the living God, their huſband, and his worſhip; and there ye may ſee God's judgments pronounced againſt them to their deſtruction. What will become of thoſe that forſake the worſhip in Spirit and truth, which Chriſt ſet up; and worſhip the works of their own hands in ſpiritual Egypt, and follow ſpiritual Egypt's will-worſhip, which they invented? May not this be called whoredom in them that forſake Chriſt, the new and living way, his pure religion, and the worſhip that he hath ſet up? And they that forſake the Lord's way and his worſhip, and follow the world's ways and worſhips, do not they, whoſe way they follow, become at laſt their enemies? as in Lament. 1. See how the Jews forſook the Lord's way and worſhip, and doted on other lovers (the Aſſyrians, &c.) and with all their idols were defiled; and how they retained the whoredoms brought from Egypt, and were polluted with the Babylonians bed: read Ezek. xxiii. When they forſook the Lord, his way and worſhip, and followed the way and worſhip of the heathen; then it was ſaid, "They went a whoring after others, and committed adultery with "them."

'Ye may ſee Ezek. xvi. the ſtate of the Jews was likened to that of their ſiſter Sodom, which had played the harlot with the Aſſyrians, committed fornication with the Egyptians, and increaſed

1685. Bethnel-green.

'their whoredoms, in following their abominable idols; therefore 'the Lord carried away the two tribes, that forſook him, into Ba-'bylon; ſee Ezek. xvii. 20. And they that forſake Chriſt, the 'new and living Way, and the worſhip of God in Spirit and truth, 'which Chriſt ſet up in his New Teſtament, go into captivity in 'ſpiritual Babylon.

'Hoſea ii. you may ſee how the prophet diſcovers the whore-'doms and idolatry of the Jews who forſook the Lord, and compares 'them to an harlot. And in chap. iii. ye may ſee the deſtruction 'threatened againſt the Jews for their impiety and idolatry. In ch. 'ix. alſo the diſtreſs and captivity of the Jews is threatened for their 'ſins and idolatry; and again they are reproved and threatened for 'their impiety and idolatry, Hoſ. x. This was for forſaking the 'Lord and his way, and following the ways of their own inventions, 'and the ways of the heathen.

'Doth not Iſaiah ſay, "That the Lord would viſit Tyre, and "that ſhe ſhould commit fornication with all the kingdoms upon "the face of the earth?" therefore the Lord threatened deſtruction 'upon her, ch. xxiii. In ch. lvii. you may ſee how the Lord re-'proved the Jews for their whoriſh idolatry, ſaying, "Upon an "high and lofty mountain haſt thou ſet thy bed, even thither went-"eſt thou up to offer ſacrifices. Thou haſt enlarged thy bed, and "made a covenant with them, thou loveſt their bed where thou "ſaweſt it." This was a joining to the heathens religions, altars, 'and ſacrifices, and forſaking the Lord's altar and ſacrifices, which 'he commanded in the law; and therefore that was committing 'whoredom with the heathen, and a going into their beds from the 'Living God that made them. And now in the New Teſtament 'God having "poured his Spirit upon all fleſh," that by it all might 'come to be a "royal prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifices to "God by Jeſus Chriſt;" all that err from the Spirit of God, and 'rebel againſt it, are not like to offer ſpiritual ſacrifices to God; the 'ſacrifice of ſuch God doth not accept, no more than he did that 'of the heathens or the Jews, who rebelled againſt his good Spirit 'that he gave them to inſtruct them.

'You may ſee in the 17th, 18th, and 19th chapters of the Re-'velation the puniſhment of the great whore, Babylon, the mother 'of harlots, and the victory of the Lamb, and how he calleth God's 'people out of Babylon; for "in her was found the blood of the "prophets, and of the ſaints, and of all that were ſlain upon the "earth." There ye may read her judgment and downfal. This 'whore are they that are whored from the Spirit of God, and ſo 'from God, from his holy worſhip in ſpirit and truth, from the 'pure undefiled religion that keeps from the ſpots of the world, 'from the new and living way of Chriſt Jeſus; theſe are whored 'from the Spirit of God into falſe religions, ways, and worſhips, 'and ſo have corrupted the earth with her abominations. But her 'judgment and downfal are ſeen, over whom Chriſt hath the vic-'tory; and the marriage of the Lamb is come, glory to the Lord 'for ever! And God's pure religion, and pure worſhip in Spirit

'and

'and truth Chriſt hath ſet up, as it was in the apoſtles days, Hal- 1685.
'lelujah.

'G. F.'

I ſoon returned to London, but made no long ſtay there, my body London.
not being able to bear the cloſeneſs of the city long together. While I was in town, beſides the uſual ſervices of 'viſiting friends, and 'taking care about their ſufferings to get them eaſed,' I aſſiſted the friends of the city in diſtributing certain ſums of money, which our friends of Ireland had charitably and very liberally raiſed, and ſent over hither for the relief of their brethren who ſuffered for the teſtimony of a good conſcience; which monies were diſtributed amongſt poor ſuffering friends in the ſeveral counties in proportion, according as we underſtood their need.

Before I left the city I heard of a great doctor lately come from Poland, whom I invited to my lodging, and had a great deal of diſcourſe with him. After I had informed myſelf by him of ſuch things as I had a deſire to know, I wrote a letter to the king of Poland on behalf of friends at Dantzick, who had long been under grievous ſufferings. A copy whereof follows:

'To JOHN the third, king of Poland, great duke of Lithuania, 'Ruſſia, and Pruſſia, defender of the city of Dantzick, &c.

'Concerning the innocent and afflicted people in ſcorn called 'Quakers, who are now fed with bread and water in Bride-'well of the aforeſaid city, under cloſe confinement, where 'their friends, wives, and children are hardly ſuffered to come 'to ſee them.

'O king!

'THE magiſtrates of the city of Dantzick ſay it is thy order and 'command that theſe innocent and afflicted people ſhould ſuffer 'ſuch oppreſſion. Now this puniſhment is inflicted upon them only 'becauſe they come together in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, their 'Redeemer and Saviour, who died for their ſins, and is riſen from 'the dead for their juſtification, who is their prophet, whom God 'hath raiſed up like unto Moſes; whom they ought to hear in all 'things in this day of the goſpel and new covenant; who went aſtray 'like ſcattered ſheep, but now are returned to the Chief Shepherd 'and Biſhop of their Souls, 1 Pet. ii. 25. "Who has given his life "for his ſheep, and they hear his voice and follow him;" who leads 'them into his "paſtures of life," John x.

'Now, O king! I underſtand thou openly profeſſeſt Chriſtianity, 'and the great and mighty name of Jeſus Chriſt, who is King of 'kings and Lord of lords, to whom is given all power in heaven and 'earth, who rules all nations with a rod of iron. Therefore, O 'king, it ſeems hard to us, that any who openly confeſs Chriſt 'Jeſus (yea the magiſtrates of Dantzick do the ſame) ſhould inflict 'thoſe puniſhments upon an innocent and harmleſs people, by rea-

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'ſon of their tender conſciences only, becauſe they come together to 'ſerve and worſhip the Eternal God, who made them, in Spirit and 'in truth; which worſhip Chriſt Jeſus has ſet up ſixteen hundred 'years ago, as we read in John iv. 23, 24.

'I beſeech the king that he would conſider, whether Chriſt in the 'New Teſtament ever gave ſuch a command to his apoſtles that they 'ſhould ſhut up any in priſon, and feed them with bread and water, 'who were not conformable in every particular to their religion, 'faith, and worſhip? Where did the apoſtles exerciſe ſuch things 'in the true church after Chriſt's aſcenſion? Is not this the doctrine 'of Chriſt and the apoſtles, that Chriſt's followers ſhould "love "their enemies, and pray for them that hate, perſecute, and de-"ſpitefully uſe them?" Mat. v.

'Is it not a ſhame to Chriſtendom among the Turks and others, 'that one Chriſtian ſhould perſecute another for the doctrine of 'faith, worſhip, and religion? They cannot prove that Chriſt ever 'gave them ſuch a command, whom they profeſs to be their Lord and 'Maſter. For Chriſt ſays, that his believers and followers ſhould "love one another;" and by this they ſhould be known to be his 'diſciples. And did not Chriſt reprove thoſe who would have "fire "to come down from heaven" to deſtroy them who would not re-'ceive him? Did not he tell them, "they did not know what "ſpirit they were of?" Have all who have perſecuted men, or 'taken away their lives becauſe they would not receive their reli-'gion, known what ſpirit they were or are of? Is it not good for all 'to know by the Spirit of Chriſt what ſpirit they are of? The 'apoſtle ſays, Rom. viii. 9. "If any man have not the Spirit of "Chriſt he is none of his." And 2 Cor. x. 4. "The weapons of "our warfare are not carnal, but ſpiritual, &c. We wreſtle not "againſt fleſh and blood, but againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs," &c. 'Thus we ſee, the fight of the firſt Chriſtians and their weapons in 'the days of the apoſtles were ſpiritual.

'Would not the king and the magiſtrates of Dantzick think it 'contrary to their conſciences, if they ſhould be forced by the Turk 'to his religion? Would it not in like manner ſeem hard to the 'magiſtrates of Dantzick, and contrary to their conſciences, if they 'ſhould be forced to the religion of the king of Poland? or the 'king of Poland, if he ſhould be compelled to the religion of the 'magiſtrates of Dantzick? And if they would not be ſubject 'thereunto, that they ſhould be baniſhed from their wives and fa-'milies, and out of their native country, or otherwiſe be fed with 'bread and water under ſtrict confinement?

'We beſeech the king with all Chriſtian humility, and the ma-'giſtrates of Dantzick, that they would order their proceedings in 'this matter according to the royal law of God, which is, "to do "unto others as they would have others do unto them, and to love "their neighbour as themſelves." For we have this charity, that 'we hope and believe the king of Poland and his people, with the 'magiſtrates of Dantzick, own the writings of the New Teſtament 'as well as of the Old; therefore we beſeech the king and the ma-'giſtrates of Dantzick, to take heed that their work of impriſoning

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'an innocent people, for nothing but their meeting together in tenderneſs of conſcience to ſerve and worſhip God, their Creator, may not be contrary and oppoſite to the royal law of God, and to the glorious and everlaſting goſpel of truth.

'We deſire the king, in Chriſtian love, earneſtly and weightily to conſider theſe things, and to give order to ſet the innocent priſoners, our friends, called Quakers, at liberty from their ſtrict confinement in Dantzick, that they may have freedom to ſerve and worſhip the Living God in Spirit and in truth, and go home to their habitations, and follow their trades and calling, to maintain their wives, children, and families. And we believe that the king, in doing ſuch a noble, glorious, yea Chriſtian work, will not go unrewarded from the Great God who made him, whom we ſerve and worſhip, who has the hearts of kings, and their lives and length of days in his hand.

'From him who deſires the king and all his miniſters may be 'preſerved in the fear of God, and receive his word of wiſdom, by which all things were made and created, that by 'it he may come to order all things to the glory of God, 'which God has put under his hand; that both he and they 'may enjoy the comforts and bleſſings of the Lord in this 'life, and in that which is to come life eternal, Amen.

'G. F.'

'London, the 10th of the 3d month,
'commonly called May, 1684.'

POSTSCRIPT.

'The king may pleaſe to conſider that his and all mens conſci-'ences are the prerogative of God.'

After this I went into Enfield, where, and in the country thereabouts ſeveral friends had country-houſes, amongſt whom I tarried ſome time, viſiting and being viſited by friends, and having meetings with them. Several things I wrote in this time relating to the ſervice of truth, one whereof was concerning judging; for ſome, who had departed from the truth, were ſo afraid of truth's judgment, that they made it much of their buſineſs to cry out againſt judging. Wherefore I wrote a paper, proving by the ſcriptures of truth, that the church of Chriſt hath power and ability to judge thoſe that profeſs to be of it, not only with reſpect to outward things relating to this world, but with reſpect to religious matters alſo. A copy of which follows:

Concerning Judging.

"THE natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, "for they are fooliſhneſs to him, neither can he know them, "becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned; but he that is ſpiritual judg-"eth all things (mark) all things, yet he himſelf is judged of no "man," 1 Cor. ii. 14, 15. So the natural man cannot judge of

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'thoſe things he receives not, for they are fooliſhneſs to him; but 'he is comprehended by the ſpiritual man, and his fooliſhneſs, and is 'judged, though he cannot judge the ſpiritual man.

"Do not ye judge them that are within?" ſaith the apoſtle. This 'power the church had and hath, "therefore put away from amongſt "yourſelves that wicked perſon." Did not this wicked perſon, 'think you, profeſs and plead for liberty for his wickedneſs, and his 'freedom, as he was a Chriſtian, who was looked upon as a mem-'ber of the church?

'The apoſtle ſaith, "For I verily, as abſent in body, yet preſent in "Spirit, have judged already, as though I were preſent, concerning "him that hath done this wicked deed," 1 Cor. v. 3, 12. Here the 'apoſtle did judge, though afar off, and ſet up judgment in the 'church againſt falſe liberty, under what pretence ſoever it was.

'And the apoſtle ſaith, "Dare any of you, having a matter "againſt a brother, go to law before the unjuſt and not before the "ſaints." Here the ſaints, the church, are to judge of things 'amongſt themſelves, and not the unjuſt to judge of their mat-'ters. "Do ye not know the ſaints ſhall judge the world?" So 'the ſaints are to judge the unjuſt, and not the unjuſt to judge their 'matters.

'And farther the apoſtle ſaith, "If the world ſhall be judged by "you (to wit, the ſaints) are you unworthy to judge the ſmaller "matters amongſt you?

'It is clear that the ſaints have a judgment given them of Chriſt, 'by his power and Spirit, light and wiſdom, to judge the world, 'and not to carry their matters before the unjuſt, but to judge of 'them amongſt themſelves; and if they carry them before the un-'juſt, they ſhew their unworthineſs of the ſaints judgment.

'Again, "Know ye not, that we ſhall judge the angels? (and "angels are ſpirits) how much more the things which pertain to this "life?

"If ye then have judgment of things pertaining to this life, ſet "them up to judge who have leaſt eſteem in the church," 1 Cor. iv. 6. 'Here it is clear the church of Chriſt has a judgment in the power 'and Spirit of God, not only to judge in "things that pertain to "this life;" but alſo to judge of things betwixt brethren, without 'brother going to law with brother before unbelievers; which was 'a fault, and to be judged, if they did ſo.

'But all the ſaints have a judgment to judge angels that kept not 'their habitations, and the world. Jude "judged the angels that "kept not their habitations, their firſt ſtate." Did not he judge in 'divine matters here? He judged the ſtate of Cain, Balaam, and 'Core, and ſuch Chriſtians as were got into their ſteps, and were 'gone as far as they, though they profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians? 'Here again he judged in divine matters, and of their ſtates and beings, 'who ſtood in the divine principle, and who were fallen from it.

'The apoſtle ſaith, "Try the ſpirits, and believe not every ſpirit," '1 John 4. Here again was a judgment in divine matters; and he 'judged ſuch as went out from them, which whilſt they were with 'them they had ſight of things and openings, but when they went

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'from them, they went from the anointing; therefore he exhorts 'the ſaints to keep to the anointing. Such as went from them that 'had the anointing, came to be the ſeducers and falſe prophets that 'went into the world.

'John had a judgment to try ſacrifices, and diſtinguiſhed Cain's 'from Abel's, and by the Spirit of God knew which God accepted, 'and which he did not accept, 1 John iii. 12. Paul judged and 'tried ſuch meſſengers and apoſtles, and transformers of themſelves 'like to the apoſtles of Chriſt, and would have the church to try 'ſuch, and have the ſame judgment as he had, 2 Cor. xi.

'Peter judged Ananias and Sapphira, and the thoughts of Simon 'Magus, who would have been a worker of miracles for money. 'Was not all this judgment in divine matters? The apoſtle Paul 'judged the preachers of circumciſion both in the Romans and Ga-'latians. For it was the faith and liberty of thoſe preachers to preach 'up circumciſion, though it was a wrong faith. Did not the apoſtle 'here again judge in divine matters?

'James judged in matters of faith, and manifeſted the living faith 'from the dead one. He alſo judged in matters of religion, the vain 'religion from the pure religion, and diſtinguiſhed them.

'Paul judged of the "falſe brethren that would ſpy out the liberty "of the true, to whom he would give no place by ſubjection, no not "for an hour, that the truth of the goſpel might continue with the "ſaints," Gal. ii. Did not the apoſtle here judge in divine matters? 'And he judged concerning the matters of the goſpel, when ſome 'came to pervert them with another goſpel, and ſaid, "The goſpel "which I received is not of man, neither was I taught it, but by the "revelation of Jeſus Chriſt," Gal. i. 12. So here was a judgment 'to diſtinguiſh the goſpel of Chriſt from all other goſpels which 'were accurſed, which after man are received of man, and taught of 'man, and not by the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt, Gal. i. And he 'had judgment to know, "Who made the goſpel chargeable, and "who kept it without charge."

'He ſet up a judgment in the church, that the believers ſhould 'not be unequally yoked, and to ſee when men had a communion in 'the light, and when they had it in darkneſs, when with Chriſt and 'when with Baal, with the believer and unbeliever, with the temple 'of God and with Idols, as in 2 Cor. vi. Did he not ſet up a clear 'judgment here in divine matters in the church?

'And the apoſtle judged ſuch libertines through their knowledge 'that could ſit at meat in the idol-temple, which cauſed the weak 'brother to periſh, through his knowledge and liberty, for whom Chriſt 'died. Theſe, it is like, did profeſs it was their faith and their li-'berty, yet did not keep in the unity of the true faith, but went aſtray 'to deſtroy it, 1 Cor. viii.

'Peter gives judgment upon the angels that ſinned and were caſt 'down into hell, of the ſtate of the old world, and of Sodom, and 'the ſtate of the falſe prophets then amongſt them, that could ſpeak 'great ſwelling words of vanity, and whilſt they promiſed them li-'berty were themſelves the ſervants of corruption. Had not Peter 'here a judgment in divine matters. Theſe were ſuch, whoſe work

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'was to bring into bondage, being like the dog and ſow that were 'waſhed; which ſhews that they had been waſhed, but were turned 'into the mire again. The apoſtle Paul had a judgment upon ſuch 'with their fair words and mens wiſdom, that deceived the hearts of 'the ſimple, and upon ſuch as "ſerved not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but "their own bellies, and were enemies to the croſs of Chriſt." He 'had a judgment and diſcerning who lived in the croſs of Chriſt, and 'who did not, and exhorted all to live in the croſs of Chriſt, the 'righteous power of God, that ſlew all deceit and the deeds of the 'old man; agreeable to Chriſt's words, "He that will be my diſ-"ciple, muſt take up his croſs, and follow me." Was not here a 'judgment again in divine matters, of ſuch as walked in the divine 'power, and ſuch as did not?

'Chriſt ſets up a judgment in his ſeven churches, and commends 'them that did keep in his judgment, and had tried them which 'ſaid, "They were apoſtles," who might pretend they were ſent of 'God and Chriſt, and were not; but the Church of Chriſt had 'found them liars. Chriſt commended this judgment of the church 'of Epheſus, becauſe they had "not borne with them that were "evil, but had tried thoſe falſe apoſtles;" and Chriſt commends 'this church, for that they had "hated the deeds of the Nicolai-"tans, which he alſo hated;" and had not theſe Nicolaitans ſprung 'from Nicholas, one of the deacons? and were not thoſe become a 'ſect of Chriſtians? Though they might talk and preach of Chriſt, 'yet Chriſt hated their doctrine.

'Chriſt ſaith to the Church of Smyrna, "I know the blaſphemy "of them which ſay they are Jews, and are not; but are of the "ſynagogue of Satan." So the Church is to have a judgment upon 'theſe blaſphemers, and are to diſtinguiſh the Jews in the Spirit from 'ſuch as are not, but of the ſynagogue of Satan.

'The Church in Pergamos Chriſt had a "few things againſt, be-"cauſe" ſaid he, "thou haſt there them that hold the doctrines of "Balaam, &c. And alſo them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolai-"tans, which I hate." Theſe that held the doctrine of Balaam, 'and the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, were got into the church, and 'might look upon themſelves to be high Chriſtians, and take great 'liberty to go into Balaam's and Nicholas's doctrine, which was 'hated by Chriſt; but the church was to keep a ſpiritual and divine 'judgment upon the heads of all theſe.

'To the church of Thyatira, ſaith Chriſt, "I have a few things "againſt thee, becauſe thou ſuffereſt the woman Jezebel to teach, "which ſeduces my people," &c. Here was a ſuffering which 'ſhould have been a judgment by Chriſt's Spirit upon that Jezebel 'which was erred from his Spirit, and ſo from Chriſt. Such 'as theſe were high preachers. Is not the church to beware of ſuf-'fering ſuch now, leſt ſhe ſhould come under the reproof of Chriſt 'for not paſſing judgment againſt the falſe teacher and ſeducer?

'The church of Sardis "had a name to live, but was dead, and "her works were not found perfect before God." There is a judg-'ment to be ſet up in the church, to judge all imperfect works, and 'ſuch as would have a name, but not the nature; a name to live yet

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'are dead. The living of every member of the true church must 'be in Christ their life. These living members live to his name. 'This church had a few names, "who had not defiled their gar-"ments, that did walk in white;" but such as have a name to live 'but are dead, whilst they are in a dead state cannot walk in white, 'nor judge in divine matters. "Behold," said Christ, "I will "make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, "but are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and to "worship before my feet."

'And to the church of Laodicea, that was "neither hot nor cold, "but lukewarm; I would thou wert either hot or cold: I will "spew thee out of my mouth, because thou saidst thou wast rich, "and wanted nothing;" when they were "wretched, miserable, "poor, blind, and naked." This was for want of living in the 'power and Spirit of Christ. These could talk of high experiences 'and great enjoyments, but were naked, miserable, and blind; so 'lived not in the power, Spirit, light, and righteousness of Christ, 'by which they might be cloathed, and have the eternal riches. So 'the church of Christ had a spiritual judgment given to them that 'are faithful in his power and Spirit and light, to judge of temporal 'things and the things of this life, and to judge of eternal and di-'vine things and states, and of angels and wicked men, and such as 'go from truth, and of the states of election and reprobation, yea 'and of the devils who are out of truth; these being in Christ Jesus 'who is the First and Last, from whom they have the eternal judg-'ment, to judge eternal, spiritual, and divine things; and in this 'word of power and wisdom, by which all things were made and 'are upheld, to order all things to God's glory, and to judge of all 'things in righteousness.

'The apostle judged, and set up a judgment in the church, of gifts, 'of prophecies, of mysteries, of faith, and of giving the body to 'be burned, and of giving goods to the poor, and of speaking with 'tongues of men and angels; that yet, if they had not love, all this 'was nothing, but as a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. There-'fore they are to be tried by the fruits of the good Spirit, which is 'love. The apostle not only judged himself in divine matters, but 'set up a judgment in the church in those spiritual and divine mat-'ters.

'The apostle James judges of fountains and of fig-trees, of the 'wisdom below, and of the wisdom from above, and the fruits of 'both, James iii. And Paul judged in divine matters, when he said, "The Spirit spoke expressly, that in the latter times some should "depart from the faith," 1 Tim. iv. He judged in divine matters, 'when he judged all those teachers that were high-minded, and had 'got the form of godliness, but denied the power, and termed them 'like Jannes and Jambres, which withstood Moses coming out of 'outward Egypt, as these with their form of godliness oppose Christ 'and his power that brings them out of spiritual Egypt now. Was 'not he a judge here in divine matters, who judged such as had gotten 'the form of godliness but denied the divine power? 2 Tim. iii.

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'When the apoſtle Paul ſaid, "The prieſthood of Aaron was "changed, and the law was changed, and the commandment diſ-"annulled, that gave them their tythes," did not he judge in divine 'and ſpiritual matters? and was not the law ſpiritual, which ſerved 'till the Seed came?

'Did not the apoſtle judge in divine and ſpiritual matters in the 'ſixth of the Hebrews, where he ſaith, "Let us go on to perfec-"tion, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead "works, and of faith towards God, and of the doctrine of bap-"tiſms, and of laying on of hands, and of the reſurrection of the "dead, and of eternal judgment: and this will we do, if God per-"mit," &c. And does not the apoſtle judge here, "That it was "impoſſible for thoſe who were once enlightened, and taſted of "the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and "had taſted of the good word of God, and of the power of the "world to come, if they ſhall fall away, to renew them again unto "repentance, ſeeing they crucify to themſelves the Son of God "afreſh, and put him to open ſhame?" Heb. vi. Were not theſe 'ſpiritual, eternal, and divine matters and ſtates that the apoſtle 'judged of? and have not the ſaints the ſame judgment given unto 'them in the ſame Spirit? Have not the apoſtles and the church a 'ſpiritual judgment to judge of prophets, myſteries, faith, apo-'ſtles, angels, world, and the devil? And is not this judgment 'given them of God in divine matters, beſides the judgment given 'them in matters pertaining unto this life?

'And had not they judgment to diſcern the true goſpel from the 'falſe? and all ſuch as had a profeſſion of the form, and did not 'live in the power? and ſuch as ſpoke of the things of God, in 'the words that man's wiſdom did teach? which things of God 'were not to be ſpoken in the wiſdom which man's words taught; 'but in the word which the Holy Ghoſt taught. Therefore did 'not the apoſtle exhort to know the power, and that their faith 'might ſtand in the power of God? that the kingdom of God 'ſtands not in word, but in power?

'Had not all the prophets a judgment to judge in divine matters? 'as Jeremiah, when he judged the prophets; and Ezekiel judged 'all ſuch as came with a pretence of the Word of the Lord, uſing 'their tongues, and ſaying, "Thus ſaith the Lord; when the 'Lord never ſpoke unto them." Jeremiah xxiii. Ezekiel xiii. and 'many other places might be inſtanced. Did he not judge Hana-'niah, who propheſied falſely? and did not this Hananiah pretend 'to ſpeak the word of the Lord to the prieſts and people? Jere-'miah xxviii.

'Did not Iſaiah judge in divine matters, when he judged the 'watchmen and the ſhepherds? Iſa. lvi. Did not Micah judge in 'divine and ſpiritual matters, when he ſaid he "was full of the "power by the Spirit of the Lord, and of judgment?" Did not he 'judge of prieſts, prophets, and judges, though they would lean 'upon the Lord, and ſay, Is not the Lord amongſt us, and no evil 'can come unto us; yet did not he let them ſee their ſtates and con-'ditions, and "divided the precious from the vile?' Mich. iii. And

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'ſo the reſt of the prophets. You may ſee they judged for God 1685.
'in his divine matters, "who ſerved him, and who ſerved him Enfield.
"not; who lived in truth, and who not;" and likewiſe the apo-
'ſtles. And this divine, ſpiritual, heavenly judgment was given
'of God to his holy men and women.

'They that judge in God's divine matters, muſt live in his di-
'vine Spirit, power, and light now, as they did then; which ſpi-
'ritual and divine judgment Chriſt has given to his church, the
'living ſtones, and living members, that make up his ſpiritual
'houſhold; to try Jews, apoſtles, and prophets; to try faiths and
'religions, trees and fruits, ſhepherds and teachers, and to try ſpi-
'rits. So the living members have a living divine judgment in the
'church of Chriſt, which he is the Head of, the Judge of all.

'Nay, the church has a power given them, which is farther
'than a judgment: for what they "bind on earth, is bound in
"heaven by the power of God;" and what they "looſe on earth,
"is looſed in heaven by the power of God." This power has Chriſt
'given to his living members, the church.

'The 20th of the 12th 'month, 1685-6.' G. F. to friends.

I returned to London in the firſt month 1686, and ſet myſelf London.
with all diligence to look after friends ſufferings, which we had now ſome hopes of getting relief from. The ſeſſions came on in the ſecond month at Hicks's Hall, where many friends had appeals to be tried; with whom I was from day to day to adviſe, and ſee that no opportunity was ſlipt, nor advantage loſt: and they generally ſucceeded well. Soon after, the king was pleaſed, upon our often laying our ſufferings before him, 'To give order for the releaſing 'all that were impriſoned for conſcience-ſake; which were in his 'power to diſcharge.' Whereby the priſon-doors were opened, and many hundreds of friends, ſome of whom had been long Yearly meeting.
in priſon, were ſet at liberty. Some of them, who had many years been reſtrained in bonds, came up to the yearly meeting, which was in the third month this year. This cauſed great joy to friends, to ſee our ancient, faithful brethren again at liberty in the Lord's work, after their long confinement. And indeed a precious meeting we had; the refreſhing preſence of the Lord appearing plentifully with us and amongſt us. After the meeting I was moved to write a few lines, to be ſent amongſt friends; the tenor whereof was thus:

'Dear friends,

'MY love is to you all in the holy Seed Chriſt Jeſus, that bruiſes 'the ſerpent's head, and deſtroys the devil and his works; 'and who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him. Let 'every one's faith ſtand in him, and in his power, who is the author 'and finiſher of your faith. To you who have been partakers of his 'power, and are ſenſible of it in this day of his power, which is over 'darkneſs and its power: by whoſe power the hearts of the king and

'rulers

1686. London. Yearly meeting.

'rulers have been opened; and by which your outward priſon-doors have been ſet open for your liberty. My deſires are, that all may be preſerved in humility and thankfulneſs, in the ſenſe of the mercies of the Lord; and live in the peaceable truth that is over all: that ye may anſwer God's grace, and his light and Spirit in all; in a righteous, godly life and converſation. Let none be lifted up by their outward liberty, neither let any be caſt down by ſuffering for Chriſt's ſake; but all live in the ſeed (which is as wheat) which is not ſhaken nor blown away by the winds and ſtorms, as the chaff is. Which Seed of life none below can make higher or lower: for the children of the Seed are the children of the everlaſting, unchangeable kingdom of Chriſt and God. In Chriſt Jeſus, whom God hath given you for a ſanctuary, God Almighty keep you, in whom ye have life everlaſting, and wiſdom from above, which is pure, peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits; that all may be exerciſed in it, and may practiſe this wiſdom in holy lives and converſations; that this wiſdom may be juſtified of all her children, and they exerciſed and preſerved in it in this day of the power of Chriſt; in which all his people are made a willing people, to ſerve and worſhip God in righteouſneſs and holineſs, in the Spirit and truth.

'Let none abuſe the power of the Lord, nor grieve his Spirit, by which you are ſealed and kept to the day of ſalvation and redemption; but always exerciſe your ſelves to have a "good conſcience void of offence towards God and towards all men;" being exerciſed in holineſs, godlineſs, and righteouſneſs, in the truth, and in the love of it. All ſtudy to be approved unto God in innocency, virtue, ſimplicity, and faithfulneſs, labouring and ſtudying to be quiet in the will of God. "And whatſoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jeſus, giving thanks to God the Father by him:" That he, who is over all, may have the praiſe for all his mercies and bleſſings, with which he hath refreſhed his people, and by his eternal arm and power hath kept and preſerved them to this day. Glory to his name over all for ever, Amen! Chriſt has called you by his grace into one body, to him the holy head; therefore live in charity, and in the love of God, which is the bond of perfectneſs in his body; which love edifies the body of Chriſt: which body and all its members are knit together, and increaſed with the increaſe of God, from whom they receive nouriſhment. For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body, and have been made all to drink into one Spirit; in which Spirit the body and all its members have fellowſhip with Chriſt the head, and one with another. The unity of this holy Spirit is the bond of peace of all the living members of Chriſt Jeſus, of which he is the ſpiritual head, rock, and foundation. In the midſt of his church of living members Chriſt exerciſes his ſpiritual prophetical office, to open to them the myſteries of his kingdom. He is a ſpiritual biſhop to overſee them, that they do not go aſtray from the living God that made them; a ſhepherd that feeds them with bread and water of life from heaven, and none is able to pluck his ſheep out of his hands. He is a prieſt

'that

'that died for them, ſanctifieth them, and preſents them to God, 1686.
'who ruleth in their hearts by the divine faith, which he is the au- London
'thor and finiſher of. His living members praiſe God through Jeſus yearly Meet-
'Chriſt, in whom they have life and ſalvation, who reconciles them ing.
'to God, that they can ſay they have "peace with God through
"Jeſus Chriſt;" and ſo praiſe God through him that was dead and
'is alive, reigns over all, and liveth for evermore, bleſſed for ever,
'Hallelujah, Amen!

'Greet one another with an holy kiſs of charity. Love or charity
'beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth
'all things. It envieth not, vaunteth not itſelf, nor is puffed up,
'nor doth it behave itſelf unſeemly. It rejoices not in iniquity, but
'rejoices in the truth. Charity is not eaſily provoked, and thinks no
'evil, but ſuffereth long and is kind. Charity never faileth. I ſay,
'greet one another with this holy kiſs of charity, and peace be with
'you all that are in Chriſt Jeſus, your life and ſalvation.

'G. F.'

'The 30th of the 3d
'month, 1686.'

I remained moſt part of this year in London, ſave that ſometimes I Bethnal-
got to Bethnal-green for a night or two, ſometimes as far as Enfield green.
and thereabouts amongſt friends, and once or twice to Chiſwick, Enfield.
where an antient friend had ſet up a ſchool for the educating of Chiſwick.
friends children; in all which places I found ſervice for the Lord.
At London I ſpent my time amongſt friends, either in publick meet- London.
ings, as the Lord drew me, or viſiting ſuch as were not well, and in
looking after the ſufferings of friends. For though many were re-
leaſed out of priſon, yet ſome remained priſoners ſtill for tythes, &c.
and ſufferings of ſeveral ſorts lay heavy on friends in many places.
Yet inaſmuch as many who had been priſoners were now ſet at li-
berty, I felt a concern upon me that none might look too much at
man, but might eye the Lord therein, from whom deliverance comes.
Wherefore I wrote an epiſtle to friends, as followeth:

'Friends,

'THE Lord by his eternal power hath diſpoſed the heart
'of the king to open the priſon-doors, by which about
'fifteen or ſixteen hundred are ſet at liberty, and hath given a check
'to the informers, ſo that in many places our meetings are pretty
'quiet. My deſires are, that both liberty and ſufferings may be
'ſanctified to his people, that friends may prize the mercies of the
'Lord in all things, and to him be thankful, who ſtilleth the raging
'waves of the ſea, allayeth the ſtorms and tempeſts, and maketh
'a calm. Therefore it is good to truſt in the Lord, and caſt your
'care upon him who careth for you. For when ye were in gaols
'and priſons the Lord did by his eternal arm and power uphold you,
'and ſanctified them to you; unto ſome he made them as a ſanctuary,
'and tried his people as in a furnace of affliction, both in priſons
'and ſpoiling of goods. In all this the Lord was with his people,
'and taught them to know that "the earth is the Lord's, and the

1686. London. " fulneſs thereof;" and that he was in all places, " who crowneth " the year with his goodneſs," Pſal. lxv. Therefore let all God's ' people be diligent, and careful to keep the camp of God holy, ' pure, and clean, and to ſerve God and Chriſt, and one another in ' the glorious, peaceable goſpel of life and ſalvation; which glory ' ſhines over God's camp, and his great Prophet, Biſhop, and Shep- ' herd is among, or in the midſt of them, exerciſing his heavenly ' offices in them; ſo that you his people may rejoice in Chriſt Jeſus, ' through whom you have peace with God. For he that deſtroyeth ' the devil and his works, and bruiſes the ſerpent's head, is all God's ' peoples heavenly foundation and rock to build upon; which was ' the holy prophets and apoſtles rock in days paſt, and is now the ' rock of our age; which rock, the foundation of God, ſtandeth ' ſure. Upon this the " Lord God eſtabliſh all his people," Amen.

' G. F.'

' London, the 25th of the
' 7th month, 1686.'

Divers other epiſtles and papers I wrote this year, whereof one was by way of exhortation to ' friends to keep in unity in the truth, in ' which there is no diviſion nor ſeparation:' thus,

' Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

' IN whom ye have all peace and life, in whom there is no divi- ' ſion, ſchiſm, rent, ſtrife, nor ſeparation: for Chriſt is not di- ' vided, and there can be no ſeparation in the truth, nor in the light, ' grace, faith, and Holy Ghoſt, but unity, fellowſhip, and com- ' munion. For the devil was the firſt that went out of the truth, ' ſeparated from it, and tempted man and woman to diſobey God, ' d to go from the truth into a falſe liberty, to do that which God forbad. So it is the ſerpent now that leads men and women ' into a falſe liberty, even the God of the world, from which man and woman muſt be ſeparated by the truth, that Chriſt the truth may make them free, and then they are free indeed. Then they ' are to ſtand faſt in that liberty in which Chriſt hath made them ' free, and in him there is no diviſion, ſchiſm, rent, nor ſeparation; ' but peace, life, and reconciliation to God and to one another. So ' in Chriſt male and female are all one; for whether they be male or ' female, Jew or Gentile, bond or free, they are all one in Chriſt. And ' there can be no ſchiſm, rent, or diviſion in him, nor in the worſhip ' of God in his holy Spirit and truth, nor in the pure and undefiled ' religion that keeps from the ſpots of the world, nor in the love of ' God that beareth and endureth all things, nor in the word of God's ' grace, for it is pure and endureth for ever. Many, you ſee, have ' loſt the word of patience, and the word of wiſdom, that is pure, ' peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be intreated. Then they run into ' the wiſdom that is below, that is " earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh," ' and very uneaſy to be intreated. They go from the love of God ' that beareth all things, endureth all things, thinks no evil, and ' doth not behave itſelf unſeemly; then they cannot bear, but grow ' brittle, are eaſily provoked, run into unſeemly things, and are in

' that,

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that, that vaunteth itſelf, are puffed up, raſh, heady, high-minded, ‘ and fierce, and become as ſounding braſs or a tinkling cymbal; but ‘ this is contrary to the nature of the love of God. Therefore, dear ‘ friends and brethren, dwell in the love of God; for thoſe who ‘ dwell in love dwell in God, and God in them. Keep in the word ‘ of wiſdom, that is gentle, pure, and peaceable, and in the word of ‘ patience that endureth and beareth all things; which word of pa- ‘ tience the devil, and the world, and all his inſtruments can never ‘ wear out: it will wear them all out; for it was before they were, ‘ and will be when they are gone, the pure, holy word of God, by ‘ which all God's children are born again, and feed on the milk ‘ thereof, and live and grow by it. My deſires are, that ye may all ‘ be of one heart, mind, ſoul, and ſpirit in Chriſt Jeſus, Amen.

‘ G. F.'

Soon after this, finding thoſe apoſtates whom the enemy had drawn into diviſion and ſeparation from friends continued their clamour and oppoſition againſt our monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, it came upon me to write another ſhort epiſtle to friends to put them in mind of the ‘ evidence and ſeal they had received in themſelves by ‘ the Spirit of the Lord, that thoſe meetings were of the Lord and ‘ accepted by him,' that they might not be ſhaken by the adver- ſaries. I wrote as followeth:

‘ My dear friends in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt!

‘ ALL you that are gathered in his holy name know that your ‘ meetings for worſhip, your quarterly meetings, monthly meet- ‘ ings, womens meetings, and yearly meetings, are ſet up by the ‘ power and Spirit of the Lord God, and witneſſed by his Spirit and ‘ power in your hearts; and by the Spirit and power of the Lord ‘ God they are eſtabliſhed to you, and in the power and Spirit of the ‘ Lord God you are eſtabliſhed in them. The Lord God hath with ‘ his Spirit ſealed to you that your meetings are of his ordering and ‘ gathering, and he hath owned them by honouring you with his ‘ bleſſed preſence in them; and you have had great experience of his ‘ furniſhing you with wiſdom, life, and power, and heavenly riches ‘ from his treaſure and fountain, by which many thanks and praiſes ‘ have been returned in your meetings to his holy, glorious name. ‘ He hath ſealed your meetings by his Spirit to you, and that your ‘ gathering together hath been by the Lord, to Chriſt his Son, and ‘ in his name, and not by man. So the Lord hath the glory and ‘ praiſe of them and in them, who hath upheld you and them by ‘ the arm of his power againſt all oppoſers and backſliders and their ‘ ſlanderous books and tongues. For the Lord's power and ſeed ‘ doth reign over them all, in which he doth preſerve his ſons and ‘ daughters to his glory, by his eternal arm and power, in his work ‘ and ſervice, as a willing people in the day of his power, without ‘ being weary or fainting, but ſtrong in the Lord, and valiant for his ‘ glorious name and precious truth, and his pure religion; that ye

‘ may

1686. London. 'may ſerve the Lord in Chriſt Jeſus, your rock and foundation, in 'your age and generation, Amen.

'G. F.'

'London, the 3d of the
'11th month, 1686-7.'

A little after it came upon me to write ſomething concerning the ſtate of the church and the true members thereof; as followeth:

'Concerning the church of Chriſt being cloathed with the ſun and 'having the moon under her feet.

'THEY are living members, living ſtones, built up a ſpiritual 'houſhold, the children of the promiſe, and of the ſeed and 'fleſh of Chriſt; as the apoſtle ſaith, "fleſh of his fleſh, and bone "of his bone." They are the good ſeed, the children of the ever-'laſting kingdom written in heaven, who have put on the Lord Jeſus 'Chriſt. They ſit together in heavenly places in Chriſt, are cloathed 'with the Sun of righteouſneſs, Chriſt Jeſus, and have the moon 'under their feet, Revel. xii. So all changeable things that are in 'the world, all changeable religions, changeable worſhips, change-'able ways, fellowſhips, churches, and teachers in the world, are as 'the moon; for the moon changes, but the ſun doth not change. 'The Sun of righteouſneſs never changeth, or ſets, nor goes down; 'but all the ways, religions, worſhips, fellowſhips of the world, 'and the teachers thereof, change like the moon. But the true 'church, which Chriſt is the head of, which is in God the Father, 'and is called "the pillar and ground of truth," whoſe converſation 'is in heaven; this church is cloathed with the Sun, Chriſt Jeſus 'her head, who doth not change, and hath all changeable things 'under her feet. Theſe are the living members, born again of the 'immortal ſeed by the word of God, who feed upon the immortal milk, 'and live and grow by it. Such are the new creatures in Chriſt Jeſus, 'who makes all things new, and ſees the old things paſs away. His 'church, his members, which are cloathed with the ſun, their wor-'ſhip is in the Spirit and in the truth, which doth not change; which 'truth the devil, the foul, unclean ſpirit, is out of, and cannot get 'into this worſhip in Spirit and truth. Their religion is pure and 'undefiled before God, that keeps from the ſpots of the world, and 'their way is the new and living way, Chriſt Jeſus. So the church 'of Chriſt, that is cloathed with the Sun, that hath the moon and all 'changeable religions and ways under her feet, hath an unchange-'able worſhip, religion, and way, an unchangeable rock and foun-'dation, Chriſt Jeſus, an unchangeable high prieſt, and ſo are chil-'dren of the New Teſtament, and in the everlaſting covenant of 'light and life.

'All that profeſs the ſcriptures both of the New and Old Teſta-'ment, and are not in Chriſt Jeſus, the apoſtle tells them they are "reprobates if Chriſt be not in them." Theſe that are not in Chriſt 'cannot be cloathed with Chriſt, the Sun of righteouſneſs, that

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'never changes. They are under the changeable moon in the world, 'in the changeable things, the changeable religions, ways, wor-'ſhips, teachers, rocks, and foundations. But Chriſt, the Son of 'God and Sun of righteouſneſs, doth not change; in whom his 'people are gathered, and ſit together in heavenly places in him, 'cloathed with Chriſt Jeſus, the Sun, who is the mountain that 'filleth the whole earth with his divine power and light. So all his 'people ſee him and feel him both by ſea and land. He is in all 'places of the earth felt and ſeen of all his. He ſaith to the out-'ward profeſſors, the Jews, "I am from above, ye are from be-"low, ye are of this world." So their religions, worſhips, ways, 'teachers, faiths, beliefs, and creeds are made by men, and are be-'low, of this world that changeth like the moon. You may ſee their 'religions, ways, worſhips, and teachers, are all changeable like the 'moon; but Chriſt, the Sun, with which the church is cloathed, 'doth not change, nor his church; for they are ſpiritually minded, 'and their way, worſhip, and religion is ſpiritual, from Chriſt, who 'is from above and not of this world. Chriſt hath redeemed you 'from this world, their changeable rudiments and elements, and 'old things, and their changeable teachers, and from their change-'able faiths and beliefs. For Chriſt is the Author and Finiſher of 'his church's faith, who ſaith, "Believe in the Light, that ye may "become children of the Light." And it is given them not only to 'believe, but to ſuffer for his name. So this faith and belief is above 'all faiths and beliefs, which change like the moon. God's people 'are an holy nation, a peculiar people, a ſpiritual houſhold, and 'royal prieſthood, offering up ſpiritual ſacrifice to God by Jeſus 'Chriſt, and are zealous of righteouſneſs, godly, good works, and 'their zeal is for that which is of God againſt the evil which is not 'of God. Chriſt took upon him the ſeed of Abraham, he doth not 'ſay the corrupt ſeed of the Gentiles; ſo according to the fleſh he 'was of the holy ſeed of Abraham and David, and his holy body and 'blood was an offering and a ſacrifice for the ſins of the whole world, 'as a lamb without blemiſh, whoſe fleſh ſaw no corruption. By the 'one offering of himſelf in the New Teſtament or New Covenant, 'he has put an end to all the offerings and ſacrifices amongſt the 'Jews in the Old Teſtament. Chriſt, the holy Seed, was cruci-'fied, dead, and buried according to the fleſh, and raiſed again the 'third day, and his fleſh ſaw no corruption. Though he was cruci-'fied in the fleſh, yet quickened again by the Spirit and is alive, and 'liveth for evermore, and hath all power in heaven and earth given 'to him, and reigneth over all, and is the One Mediator between 'God and man, even the Man Chriſt Jeſus. Chriſt ſaid, "He "gave his fleſh for the life of the world;" and the apoſtle ſaith, "his fleſh ſaw no corruption;" ſo that which ſaw no corruption he 'gave for the life of the corrupt world to bring them out of cor-'ruption. Chriſt ſaid again, "He that eateth my fleſh and drink-"eth my blood hath eternal life; for my fleſh is meat indeed, and "my blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my fleſh, and drink-"eth my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." He that eats not 'his fleſh and drinks not his blood, which is the life of the fleſh,

1686. London. ‘ hath not eternal life. As the apoſtle ſaith, “ All died in Adam;” ‘ then all are dead. Now all coming ſpiritually to eat the fleſh of ‘ Chriſt, the ſecond Adam, and drink his blood, his blood and fleſh ‘ gives all the dead in Adam life, and quickens them out of their ‘ ſins and treſpaſſes in which they were dead; ſo they come to ſit to- ‘ gether in the heavenly places in Chriſt Jeſus, ard are living mem- ‘ bers of the church of Chriſt that he is the head of, and are cloathed ‘ with the Sun of righteouſneſs, the Son of God, that never ‘ changes, and have the changeable moon under their feet, and all ‘ changeable worldly things, inventions, and works of men's hands. ‘ Theſe ſee the people how they change from one worſhip to an- ‘ other, from one religion to another, from one way to another, and ‘ one church to another, yet their hearts are not changed. The ‘ letter of the ſcripture is read by the Chriſtians like the Jews, but ‘ the myſtery is hid; they have the ſheep's cloathing, the outſide, ‘ but are inwardly ravened from the Spirit, which ſhould bring them ‘ into the Lamb's and Sheep's nature. The ſcripture ſaith, “ All “ the uncircumciſed muſt go down into the pit;” therefore all muſt ‘ be circumciſed with the Spirit of God, which puts off the body of ‘ death and ſins of the fleſh, that came into man and woman by their ‘ diſobedience and tranſgreſſing God's commands. I ſay, all muſt ‘ be circumciſed with the Spirit, which puts off the body of death ‘ and ſins of the fleſh, before they come up into Chriſt, their Reſt, ‘ that never fell, and be cloathed with him the Sun of righteouſneſs.

‘ G. F.’

Kingſton. Towards the latter end of this year I went to my ſon Rouſe's near Kingſton. While I was there I wrote a paper concerning the ‘ falling away,’ foretold by the apoſtle Paul, 2 Theſſ. ii. 3. as fol- loweth:

‘ THE apoſtle ſaith that there muſt be a “ falling away ” firſt ‘ before the wicked one, and man of ſin, the ſon of perdition, ‘ be revealed, which betrayeth Chriſt within, as the ſon of perdition ‘ betrayed Chriſt without; and they that betray Chriſt within cru- ‘ cify to themſelves Chriſt afreſh, and put him to open ſhame. Be- ‘ fore the apoſtles deceaſed, this man of ſin and ſon of perdition was ‘ revealed; for they ſaw antichriſt come, the falſe prophets, falſe ‘ apoſtles, and deceivers come, having a form of godlineſs, but de- ‘ nying the power thereof. They ſaw the wolves dreſſed in the ‘ ſheep's cloathing, and ſuch as went in Cain's, Corah's, and Ba- ‘ laam's way, and Jezebel's, and the whore of Babylon, the whore ‘ of confuſion, the mother of harlots, and ſuch as were enemies to ‘ the croſs of Chriſt, that ſerved not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt but their ‘ own bellies. Theſe Chriſt ſaw ſhould come, and ſaid, “ If it were “ poſſible they ſhould deceive the elect,” and commanded his fol- ‘ lowers not to go after them. The apoſtle ſaid, “ Turn away from “ ſuch,” and Chriſt and his apoſtles warned the church of Chriſt of ‘ ſuch. In this day of Chriſt and his goſpel, after the long night ‘ of apoſtaſy from the light, grace, truth, life, and Spirit of Chriſt

‘ Jeſus,

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'Jeſus, the ſon of perdition, the wicked one, the man of ſin is re-
'vealed again, and the inwardly ravening wolves in ſheep's cloathing,
'and the ſpirit of Cain, Corah, Balaam, Jezebel, the antichriſts, falſe
'prophets, and falſe apoſtles, and ſuch as are enemies to the croſs of
'Chriſt, who ſerve not the Lord Jeſus, but their own bellies, and
'crucify Chriſt to themſelves, and put him to open ſhame. This
'ſpirit have we ſeen in this goſpel-day of Chriſt; but Chriſt will
'conſume them with the Spirit of his mouth, and deſtroy them with
'the brightneſs of his coming. But God's people, whom he hath
'choſen unto ſalvation in Chriſt from the beginning, through the
'ſanctification of the Spirit and the belief of the truth, ſtand ſted-
'faſt in Chriſt Jeſus, and are thankful to God by and through his
'Son, their rock and ſalvation, their happineſs, and eternal in-
'heritance.

'The apoſtle ſaith, "Ye were as ſheep going aſtray, but are
"now returned to the Shepherd and Biſhop of your Souls." So
'when people are returned to Chriſt, their Shepherd, they know his
'voice and follow him, and are returned to the Biſhop of their
'Souls; then they believe in him and receive wiſdom and under-
'ſtanding from him who is from above, heavenly and ſpiritual.
'Then they act like ſpiritual holy men and women, and come to
'be members of the church of Chriſt. Then a ſpiritual care cometh
'upon the elders in Chriſt, that all the members walk in Chriſt, in
'his light, grace, Spirit, and truth, that they may adorn the con-
'feſſion and profeſſion of Chriſt, and ſee that all walk in the order of
'the holy Spirit, and the everlaſting goſpel of peace, life, and ſal-
'vation. This order keeps out of confuſion; for the goſpel of
'peace, the power of God, was before confuſion was. All the heirs
'of the goſpel are heirs of its order, and are in this goſpel which
'brings life and immortality to light in them, by which all men and
'women may ſee their work and ſervice in it, to look after the poor
'widows and fatherleſs, to ſee that nothing be lacking, and that all
'honour the Lord in their lives and converſations.

'When the whole houſe of Iſrael were in their graves and ſe-
'pulchres, and were called "the ſcattered, dry bones," yet they
'could ſpeak, and ſay "their bones were dry, their hope was loſt,
"or they were without hope, and they were cut off." They were
'alive outwardly, and could ſpeak outwardly. So that which is
'called Chriſtendom may very well be called "the ſcattered dry
"bones," and be ſaid to be in their graves and ſepulchres, dead from
'the heavenly breath of life, the Spirit and word of life, that gather-
'eth to God. Though they can ſpeak, and are alive outwardly, yet
'they remain in the congregations or churches of the dead, that want
'the virtue of life. For the Jews, whom God poured his Spirit
'upon and gave them his law, when they rebelled againſt the Spirit
'of God, and turned from God and his law, they came to be dry
'ſcattered bones, and were turned into their graves and ſepulchres.
'So Chriſtendom that is turned from the grace, truth, and light of
'Chriſt, and the Spirit that God poureth upon all fleſh, they are be-
'come the ſcattered dry bones, are in their graves and ſepulchres, and

'are

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'are the congregations or churches of the dead, though they can 'ſpeak and are alive outwardly.

'Chriſt ſaith, "I am come that they might have life, and that "they might have it more abundantly. He gave his fleſh for the "life of the world." And he ſaith, "I am the reſurrection and the "life. I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto "the Father but by me." Chriſt is the quickening Spirit. All being 'dead in Adam are to be quickened and made alive by Chriſt, the 'ſecond Adam. And when they are quickened and made alive by 'him, they meet together in the name of Jeſus Chriſt their Saviour, 'who died for their ſins and is riſen for their juſtification, and ſo 'was dead and is alive, and liveth for evermore. All whom 'he hath quickened and made alive (even all the living) meet in the 'name of Jeſus who is alive, and he, their living Prophet, Shepherd, 'and Biſhop is in the midſt of them, and is their living Rock and 'Foundation, and a living Mediator between them and the living 'God. So the living praiſe the living God through Jeſus Chriſt, 'through whom they have peace with God. All the living have reſt 'in Chriſt their life, he is their ſanctification, their righteouſneſs, their 'treaſure of wiſdom, knowledge, and underſtanding, which is ſpiritual 'and heavenly. He is the ſpiritual tree and root, which all the believers 'in the light, the life in Chriſt, that paſs from the death in Adam to 'the life in Chriſt, and overcome the world, and are born of God, 'are grafted into Chriſt, the heavenly tree, which beareth all 'the ſpiritual branches or grafts. Theſe meet in his name, are ga-'thered in him, and ſit together in heavenly places in Chriſt Jeſus, their 'Life, who hath quickened and made them alive. So all the living 'worſhip the living God in his holy Spirit and truth, in which they 'live and walk. Into this worſhip the foul, unclean ſpirit, the 'devil, cannot get; for the holy Spirit and truth is over him, and he 'is out of it. This is the ſtanding worſhip which Chriſt ſet up in 'his new covenant. And they that are quickened by Chriſt are the 'living ſtones, living members, and ſpiritual houſhold and church, 'or congregation of Chriſt, who is the living head and huſband. 'They that are made alive by Chriſt are a living church, have a 'living head, and are come from the congregations or churches of 'the dead in Adam, where death and deſtruction talk of God, and 'of his prophets and apoſtles, in their wiſdom that is below, earthly, 'and deviliſh, in the knowledge that is brutiſh, and in the under-'ſtanding that comes to naught. For what they know is natural, 'by their natural tongues, arts, and ſciences, in which they corrupt 'themſelves. This is the ſtate of the dead in Adam; but the quick-'ened, that are made alive by Chriſt, diſcern between the living and 'the dead.

'G. F.

'Kingſton upon Thames, the
'12th month, 1686-7.'

While

While I was at Kingſton, I wrote another paper, ſhewing, " That " the Lord in all ages called the righteous from amongſt the wicked, " before he deſtroyed them;" after this manner: 1686. Kingſton.

' NOAH and his family were called into the ark, before the old ' world was deſtroyed with the flood. And all the faithful ' generation, that lived before, were taken away, and died in the ' faith, before that flood of deſtruction came upon the wicked old ' world.

' The Lord did call Lot out of Sodom, before he did deſtroy and ' conſume it, and the wicked there.

' Chriſt ſaid; " It cannot be, that a prophet periſh out of Jeruſa- " lem;" and he ſaid; " O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, which killeſt the " prophets, and ſtoneſt them that are ſent unto thee, how often would " I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her " brood under her wings! but ye would not," Luke xiii. 33, 34. ' And he ſaid to the Jews; " Therefore alſo ſaid the wiſdom of God, " I will ſend them prophets and apoſtles, and ſome of them they " ſhall ſlay and perſecute; that the blood of all the prophets, which " was ſhed from the foundation of the world, may be required of " this generation; from the blood of Abel, unto the blood of Za- " charias, which periſhed between the altar and the temple. Verily, " I ſay unto you, it ſhall be required of this generation," Luke xi. ' 49, 50, 51. And he ſaid to the Jews, " Behold, your houſes ſhall " be left unto you deſolate," Matth. xxiii. 34, &c. Chriſt told his ' diſciples, that the temple at Jeruſalem ſhould be thrown down, ' and there ſhould not be one ſtone left upon another, that ſhould ' not be thrown down, Matth. xxiv. 2. Alſo, that he muſt go to ' Jeruſalem, and " ſuffer many things of the Jews, elders, and chief " prieſts, and be killed, and raiſed again the third day," Matth. xvi. ' 21. And Chriſt ſaid, " When ye ſhall ſee Jeruſalem compaſſed " with armies, then know, the deſolation thereof is nigh." He fore- ' told, that the Jews ſhould fall by the edge of the ſword, and ſhould ' be led away " captive into all nations; and Jeruſalem ſhould be " trodden down of the Gentiles," Luke xxi. 20. 24. Here you may ' ſee how Jeruſalem was often warned by Chriſt, and how often ' he would have " gathered them, but they would not," before they ' were ſcattered over or into all nations, their houſes left deſolate, and ' their temple and Jeruſalem beſieged with armies, deſtroyed, and ' thrown down. And though the diſciples and apoſtles of Chriſt ' did meet, with the elders and church at Jeruſalem, after Chriſt ' was riſen, yet Euſebius reporteth in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ' that the Chriſtians at Jeruſalem had a viſion, or a revelation to ' depart out of Jeruſalem. Being fore-warned alſo by Chriſt, that " when they ſhould ſee Jeruſalem compaſſed with armies, its deſo- " lation was nigh; and that the temple ſhould be thrown down, " and not one ſtone left upon another;" it is ſaid, the Chriſtians ' did depart out of bloody Jeruſalem, before it and the temple were ' deſtroyed by Titus the emperor, who beſieged it with his armies. ' He was of the Gentiles, and deſtroyed the temple and Jeruſalem, ' as Chriſt had fore-ſpoken to his diſciples, becauſe of the wickedneſs

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'of the Jews, and the innocent blood that they had ſhed in it. So 'the Lord called his people out of bloody Jeruſalem, before he de-'ſtroyed it. And it is ſaid, Titus deſtroyed the temple and Jeru-'ſalem about two-and-forty years after Chriſt was crucified and 'riſen again, and that with ſo great a deſtruction, that the Jews ne-'ver did build again the city of Jeruſalem, nor the temple (as So-'dom was never built again, nor the cities of the old world). But 'the Jews for above theſe thouſand years have been, and are a ſcat-'tered people in all nations to this day; and Chriſt (whom they 'crucified) and his doctrine is preached, and ſet over them: and 'the Gentiles, whom they hated, have received and do receive 'him and his doctrine, and praiſe God for it through Jeſus Chriſt, 'Amen.

'God called his people out of Egypt, after he had poured out his 'ten plagues upon the Egyptians; when he had deſtroyed the firſt-'born of Egypt, then the Lord brought his people out of Egypt. 'And after the Lord had clearly brought his people out, he de-'ſtroyed Pharaoh, with all his hoſts and chariots.

'John ſaith, he heard a voice, ſaying; "Come out of her, my "people (to wit, out of Bablyon, the falſe church) that ye be not "partakers of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her plagues: for "her ſins have reached to heaven, and God hath remembered her "iniquities," Rev. xviii. 4, 5. Here ye may ſee, that God did call 'his people out of ſpiritual Babylon before he deſtroyed her, and 'caſt her down, to be utterly burnt with fire, ver. 8, 9, and 21.

'Was not Nebuchadnezzar's empire thrown down and ended by 'Cyrus and Darius, who were of the ſeed of the Medes, before 'Cyrus and Darius gave forth their proclamation for all the Jews to 'go into their own land out of Babylon's captivity? And was there 'not a prophecy of Cyrus, "That he ſhould ſubdue nations, and "that the Lord would looſe the loins of kings before him, and "break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut in ſunder the bars of "iron, and open the two-leaved gates; and that the gates ſhould not "be ſhut?" And the Lord ſaid; "This is for Jacob, my ſervant's "ſake, and for Iſrael mine elect," Iſa. xlv. Was not this fulfilled in 'Cyrus's and Darius's time? For did not then the Jews go out of 'captivity into their own land? Ezra i. 2, 3, 4. and chap. vi. 1. and '12. and Iſa. xliv. 28. and xlv. 13. Was not this prophecy of Iſaiah 'fulfilled, when the children of Iſrael came out of Babylon? Were 'not the Aſſyrians, that carried away the ten tribes, ſubdued? and 'the Babylonians, that carried away the two tribes, were they not 'ſubdued in the days of Cyrus and Darius, in whoſe days the "loins of kings were looſed, and the two-leaved gates of braſs and 'iron were opened?" and had not Iſrael and Jacob their liberty by 'them in their days, to go into their own Land?

'And here in England, was it not obſerved, that moſt of the ho-'neſt and ſober people were turned out of the army, and their 'commiſſions, offices, and places taken from them, becauſe they 'could not join with others in their cruelty and perſecuting? and 'others laid down their commiſſions themſelves, and came out from 'amongſt thoſe perſecutors, before they were overthrown, and

'brought

'brought to confuſion. All that are wiſe, ſee theſe things, and learn 1686.
'by ſuch examples and way-marks to ſhun ſuch bogs. The righ- Kingſton.
'teous are ſafe, that keep in Chriſt, their everlaſting ſanctuary, that
'changes not; in whom they have reſt and peace with God, Amen.
G. F.

'Kingſton, the 29th of the
'12th Month, 1686-7.'

While I was at Kingſton, one day meditating on the things of God, ſome particular obſervations aroſe in my mind concerning the firſt, and the 'ſecond or laſt Adam. As that——

'The firſt man Adam was made on the ſixth day of the week; 'and Chriſt, the ſecond Adam, was crucified on the ſixth day of 'the Week.

'The firſt Adam was betrayed by the ſerpent in the garden of 'Eden: Chriſt our Saviour, the ſecond Adam, was betrayed by Ju-'das in a garden near Jeruſalem.

'Chriſt aroſe from the dead on the firſt-day of the week; and 'they that do believe on him are entered into Chriſt their reſt: 'the chriſtians meet together to worſhip God on the firſt day of the 'week; and on the firſt day of the week it was, that God ſaid, "Let there be light, and there was light." The Jews reſt was on 'the ſeventh day of the week, which was given to them as a ſign 'of the eternal reſt of the Lord, ſanctifying them, after they came 'out of the land of Egypt: for before that time the Lord had not 'given to man and woman his outward Sabbath-day to keep, nei-'ther in the old world, nor after in Abraham's time, nor in Iſaac's, 'nor in Jacob's time; until the Jews came out of Egypt to Mount 'Sinai in the wilderneſs. Then the Lord gave the law, and his 'Sabbath, as a ſign in the old covenant, of Chriſt the eternal reſt in 'the new covenant; and they that believe do enter into Chriſt 'their reſt.

'Adam, the firſt man, is the root from whence we all ſpring na-'turally: and Chriſt is called the laſt or ſecond Adam, becauſe he 'is the beginning and root of all that are ſpiritual.

'The firſt Adam was made a living ſoul: and Chriſt the laſt 'Adam, is a quickening ſpirit.

'Chriſt by the grace of God taſted death for every man, that they 'might all come into favour with God; and that every tongue 'ſhould confeſs, that "Jeſus Chriſt is Lord, to the glory of God the "Father."

I wrote alſo a paper there, concerning the two ſeeds, diſtinguiſhing the ſeed wherein the bleſſing is received, from the ſeed which the curſe remains upon. Of which the following is a copy:

'THE Lord ſaid to Abraham, "In thy ſeed ſhall all the nations "of the earth be bleſſed," Gen. xxii. 18. "And thy ſeed ſhall "be as the ſtars of heaven, and as the ſand which is upon the ſea-"ſhore, and as the duſt of the earth, that cannot be numbered," 'chap. xiii. 16. and xv. 5. and xxii. 17. In this ſeed all nations and

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'families of the earth are bleſſed; but not in the ſeed of evil-doers 'and of falſhood, nor in the ſeed of adultery and the whore, Iſa. i. '4. and lvii. 3, 4. "For the ſeed of the wicked ſhall be cut off, "ſaith the Lord," Pſal. xxxvii. 28. The Lord ſaid to David, "That "his ſeed ſhould endure for ever," Pſal. lxxxix. 36. And again it is "ſaid, Pſal. cii. 28. "The children of thy ſervants ſhall continue, "and their ſeed ſhall be eſtabliſhed before thee." Here is a diſtinc-'tion betwixt the two ſeeds: for the ſeed of evil-doers, of the adul-'terer, whore, and of the wicked ſhall be cut off; ſo it is not bleſ-'ſed. But Chriſt bruiſes the head of the ſerpent and his ſeed, which 'he ſoweth in them, that diſobey and tranſgreſs God's command, 'and rebel againſt God's good Spirit. This wicked ſeed of the ſer-'pent is curſt, and is an enemy to the ſeed, in whom all are bleſſed. 'But Chriſt bruiſes the head of this curſed ſeed of enmity, and de-'ſtroys the devil and his works; and in his ſeed are all bleſſed, and 'all are in unity in this ſeed. All the children of the ſeed are the 'children of the kingdom of God and Chriſt, and are bleſſed with 'faithful Abraham. Whoever are of the ſaving, divine, precious 'faith, are of Abraham, walk in the ſteps of the ſeed and faith of 'Abraham, and are bleſſed with him, yea, of all nations, and all the 'families of the earth.

'The Lord ſaid to Abraham, "Thy ſeed ſhall be a ſtranger in "a land that is not theirs, and ſhall ſerve them; and they ſhall "afflict them four hundred years: and that nation, whom they ſhall "ſerve, will I judge; and afterwards ſhall they (to wit, God's ſeed) "come out with great ſubſtance," Gen. xv. 13, 14. Here ye may 'ſee, that which afflicts God's ſeed, he will judge, and did judge; 'for he did deſtroy the firſt-birth of Pharaoh, and overthrew him 'and his hoſt.

'An holy man ſaid; "Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a "ſeed or remnant, we had been as Sodom," &c. that is deſtroyed. 'But in the ſeed, which deſtroys the devil and his works, and bruiſes 'the head of the ſerpent and his ſeed, are all nations and families of 'the earth bleſſed.

'Chriſt, according to the fleſh, was of Abraham and of David: 'for he took not on him the nature of angels, but the ſeed of Abra-'ham; in which ſeed all nations and families of the earth are bleſ-'ſed. And ſo they, that are of his ſeed, are of the generation of 'Chriſt; are "fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bone."—Now all 'nations and families of the earth muſt be in this holy ſeed, if they 'have the bleſſings, and are bleſſed. And, "out of the mouth of "this ſeed's ſeed ſhall not God's word depart;" but ſhall remain and 'abide in the mouth of this ſeed's ſeed, in which they are bleſſed, 'Iſa. lix. 21. So it is not the firſt-birth's talking of the words of 'Chriſt, the ſeed, in whoſe mouth the word of God doth not abide, 'that makes an outward profeſſion, like the Jews, that did kill and 'perſecute the prophets, and crucify Chriſt the ſeed and ſubſtance of 'the law and prophets, which the Jews profeſſed in words, but 'they denied Chriſt, the ſeed and life. All Chriſtians (ſo called) 'that profeſs the ſcriptures in words, and are not in the ſeed Chriſt,

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'are in the confuſion, and are like the Jews. So neither Jews nor 'Chriſtians are bleſſed, except they be in Chriſt, the ſeed of life.

'But though Chriſt is ſaid to be the ſeed of David, and of Abra-'ham, as his generation is declared by Matthew and Luke; yet 'Chriſt was not born of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, 'but of God. For he was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of 'the Virgin, and ſuppoſed to be the ſon of Joſeph, but was the ſon of 'God. His name was called Jeſus, becauſe he ſhould "ſave his "people from their ſins;" and Emanuel, God with us. Chriſt took 'not upon him the nature of angels, but the ſeed of Abraham (as I 'ſaid before) and ſo was made of the ſeed of David according to the 'fleſh; and "declared to be the Son of God with power, according "to the ſpirit of holineſs, by the reſurrection from the dead," Rom. 'i. 4. So the generation of Chriſt is a myſtery. Chriſt ſaw his ſeed 'or word grow up in his diſciples; and "Chriſt in you the hope of "glory," the apoſtle calls "the myſtery, which hath been hid from "ages and generations; but now is made manifeſt to the ſaints," 'or ſanctified ones, Col. i. 26, 27. "Whom we preach; warn-"ing every man, and teaching every man in all wiſdom, that we "may preſent every man perfect in Chriſt Jeſus," v. 28. For in 'Chriſt, the ſecond Adam, all are made perfect and complete; and 'in Adam in the fall, all are deformed and made imperfect; ſo out 'of Chriſt all mankind are imperfect and deformed; let them paint 'and dreſs themſelves with the ſheep's cloathing, and with the form 'of godlineſs, of the prophets, Chriſt's and his apoſtles words never 'ſo much; yet if Chriſt be not in them, they are incomplete, im-'perfect, deformed, reprobates. But the apoſtle tells the church 'of Chriſt, "Ye are compleat in Chriſt, which is the head of all "principality and power," Col. ii. 10. (for he hath "all power in "heaven and earth given to him," Matth. xxviii. 18.) So all the 'ſaints are made perfect and complete in Chriſt Jeſus; bleſſed be 'the Lord God over all for ever, through Jeſus Chriſt, Amen, 'Amen.

'G. F.

'Kingſton, the 15th of the
'1ſt Month, 1686-7.'

Quickly after this I returned to London, and continued there a month in the ſervice of the Lord; being daily exerciſed either in public meetings, or more particular ſervices relating to the church of Chriſt: as viſiting ſuch as were ſick or afflicted, writing books or papers for the ſpreading of truth, or refuting of error. As it was a time of general liberty, the Papiſts appeared more open in their wor-ſhip than formerly, and many unſettled people going to view them, a great talk there was of their praying to ſaints, and by beads, &c. whereupon I wrote a ſhort paper concerning prayer; as followeth:

'CHRIST Jeſus, when he taught his diſciples to pray, ſaid unto 'them, "When ye pray, ſay; Our Father, which art in "heaven, hallowed be thy name," &c. Chriſt doth not ſay, they 'ſhould pray to Mary, the mother of Chriſt; nor doth he ſay, they

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'should pray to angels, or to saints that were dead, Christ did not 'teach them to pray to the dead, nor for the dead. Neither did 'Christ or his apostles teach the believers to pray by beads, nor to 'sing by outward organs; but the apostle said, he would sing and 'pray in the spirit: for the Spirit itself "maketh intercession; and "the Lord, that searcheth the heart, knoweth the mind of the "spirit.

'To take counsel of the dead, was forbidden by the law of God; 'they were to take counsel of the Lord. He hath given Christ in 'the new covenant, in his gospel-day, to be a counsellor and a leader 'to all believers in his light. Men are not to run to the dead for 'the living; for the law and testimony of God forbids it. Those 'Jews, that refused the running waters of Shiloh, the floods and wa-'ters of the Assyrians and Babylonians came over them, and carried 'them into captivity; and they that refuse the waters of Christ, are 'overflowed with the flood of the world, that lieth in wickedness. 'They that asked counsel of stocks and stones, were in the spirit of er-'ror and whoredom; they were "gone a whoring from God," Hosea 'iv. 12. And they, that "joined themselves to Baal-Peor, and ate "the sacrifices of the dead, provoked the Lord's anger, and brought "the Lord's displeasure upon them," Psal. cvi. 28, 29. So here ye 'may see, the sacrifices of the dead were forbidden. The living know 'that they shall die; but the dead know not any thing, neither have 'they any more a reward: for the memory of them is forgotten, 'Eccles. ix. 5. "Wo to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, "that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, "but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin, Isa. xxx. 1.

'G. F.'

When I had staid about a month in London, I got out of town again: For by reason of the many hardships I had undergone in imprisonments, and other sufferings for truth's sake, my body was grown so infirm and weak, that I could not bear the closeness of the city long together; but was fain to go a little into the country, where I might have the benefit of the fresh air. At this time I went with my son-in-law William Mead, to his country-house called Gooses in Essex, where I staid about two weeks; and among other services, that I had there, I wrote the following paper:

Essex. Gooses.

"A Distinction between the true offering and sacrifice, and the false, "in the old and new covenant.

"THE Lord saith, "He that sacrificeth to any God, save unto "the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed," Exod. xxii. 20. 'So no God is to be minded, nor sacrificed to, but the Lord God. 'It is death to sacrifice to any other God, save the Lord. The Lord 'saith also, "Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with "leavened bread," Exod. xxiii. 18. So that sour heavy leaven must 'not be offered with the Lord's sacrifice. Again the Lord saith; "Thou shalt not build an altar of hewen stone: for if thou lift up

"thy

" thy tool upon it, thou haſt polluted it," Exod. xx. 25. There- 1687.
' fore have a care of polluting the altar with your own tools, you Gooſes.
' that profeſs to offer the ſpiritual ſacrifice.

' Jonah ſaid, " He would ſacrifice unto the Lord with the voice
" of thankſgiving," when he was in the fiſh's belly; and there he
' prayed unto the Lord, Jonah ii. For Jonah in the whale's belly had
' no lambs, nor rams, nor outward ſacrifices to offer.

' The Lord forbids his people to ſacrifice with harlots, Hoſea iv.
' 14. And the Lord forbids his people to offer ſacrifice of the blind,
' lame, ſick, or that which was deformed, or had any blemiſh; as
' in Mal. i. and many other places. So they that offer ſpiritual ſa-
' crifice, muſt not offer the blind, lame, blemiſhed, or deformed ſa-
' crifice to God.

' The ſcribe ſaith unto Chriſt, " To love God with all the heart,
" and with all the underſtanding, and with all the ſoul, and with all
" the ſtrength, and to love his neighbour as himſelf, is more than
" all whole burnt offerings and ſacrifices," Mark xii. 33. " And
" when Jeſus ſaw, that he anſwered diſcreetly, he ſaid unto him;
" Thou art not far from the kingdom of God," v. 34. To love
' God, and their neighbour as themſelves, was more than whole
' burnt-offerings and ſacrifices in the time of the law; therefore all
' offerings and ſacrifices in the time of the goſpel, if there be not love
' to God and to their neighbour as themſelves, avail nothing.

' David ſaid, " Let them ſacrifice a ſacrifice of thankſgiving, and
" declare his works with rejoicing," Pſal. cvii. 22. Theſe are the ſa-
' crifices that the Lord requires of his people, more than outward ſa-
' crifices. David ſaid, " Let my prayer be ſet forth before thee
" as incenſe; and the lifting up of mine hands as the evening ſa-
" crifice," Pſal. cxli. 2. Here David looks upon his prayer to the
' Lord, and the lifting up of his hands to him, to be accepted with
' the Lord, as much as the outward incenſe, and the outward even-
' ing ſacrifice. Again David ſays, " The ſacrifices of God are a
" broken ſpirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt
" not deſpiſe," Pſal. li. 17. (See alſo Iſa. lvii. 15. and chap. lxvi.
' 2.) Theſe are the ſacrifices that David ſaid God would accept, and
' not deſpiſe; which are beyond the unbroken ſpirit, and uncontrite
' heart, with outward offerings and ſacrifices.

' The adverſaries of the Jews would have joined with them to-
' wards the building of the temple, ſaying, " Let us build with
" you, for we ſeek your God, as ye do; and we do ſacrifice unto
" him." But the Jews refuſed them, and ſaid; " Ye have nothing
" to do with us, to build an houſe unto our God," Ezra iv. 2, 3.
' Here ye may ſee God's people refuſed their building with them,
' and their ſacrifice. Solomon ſaith, " The ſacrifice of the wicked
" is an abomination to the Lord," Prov. xv. 8. (See alſo Iſa. i. 11.
' and chap. lxvi. 3.) Solomon alſo ſaith, " Better is a dry morſel,
" and quietneſs therewith, than an houſe full of ſacrifices with
" ſtrife," Prov. xvii. 1. Now let all people conſider what good
' your houſe full of ſacrifices doth with ſtrife, when a dry morſel,
' and quietneſs therewith, is better? Conſider all people, if ye live
' in wickedneſs, your ſacrifice is an abomination to the Lord.

' Again,

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'Again, Solomon ſpeaking of the ſacrifice of fools, ſaith; "They "conſider not, that they do evil," Eccleſ. v. 1. Fools are ſuch as 'do not walk in the Spirit of God, or begin in the ſpirit, and end in 'the fleſh, like the fooliſh Galatians; for the Spirit of God is the 'Spirit of wiſdom and underſtanding, and cannot join with the ſa-'crifices of the dead, nor of the fools, nor of the wicked, whoſe 'ſacrifice is abominable; who grieve and quench the Spirit of God: 'by which the ſpiritual and righteous offer up ſpiritual ſacrifices, 'acceptable to God by Jeſus Chriſt.

'The apoſtle Paul ſaith, he was the "miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt to "the Gentiles, miniſtring the goſpel of God, that the offering up of "the Gentiles might be acceptable, being ſanctified by the Holy "Ghoſt," Rom. xv. 16. So ye may ſee, that all the acceptable of-'ferings and ſacrifices to God muſt be ſanctified by the Holy Ghoſt. 'The ſame apoſtle ſaith to the Corinthians; "Ye are bought with "a price: therefore glorify God, in your body, and in your ſpirit, "which are God's," 1 Cor. vi. 20. And to the Romans, he ſaith; "I beſeech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you preſent "your bodies a living ſacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is "your reaſonable ſervice," Rom. xii. 1. This is the duty of all true 'Chriſtians.

'Peter alſo ſaith, in his general epiſtle to the church of Chriſt; "Ye alſo, as lively ſtones, are built up a ſpiritual houſe, an holy "prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifices, acceptable to God by "Jeſus Chriſt," 1 Pet. ii. 5. So every man and woman muſt come 'to the Spirit of God in their own hearts, if they offer up ſpiritual 'ſacrifices, acceptable to God by Jeſus Chriſt. For as Chriſt ſaith, "Every ſacrifice ſhall be ſalted with ſalt," Mark ix. 49. And in the 'Old Teſtament ye may ſee, all their outward offerings they were "to ſeaſon with ſalt," Levit. ii. 13. A type and figure of Chriſt, 'who "gave himſelf for us, an offering and a ſacrifice to God, for "a ſweet-ſmelling ſavour," Epheſ. v. 2. Therefore all his people 'muſt be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire, that they 'may be ſalted with fire, and every ſacrifice ſalted with ſalt, with 'the Spirit of grace, that is poured upon all: ſo that they may offer 'up this ſpiritual ſacrifice, acceptable to God by Jeſus Chriſt.

'Samuel ſaid to king Saul; "Hath the Lord as great delight in "burnt-offerings and ſacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? "behold, to obey is better than ſacrifice; and to hearken, than the "fat of rams," 1 Sam. xv. 22. So ye may ſee, all offerings and ſa-'crifices are nothing, if there be not an hearkening to the Lord in 'his Spirit, and an obeying of his voice. Chriſt told the Jews, 'who were outward ſacrificers, that he would have mercy and not 'ſacrifice: and bid them "go and learn what that meaneth," 'Matth. ix. 13.

'G. F.

'Gooſes, the 28th of the
'2d month, 1687.'

London. yearly meeting.

The beginning of the third month I returned to London, and continued there till after the yearly-meeting, which began the ſixteenth, and

and was very large; friends having more freedom to come up out of the countries to it, by reaſon of the general toleration and liberty now granted. The meeting laſted ſeveral days; and at the cloſe thereof it was upon me to write the following lines, to be diſperſed among friends every where, as——" A word of counſel and caution " to them to walk circumſpectly in this time of liberty."

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Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt;

'THE Lord by his eternal arm and power having ſupported you 'in all your ſufferings, great ſpoiling of goods, and tedious im-'priſonments, only for ſerving and worſhipping the living God 'that made you; who gave up wife and children and goods, and 'ſuffered the ſpoil of them, and impriſonment for his truth and 'name's ſake; the Lord, by his infinite power and mercy, having 'been pleaſed to open the king's heart towards you, by which you 'are ſet at liberty from gaols, and the ſpoilers of your goods are 'ſtopt, whereby ye may follow your callings, confeſs Chriſt Jeſus, 'and call him Lord by the Holy Ghoſt, in your aſſemblies, with-'out being caſt into gaols, or having your goods ſpoiled. Dear bre-'thren, a great concern lies upon me from the Lord to write unto 'you, " That none may abuſe this liberty, nor the mercies of the " Lord, but prize them;" for there is great danger in time of li-'berty, of getting up, and getting into eaſe, looſeneſs, and falſe 'liberty. And now, ſeeing that ye have not the outward perſe-'cutors to war with in ſufferings, with the ſpiritual weapons keep 'down that which would not be ſubject to Chriſt; that he, the 'holy One, may reign in your hearts; that your lives, conver-'ſations, and words may preach righteouſneſs and truth; that ye 'may all ſhew forth good enſamples of true believers in Chriſt, in 'virtue and holineſs, anſwering that which may be known of God 'in all people, that ye are the ſons and daughters of God; ſtanding 'faſt in that righteous, holy liberty in Chriſt, the juſt and holy One, 'that has made you free, over the looſe or falſe; ſhunning the oc-'caſions of vain diſputes, and fooliſh queſtions of men of corrupt 'minds: for the ſerpent was the firſt queſtioner of Eve, who drew 'her and Adam out of the truth. Therefore as ye have received 'Chriſt, live and walk in him, who bruiſes the ſerpent's head, who 'is your ſafe ſanctuary; in whom ye have election, reconciliation, 'and peace with God. Therefore live in the peace which ye have 'from Chriſt, which is not of this world; be at peace one with an-'other, and ſeek the peace of all men in Chriſt Jeſus: for bleſſed 'are the peace-makers. Labour to exerciſe a good conſcience to-'wards God, in obedience to him in what he requires, and in doing 'to all men the thing that is juſt and honeſt; in your converſations 'and words giving no offence to Jew or Gentile, nor to the church 'of God. So ye may be as a city ſet on God's Sion-Hill, which 'cannot be hid; and may be lights to the dark world, that they 'may ſee your good fruits, and glorify your Father which is in hea-'ven: for he is glorified in your bringing forth good fruits, as ye 'abide in Chriſt, the vine, in this his day of life, power, and light, 'that ſhineth over all. Therefore all that believe in the light, walk

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'in the light, as children of the light and of Chriſt's everlaſting day; 'that in the light ye may have fellowſhip with the Father and the 'Son, and one with another: keeping in the unity of his Holy Spi- 'rit, in the bond of his holy peace, in his church, that he is head of. 'My deſire is, that God's wiſdom every where may be juſtified of 'her children, and that it may be ſhewed forth in meekneſs, and in 'the fear of the Lord in this his day, Amen.

G. F.'

Edmonton. South-ſtreet. Winchmore-hill. Berry-ſtreet.

By that time the yearly meeting was over, I was very much wearied and ſpent: wherefore about a week after I got out of town to a friend's houſe a little beyond Edmonton, where, and at South-ſtreet, I abode ſome time, and had meetings amongſt friends there; and at Winchmore-hill and Berry-ſtreet. Having my mind continually exerciſed in the things of God, the ſenſe of his infinite goodneſs and mercy to mankind, in viſiting them, after they had tranſgreſſed and rebelled againſt him, and providing a way and means for their return to him again, was very much upon me; and in the opening of the Spirit of truth, I writ the following paper on that ſubject:

'GOD, who made all men and women, though they have tranſ- 'greſſed his commands and laws, rebelled againſt him, hated 'his light, grieved his Spirit, and walked deſpitefully againſt his 'Spirit of grace; yet he who is merciful, would have all to be 'ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. All that come to 'the knowledge of the truth, muſt know it in their inward parts; 'I ſay, the grace and truth, which comes by Jeſus, all that know 'and find it, know and find it in their hearts. Such find the hid- 'den man of the heart, the pearl, the leaven, the loſt piece of ſil- 'ver, and the kingdom of heaven within. For until all come to 'the light and truth in their hearts, they have been ſtrangers to 'theſe things, in Adam in the fall, from the image of God, his 'light, power and ſpirit, and kingdom. But Chriſt, that never fell, 'brings man and woman again, that follow him, to know theſe 'things, and to know the truth, him the Saviour, and brings them 'into his image, and his everlaſting kingdom.

'The devil, who is out of the truth, tempted man and woman 'to diſobey God; and ſo drew them into the fall from the truth. 'It is the devil that hath ſtopped mens eyes, ears, and hearts from 'the truth, who is called the god of the world; who hath blinded 'the eyes of infidels, or heathen. But Chriſt, who bruiſes the ſer- 'pent's head, and deſtroys the devil and his works, doth open mens 'hearts, eyes, and ears, who is their Saviour and Redeemer, and 'giveth life eternal to his people, that obey him and his truth. 'Bleſſed be the Lord for ever through Jeſus Chriſt, who hath taſted 'death for all men, to bring them out of the death of Adam; and 'is a propitiation for the ſins of the whole world, and gave himſelf a 'ranſom for all, to be teſtified of in due time. For as by Adam's tranſ- 'greſſion and diſobedience death and condemnation came upon all 'men, ſo by Chriſt's obedience unto death, juſtication of life is 'come upon all men: and "he that believeth in Chriſt hath eter-

"nal

" nal life; but he that doth not is condemned already." But God 1687.
' would have all men to be ſaved, and come unto the knowledge of Berry-ſtreet.
' the truth, as it is in Jeſus, who is their Saviour; and in him there
' is no condemnation.

G. F.'

After I had been a while here, I went to a monthly meeting at Enfield, and from thence with ſome friends to Hertford; where I Enfield. Hertford.
ſtaid three or four days, viſiting friends both at their public meetings on firſt-day, and at their quarterly meetings of men and women: and good ſervice for the Lord I had amongſt them. Then paſſing to Waltham-Abby, I had a very good meeting with friends, and Waltham Abby.
the next day went to another place, to compoſe a difference, which, for want of a right underſtanding of each other, had happened between ſome friends. I returned to Waltham that night; and the Waltham. Eſſex.
next day went with ſome friends to William Mead's houſe in Eſſex.

Here I ſtaid ſome weeks, yet was not idle, but often viſited meetings thereabouts: as at Wanſtead, Barking, and at John Harding's. Wanſtead. Barking.
Betwixt meeting and meeting I wrote many things for ſpreading truth, and opening people's underſtandings to receive it. One was a paper, proving from the ſcriptures, that people muſt repent before they can receive the goſpel, and the Holy Spirit, and the kingdom of God, or be baptized; after this manner:

' JOHN the Baptiſt came preaching in the wilderneſs of Judea,
' ſaying, " Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,"
' Matth. iii. 12. When John the Baptiſt was caſt into priſon,
' Mark ſays; " That Jeſus came into Galilee, preaching the goſpel
" of the kingdom of God, and ſaying, the time is fulfilled, and
" the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the goſ-
" pel," Mark i. 14, 15. Matthew alſo ſays; " From that time
" Jeſus began to preach, and to ſay, repent, for the kingdom of
" heaven is at hand," Matth. iv. 17. " And when Chriſt ſent forth
" his twelve diſciples, two and two, they went out, and preached,
" that men ſhould repent," Mark vi. 12. Chriſt ſaid to the Jews,
" Except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh," Luke xiii. 3, 5.
' when the publicans and ſinners came to hear Chriſt, and the Pha-
' riſees and Scribes murmured, ſaying, " This man receiveth ſin-
" ners, and eateth with them," Luke xv. 1, 2. Chriſt reproved
' them by a parable, and then told them; " Joy ſhall be in heaven
" over one ſinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine
" juſt perſons, which need no repentance," ver. 7. Adding, " There
" is joy in the preſence of the angels of God over one ſinner that re-
" penteth," ver. 10. Chriſt, after he was riſen, ſaid unto his diſ-
' ciples, " That repentance and remiſſion of ſins ſhould be preached
" in his name among all nations, beginning at Jeruſalem," Luke
' xxiv. 47. Peter ſaid to the Jews, " Repent, and be baptized
" every one of you in the name of Jeſus Chriſt for the remiſſion of
" ſins; and ye ſhall receive the gift of the Holy Ghoſt," Acts ii. 38.
' Paul ſaid, " The times of this ignorance God winked at; but
" now commandeth all men every where to repent," Acts xvii. 30.

1687. Gooſes. ‘ Simon Magus was called to repentance, if he had regarded it, Acts ‘ viii. 22. The apoſtle Paul did preach at Damaſcus, at Jeruſalem, ‘ and throughout all the coaſts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles ‘ (turning them from darkneſs to the light of Chriſt, and from the ‘ power of Satan to God) that they ſhould “ repent and turn to God, “ and do works meet for repentance,” Acts xxvi. 20.

‘ Here ye may ſee people muſt repent before they believe and are ‘ baptized, and before they receive the Holy Ghoſt and the kingdom ‘ of God. They muſt repent of their vain life and converſation be- ‘ fore they receive the goſpel, and muſt be turned from darkneſs to ‘ the light of Chriſt, from the power of Satan unto God, before ‘ they receive his holy Spirit and his goſpel of life and ſalvation. ‘ The Lord doth command all men every where to repent, and do ‘ works meet for repentance. They muſt ſhew that their lives, con- ‘ verſations, and tongues are changed, and that they ſerve God in ‘ newneſs of life, with new tongues and new hearts.

‘ G. F.’

‘ Gooſes, the 6th month,
‘ 1687.’

Another ſhort paper I wrote about the ſame time, ſhewing, ‘ wherein God's people ſhould be like unto him.’ Thus:

‘ GOD is righteous, and he would have his people to be righteous, ‘ and to do righteouſly. God is holy, and he would have his ‘ people holy, and to do holily. God is juſt, and he would have his ‘ people to be juſt, and to do juſtly to all. God is light, and his ‘ children muſt walk in his light. God is an eternal, infinite Spirit, ‘ and his children muſt walk in the Spirit. God is merciful, and he ‘ would have his people to be merciful. God's ſun ſhines upon the ‘ good and the bad, and he cauſes the rain to fall upon the evil and ‘ the good; ſo ſhould his people do good unto all. God is love, and ‘ they that dwell in love dwell in God. Love worketh no ill to his ‘ neighbour, therefore “ Love is the fulfilling of the law,” Rom. ‘ xiii. 10. The apoſtle ſaith, “ All the law is fulfilled in one “ word, even in this, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf,” ‘ Gal. v. 14. “ As the Father hath loved me, ſo I have loved you; “ continue ye in my love,” John xv. 9. This ſhould be the practice ‘ of all God's people.

‘ G. F.’

‘ Gooſes, the 6th month,
‘ 1687.’

And becauſe moſt people would confeſs, that God's people ſhould be thus, but few know how to come to this ſtate, therefore in the openings of the Spirit of truth I wrote another ſhort paper, directing to ‘ the right way and means whereby people might come unto ‘ Chriſt, and ſo be made like unto God.’ Thus:

CHRIST

1687. Gooſes.

'CHRIST ſaith, "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me," John xiv. 6. And again, "No man can come to me, except the Father which hath "ſent me draw him," John vi. 44. Now, what is the means by which God doth draw his people to his Son, but by his holy Spirit, who "poureth out of his Spirit upon all fleſh," that is, all men and women. By this holy Spirit the holy and righteous God doth draw people from their unrighteouſneſs and unholineſs to Chriſt, the righteous and holy One, the great Prophet in his New Covenant and New Teſtament, whom Moſes in the Old Covenant and Teſtament ſaid, God would raiſe up like unto him, whom people ſhould "hear in all things; and they that would not hear "him ſhould be cut off." They that do not hear the Son of God, the great Prophet, do not mind the drawing of the Father by his holy Spirit to his Son; but they that mind the drawings of the good Spirit of the Father to his Son, the Spirit doth give them underſtanding to know God and Jeſus Chriſt, which is eternal life. Then they know that Jeſus Chriſt is the way, the truth, and the life, and that none can come unto God but by and through his Son, who is their ſhepherd to feed them in his paſtures and ſprings of life; and his ſheep know his holy voice, in whom there was no ſin, and in whoſe mouth there was no guile, and an hireling they will not hear, for he careth not for the ſheep; for they are not the hireling's but Chriſt's, who hath laid down his life for his ſheep. He that robs and ſteals his neighbour's words, climbeth up another way, and entereth not by the door, is a thief and a robber; but Chriſt is the door into his ſheepfold, for his ſheep to enter in by. They know that Chriſt is the biſhop of their ſouls, to ſee that they do not go aſtray from God nor out of his paſtures of life. They know that Chriſt is their mediator, who makes their peace with God. They know that Chriſt is their high prieſt, made higher than the heavens, and hath died for their ſins, and doth cleanſe them with his blood, and is riſen for their juſtification, and is able to the utmoſt to ſave all that come to God by him.

'G. F.'

'Gooſes, the 6th month,
'1687.'

Before I left this place I wrote another paper, the ſcope whereof was to ſhew, by many inſtances taken out of the holy ſcriptures, that the kingdom of God, which moſt people talk of at a diſtance and refer altogether to another life, is in ſome meaſure to be known and entered into in this life; but that none can know an entrance thereinto, but ſuch as are regenerated and born again. Of that paper the following is a copy:

'CHRIST ſaith, "except a man be born again he cannot ſee the kingdom of God," John iii. 3. "That which is born of the "fleſh is fleſh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit," ver. 6. So "except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he can-"not enter into the kingdom of God," ver. 5. And John, writing

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‘ to the ſeven churches of Aſia, calls himſelf their “ brother, and “ companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of “ Jeſus Chriſt,” Rev. i. 9. Here you may ſee that John was in the ‘ kingdom, ſo he was born again ; for he did not only ſee the king- ‘ dom but was in it.

‘ And John ſaith, “ Behold what manner of love the Father hath “ beſtowed upon us, that we ſhould be called the ſons of God ; there- “ fore the world knoweth us not, becauſe it knew him not,” 1 John ‘ iii. 1. “ Beloved, now are we the ſons of God,” ver. 2. “ If “ ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one that doth “ righteouſneſs is born of him,” chap. ii. 29. “ Whoſoever is born “ of God doth not commit ſin, for his ſeed remaineth in him, and “ he cannot ſin becauſe he is born of God,” chap. iii. 9. “ Let us “ love one another, for love is of God ; and every one that loveth is “ born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth “ not God ; for God is love,” chap. iv. 7, 8. “ Whoſoever be- “ lieveth that Jeſus is the Chriſt, is born of God,” chap. v. 1. “ Whoſoever is born of God, overcometh the world ; and this is “ the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith,” ver. 4. ‘ Were not theſe that were born of God in the kingdom of God? ‘ And ſeeing John ſays, “ Every one that doth righteouſneſs is born “ of God ;” do not ſuch ſee the kingdom of God, that ſtands in ‘ righteouſneſs, and enter into it ?

‘ Peter, in his firſt general epiſtle to the church of Chriſt, ſaith, “ As new-born babes deſire the ſincere milk of the word, that ye “ may grow thereby,” 1 Pet. ii. 2. And he tells them they were “ a choſen generation, a royal prieſthood, an holy nation, a peculiar “ people,” that they ſhould “ ſhew forth the praiſes of him who had “ called them out of darkneſs into his marvellous light,” ver. 9. ‘ And that “ as lively ſtones they were built up a ſpiritual houſe, an “ holy prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifices, acceptable to God “ by Jeſus Chriſt,” ver. 5. Did not theſe new-born babes, theſe ‘ lively ſtones, ſpiritual houſhold, royal prieſthood, holy nation, and ‘ choſen generation, who were called out of darkneſs into Chriſt's ‘ marvellous light, ſee and enter into his holy kingdom, being heirs ‘ of the ſame ? who were “ born again, not of corruptible ſeed but “ of incorruptible, by the word of God which liveth and abideth for “ ever, 1 Pet. i. 23. And had not ſuch an entrance miniſtred to ‘ them into the everlaſting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus ‘ Chriſt ?

‘ James, in his general epiſtle to the church of Chriſt, ſaith, “ Hath not God choſen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and “ heirs of the kingdom which he hath promiſed to them that love “ him?” James ii. 5. The apoſtle Paul ſaith, “ God ſent forth “ his ſon made of a woman, &c. to redeem them that were under “ the law, that we may receive the adoption of ſons ; and becauſe ye “ are ſons, God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, “ crying, Abba, Father. Wherefore thou art no more a ſervant but “ a ſon, and if a ſon then an heir of God through Chriſt,” Gal. iv. 4, ‘ 5, 6, 7. The ſame apoſtle ſaith, “ As many as are led by the “ Spirit of God they are the ſons of God ;” and tells the ſaints at

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'Rome, "Ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry "Abba, Father. The Spirit itſelf beareth witneſs with our ſpirit, "that we are the children of God; and if children, then heirs, "heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Chriſt: if ſo be we ſuffer with "him, that we may be alſo glorified together," (namely with Chriſt) 'Rom. viii. 14, 15, 16, 17. Now ſeeing they are the ſons of God 'that are led by the Spirit of God, and the Spirit beareth witneſs 'unto their ſpirit that they are the children of God, heirs of God, 'and joint-heirs with Chriſt, are not all theſe children of God 'heirs of the righteous glorious kingdom of God? And do they 'not ſee it and enter into it?

'The Lord ſaith in Hoſea i. 10. "Where it was ſaid unto them, "ye are not my people, there it ſhall be ſaid unto them, ye are the "ſons of the Living God." Did not this relate to the goſpel-days 'of the New Covenant? See Rom. ix. 26. And what the Lord 'ſaid by the prophet Jeremiah, chap. xxxi. 1. the apoſtle applies to 'the goſpel-days, and ſays, "Be ye ſeparate, ſaith the Lord, and "touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be "a father unto you, and ye ſhall be my ſons and daughters, ſaith the "Lord Almighty," 2 Cor. vi. 16. Are not theſe the children that 'ſee and enter into the righteous kingdom of God, that ſeparate from 'that which is unclean and touch it not?

'The Lord ſaith alſo by Iſaiah, "I will ſay to the north, give "up, and to the ſouth, keep not back; bring my ſons from far, and "my daughters from the ends of the earth," Iſa. xliii. 6. Then 'doth not he bring them to his kingdom of glory, that ſtands in 'righteouſneſs and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt?

'The Lord ſaid to Job, "When the morning-ſtars ſang together, "and all the ſons of God ſhouted for joy," Job xxxviii. 7. Where 'did theſe ſons of God ſhout for joy? Was it not in his kingdom 'of glory?

'Chriſt ſaith, "The leaſt in the kingdom of God is greater than "John," Luke vii. 28. And in chap. xvi. 16. he ſays, "The law "and the prophets were until John; ſince that time (viz. ſince the "law and the prophets and John) the kingdom of God is preached, "and every man preſſeth into it.

'The good ſeed are the children of the kingdom, Matt. xiii. 38 'And "the righteous ſhall ſhine forth as the ſun in the kingdom of "their Father," ver. 43. Chriſt ſaid unto his diſciples, "Unto "you it is given to know the myſteries of the kingdom of God," 'Mark iv. 11. Chriſt lifted up his eyes upon his diſciples, and ſaid, "Bleſſed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God," Luke vi. 20. 'The apoſtles preached the kingdom of God. Theſe were born 'again, that ſaw and knew the kingdom of God and preached it.

'Chriſt ſaid to his diſciples, "Fear not, little flock, for it is your "Father's good pleaſure to give you the kingdom," Luke xii. 32. "I appoint to you a kingdom," ſaid Chriſt, "as my Father hath "appointed to me," chap. xxii. 29. The Lord ſaid, "He that "overcometh ſhall inherit all things, and I will be his God and he "ſhall be my ſon," Rev. xxi. 7. And John ſaith, "I have written "unto you, young men, becauſe ye are ſtrong, and the word of God

"abideth

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" abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one," 1 John ii. 14. And Chriſt, by whom are all things, is ſaid " to bring many " ſons to glory," Heb. ii. 10.

He ſaid, " Woe unto you ſcribes and phariſees, hypocrites, for " ye ſhut up the kingdom of heaven againſt men; for ye neither go " in yourſelves, neither ſuffer ye them that are entering to go in," Matt. xxiii. 13. " Woe unto you, lawyers, for ye have taken " away the key of knowledge; ye entered not in yourſelves, and them " that were entering in ye hindered," Luke xi. 52. Chriſt gives unto his children the keys of the kingdom, his Spirit; but the ſcribes, phariſees, and lawyers, great profeſſors, who were erred from the Spirit, like the great profeſſors in our age, that ſcoff at the Spirit, and draw people from the Spirit of God within, theſe ſhut up the kingdom from men, and draw people from the key of knowledge, and the key of the kingdom. " For no man knows the " things of God, but by the Spirit of God;" for the things of God are ſpiritually diſcerned. The Spirit is the key, by which the kingdom of God and the things of God are revealed, diſcerned, and known, according to 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11, 13, 14. The apoſtle names ſome in his epiſtle to the Coloſſians, and ſays, " Theſe are " my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God," Col. iv. 11. And he tells that church that " God hath delivered us from the power " of darkneſs, and hath tranſlated us into the kingdom of his dear " Son," chap. i. 13. So ye may ſee theſe were born again that were tranſlated into the kingdom of Chriſt, and were fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God.

Chriſt exhorts his diſciples to love and to do good, that they might be the children of their Father which is in heaven, Matt. v. 45. He bids them be perfect, even as their Father which is in heaven is perfect, ver. 48. The apoſtle ſaith to the church at Philippi, " That ye may be blameleſs and harmleſs, the ſons of " God, without rebuke, in the midſt of a crooked and perverſe na- " tion;" amongſt whom ye ſhine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life, &c. Phil. ii. 15, 16. And writing to the church of the Theſſalonians, he puts them in mind how he had exhorted them that they would " walk worthy of God, who had " called them into his kingdom and glory," 1 Theſſ. ii. 12.

The Lord had promiſed by the prophet Joel, that he would " pour out his Spirit upon all fleſh," and that " Sons and daughters " ſhould propheſy, old men ſhould dream dreams, and young men " ſee viſions," Joel ii. 28. The cauſe that ſons and daughters, hand-maids, ſervants, young men, and old men have not theſe heavenly viſions, dreams, and prophecies, is becauſe they are " erred from the Spirit of God," which he poureth upon them; but as many as are led by the Spirit of God are the ſons of God.

John ſaith Chriſt was the true light, " which lighteth every " man that cometh into the world," John i. 9. And that " as " many as received him, to them gave he power to become the ſons " of God, ver. 12. which were born not of blood, nor of the will " of man, but of God," ver. 13. The reaſon why people do not become the ſons of God, is becauſe they do not receive Chriſt.

The

'The Jews, the great profeſſors, who had the promiſes, prophecies, figures, and ſhadows of him, would not receive him when he came. And now the prieſts and high profeſſors of Chriſt are ſo far from receiving the light of Chriſt, and believing in it, that they hate the light and ſcoff at it, calling it a natural conſcience, and ſome, "Jack in the lanthorn." Such are not like to become the ſons of God, nor to ſee the glorious kingdom of Chriſt, which ſtands in righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt. For the light that ſhines in the heart gives the "light of the knowledge of the glory "of God in the face of Chriſt Jeſus." They that do not receive Chriſt Jeſus, but hate his light (which is the life in him) and yet profeſs him in words, neither know the children of the light, nor true fellowſhip in the light, nor the kingdom of God, that ſtands in righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt; but by the light they are condemned. "And this is the condemnation, that "light is come into the world, and men love darkneſs rather than "light, becauſe their deeds are evil. For every one that doeth evil "hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, leſt his deeds ſhould "be reproved," John iii. 19, 20. But the children of the light, that walk in the light, come to heavenly Jeruſalem, to the city of the Living God, to the innumerable company of angels, and to the general aſſembly and church of the firſt-born, that are written in heaven, and can ſing Hallelujah. 1687. Gooſes.

'G. F.'

'Gooſes, the 2d of the
'7th month, 1687.'

Having been more than a quarter of a year in the country, I returned to London ſomewhat better in health than formerly, having received much benefit by the country air. And it being a time of general liberty and great openneſs amongſt the people, I had much ſervice for the Lord in the city, being almoſt daily at publick meetings, and frequently taken up in viſiting friends that were ſick, and in other ſervices of the church. I continued at London about three months; then finding my ſtrength much ſpent with continual labouring in the work of the Lord, and my body much ſtopped for want of freſh air, I went to my ſon Rouſe's by Kingſton; where I abode ſome time, and viſited friends at Kingſton. While I was there, it came upon me to write a paper concerning the Jews, ſhewing, 'How 'by their diſobedience and rebellion they loſt the holy city and 'land.' By which example the profeſſed Chriſtians may ſee what they are to expect, if they continue to diſobey and provoke the Lord. The copy here followeth: London. Kingſton.

'THE Lord gave the Jews in the Old Teſtament the land of 'Canaan, and they built the temple at Jeruſalem to worſhip 'in. It was called "the Holy Temple," and Jeruſalem was called "the Holy City," and Canaan "the Holy Land." But when the 'Jews rebelled againſt the good Spirit which God gave them to in-'ſtruct them, and rebelled againſt his law, and ſet up idols and 'images, and defiled the land and the city, the Lord ſent his

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‘ prophets to cry againſt them, to bring them back again to his ‘ Spirit, and to his law, and ſo to God, to ſerve and worſhip him, ‘ that they might not worſhip images and idols, the works of their ‘ own hands. But inſtead of hearkening to God's prophets, they ‘ perſecuted them, and at laſt killed his Son Chriſt Jeſus, and per- ‘ ſecuted his apoſtles. But Chriſt told the Jews that both their city ‘ and temple ſhould be laid waſte, and they ſhould be ſcattered over ‘ all nations; and it was ſo. Titus the Roman emperor came and ‘ took Jeruſalem, and deſtroyed the city and temple, which was a ‘ day of vengeance upon the Jews for all their idolatries, their wick- ‘ edneſs, and for the innocent blood they had ſhed both in the city and ‘ country; and they were driven out of their own city and land, and ‘ ſcattered over all nations. The Jews had never power to get the ‘ land ſince, nor to build Jeruſalem nor the temple; but the Turk ‘ hath both the land of Canaan and that which is called “ the City “ of Jeruſalem.” Now the Turk neither makes images nor wor- ‘ ſhips images; ſo it is a juſt hand of the Lord that he ſhould be over ‘ the perſecuting, idolatrous Jews, ſo that they cannot defile the land ‘ of Canaan now with images and idols, for the Turk hath not, who ‘ neither makes images nor idols, nor worſhips them. The Jews ‘ muſt never hope, believe, nor expect, that ever they ſhall go again ‘ into the land of Canaan, to ſet up an outward worſhip at Jeruſa- ‘ lem, and there for their prieſts to offer outward ſacrifices of rams, ‘ ſheep, and heifers, &c. for burnt-offerings; for Chriſt, the one ‘ offering, hath offered himſelf once for all, and by this one offering ‘ he hath perfected for ever them that are ſanctified. And Chriſt ‘ hath changed the prieſthood of Aaron, that offered ſacrifices, which ‘ was made after the power of a carnal commandment; but Chriſt ‘ was made after the power of an endleſs life, a prieſt for ever, who ‘ was holy, harmleſs, and ſeparate from ſinners, and is a prieſt made ‘ higher than the heavens. This is the prieſt that gives power to ‘ all that receive him to become the ſons and daughters of God; and ‘ Jeruſalem that is above is the mother of all the ſons and daughters ‘ of God, which is free; but Jeruſalem that is below is in bondage ‘ with her children. They that are the children of Jeruſalem that ‘ is above do not look down at Jeruſalem that is below; but they ‘ look at Jeruſalem that is above, which is their mother. Chriſt ‘ ſaid, “ Neither at outward Jeruſalem, nor in the mountain of “ Samaria ſhould God be worſhipped; but God ſhould be worſhipped “ in Spirit and in truth; for he is a Spirit, and ſuch he ſeeks to “ worſhip him,” John iv. This is the worſhip that Chriſt ſet up ‘ above ſixteen hundred years ago; therefore the idolatrous Jews muſt ‘ never think to offer their outward offerings and ſacrifices, nor ſet ‘ up their outward worſhip at Jeruſalem, in the holy land of Canaan ‘ more. For Chriſt, by the offering up of himſelf once for all, for ‘ the ſins of the whole world, hath ended all the Jews offerings, and ‘ changed the prieſthood, and the law by which it was made, and ‘ hath blotted out the hand-writing of ordinances, which commanded ‘ both prieſts and offerings, and triumphed over them. So he is the ‘ offering and ſacrifice of all the children of the New Teſtament, ‘ New Covenant, and heavenly New Jeruſalem that is above. He is

‘ their

'their Prophet that openeth to them, their Shepherd that feeds 1687.
'them, their Biſhop that overſees them, and Prieſt that died for Kingſton.
'their ſins and is riſen for their juſtification, who ſanctifies and pre-
'ſents them to God. He is the one Mediator betwixt God and
'man, even the Man Chriſt Jeſus.

'G. F.'

'Kingſton, the 9th of the
'10th month, 1687.'

After this I went to Guildford to viſit friends there, and ſtaid three Guildford.
days with them, and had a large and very good meeting on firſt-day. After which I came back to Kingſton again, and tarried about Kingſton.
two weeks longer, viſiting friends and having meetings amongſt them, both at their publick meeting-houſe and in their families. Many things I wrote while I was at Kingſton; amongſt which the following was one;

"GOD ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son,
"that whoſoever believeth in him ſhall not periſh (mark, not
"periſh) but have everlaſting life," John iii. 16. Again he ſaith,
"He that believeth on the Son of God hath (mark, hath) ever-
"laſting life," ver. 36. So theſe believers have everlaſting life
'while they are upon the earth. And "he that believeth on Chriſt
"is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already,
"and the wrath of God abideth on him. He that heareth Chriſt's
"word, and believeth on God that ſent him, hath (mark, hath)
"everlaſting life, and ſhall not come into condemnation; but is
"paſſed from death," the death in the firſt Adam, "to life," the
'life in Chriſt the ſecond Adam, John v. 24. And that meat
'which Chriſt doth give endureth unto everlaſting life, as in John
'vi. 27. And the water that Chriſt doth give ſhall be in him that
'drinks it "a well of water ſpringing up into everlaſting life," John
'iv. 14. Chriſt ſaid to the Jews, "Search the ſcriptures, for in
"them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which
"teſtify of me: And ye will not come to me that ye might have
"life," John v. 39, 40. Here ye may ſee, the eternal life is to be
'found in Chriſt, and not in the ſcriptures which teſtify of him, the
'life. Chriſt's ſheep that hear his voice, know, and follow him;
'he gives unto them eternal life, and they ſhall not periſh, neither
'ſhall any pluck them out of his hand. They ſhall not pluck
'Chriſt's ſheep, to whom he hath given eternal life, out of his eter-
'nal hand. Chriſt ſaid to Martha, "I am the reſurrection and the
"life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead (mark, though
"he were dead) yet ſhall he live (mark, live though he were dead);
"and whoſoever liveth and believeth in me ſhall never die. Believ-
"eſt thou this?" Martha ſaid, "Yea, Lord," John xxv. 26.
'This is the true ſubſtantial belief, which they that believe ſhall not
'periſh, but have everlaſting life. John ſaith, "This is the record,
"that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son,"
'1 John v. 11. "The life was manifeſted, and we have ſeen it,
"and bear witneſs, and ſhew unto you that eternal life, which was with

"the

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" the Father, and was manifeſted unto us," 1 John i. 2. So theſe ' were the believers that had eternal life in the Son of God, and ' ſhewed it unto others. " He that hath the Son hath life," ſaith ' John, " and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life," ' 1 John v. 12. Chriſt ſaith, " Every one that hath forſaken houſes, " or brethren, or ſiſters, or father, or mother, or wife, or chil- " dren, or lands for my name ſake, ſhall receive an hundred fold, " and ſhall inherit everlaſting life," Matt. xix. 29. The wicked ' that do not receive Chriſt ſhall go into everlaſting puniſhment, but ' the righteous into everlaſting life. The true ſervants of God have ' their fruits unto holineſs, and their end is everlaſting life. For " the wages of ſin is death, but the gift of God is everlaſting life, " through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord." Such have a building of God, ' an houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Therefore ' I deſire that God's people may endure all things, that they may ' obtain this ſalvation which is in Chriſt Jeſus, with eternal glory. ' For Chriſt, being made perfect, became the author of eternal ſal- ' vation to all them that obey him. This eternal ſalvation is above ' an external ſalvation; for they come to receive an eternal in- ' heritance, and live in the poſſeſſion of the everlaſting goſpel of joy, ' comfort, peace, and ſalvation, having everlaſting life in Chriſt ' Jeſus.

' G. F.'

' Kingſton, the 6th of the
' 11th month, 1687.'

Another paper I wrote concerning the ſtone ſpoken of by Daniel, chap. ii. which became a great mountain and filled the whole earth, ſhewing, ' That thereby was ſet forth the kingdom and power of ' Chriſt.'

' WHEN Chriſt, the ſtone that became a great mountain, and ' filled the whole earth, had broke to pieces the head of gold, ' the breaſt of ſilver, the belly of braſs, the legs of iron, and the ' feet part iron part clay, which were the four monarchies, the ' Babylonian and Mede, the Grecian, and the Roman, and had ' ended the outward Jews typical kingdom, Daniel ſaith, " In " the days of theſe kings ſhall the God of heaven ſet up a kingdom " which ſhall never be deſtroyed," Dan. ii. 44. Chriſt ſaith, " All " power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," Matth. xxviii. ' 18. And " My kingdom is not of this world," John xviii. 36. " Chriſt is the image of the inviſible God, the firſt-born of every " creature; for by him were all things created that are in heaven " and that are in earth, viſible and inviſible, whether they be " thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all " things were created by him and for him, and he is before all " things, and by him all things conſiſt," Col. xv. 16, 17. Here ' ye may ſee all things conſiſt by Jeſus Chriſt, and all things were ' created by Chriſt and for him, whether they be things in hea- ' ven or things in earth, viſible or inviſible; yea thrones, domi- ' nions, principalities, or powers, theſe were all created by him and

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'for him. Chriſt is "King of kings and Lord of lords," Rev. xix. 16. The "Prince of the kings of the earth," Chap. i. 5. Out of his mouth goes a ſharp ſword, with which he ſhall ſmite the nations, and he ſhall rule them with a rod of iron; as the veſſel of a potter ſhall they be daſhed in pieces who do not obey him, the "King of kings and Lord of lords." This is Chriſt, who ſaith, "I "am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the Ending, the Firſt "and the Laſt;" ſo he is over all nations, and above them all. We muſt underſtand this rod of iron, by which Chriſt doth rule the nations, is a figurative ſpeech of Chriſt who is aſcended into heaven, and is at the right hand of God. All power in heaven and earth is given unto him, and all things were created by him and for him: ſo then they are Chriſt's, and he hath power over all things; for all are his. So, as the ſcripture ſaith, "By me kings "reign and princes decree juſtice," Prov. viii. 15. But if they abuſe his power and do not do juſtice, as is decreed by Chriſt, the "King of kings and Lord of lords, the Firſt and the Laſt," they muſt feel the weight of his rod of iron, by which he will rule ſuch as abuſe his power. That is decreed by him, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, and rules in the kingdoms of men.

'G. F.'

'Kingſton, the 11th
'month, 1687.'

Several other things I wrote while I was at Kingſton; for my ſpirit being continually exerciſed towards God, I had many precious openings of divine matters; and divers places of ſcripture, both in the Old Teſtament and in the New, relating to the ſtate of regeneration and ſanctification, &c. were brought to my remembrance by the Holy Spirit; ſome of which I committed to writing, as followeth:

'THEY that touched the dead were unclean, and were to be cleanſed by the water of purification, Numb. xix. And they which touch the dead doctrines or faiths, and let them in, burden the pure, defile and make themſelves unclean, until the ſpring of the water of the Word do ariſe and waſh and clean them; for all the dead in Adam in the fall are unclean, and they muſt be waſhed by Chriſt, in his blood and water of life, who quickeneth and makes alive.

'A dwarf might not come near to offer upon God's altar; but he might eat of the holy bread, that he might grow, Lev. xxi. 20, &c. So the new-born babes may eat of the milk of the Word, that they may grow thereby and increaſe. He that had any blemiſh might not come near to offer upon God's altar; neither might any thing be offered upon God's altar that had any blemiſh, or was unclean, Lev. xxi. And it is ſaid, "The ungodly ſhall not ſtand "in the judgment, nor ſinners in the congregation of the righte-"ous," Pſa. i. 5. But God ſtandeth in the congregation of the mighty,' Pſal. lxxxii. 1.

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'The camp of God was to be kept clean and holy. That which 'was unclean, or defiled, was to be kept out of God's camp in the 'Old Teſtament. And in the New Teſtament, all that is defiled 'and unclean muſt be kept out of God's kingdom, the new and 'heavenly Jeruſalem that is from above. All was to paſs through 'the fire (even of thoſe things that would bear the fire) and to be 'purified by fire and water, before the people might come into God's 'camp, Numb. xxxi. So all muſt be circumciſed, and baptized 'with the Holy Ghoſt and fire, cleanſed with the blood of Chriſt, 'and waſhed with the water of the Word, before they come into 'the kingdom of God, into heavenly Jeruſalem.

'The apoſtle Paul ſaith, "We know that if our earthly houſe of "this tabernacle were diſſolved, we have a building of God, a "houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this "we groan, earneſtly deſiring to be cloathed upon with our houſe "which is from heaven, that mortality might be ſwallowed up of "life," 2 Cor. v. 1, 2, 4. Here is "[WE in the earthly houſe of "this tabernacle];" which [WE] are they that have received 'Chriſt, are become the ſons of God, new creatures, and children 'of the light, that believe in Chriſt's light; who have an eternal 'houſe in the heavens, where mortality is ſwallowed up of life, in 'which houſe from heaven they will not groan.

'Peter ſaid, "I think it meet, as long as I am in this taber- "nacle, to ſtir you up by putting you in remembrance, knowing "that ſhortly I muſt put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord "Jeſus Chriſt hath ſhewed me," 2 Pet. i. 13, 14. Peter knew he 'muſt put off this tabernacle ſhortly; but as long as he was in it, he 'did ſtir up the ſaints to their duty in holineſs, that they might re- 'member it after he was deceaſed.

'Paul ſaith, "The firſt man is of the earth, earthly" (mark, 'earthly) 1 Cor. xv. 47. "And as we have borne the image of the "earthly, we ſhall alſo bear the image of the heavenly," (mark, the 'heavenly) ver. 49. And "we have this treaſure in earthen veſ- "ſels," &c. 2 Cor. iv. 7. "And I live," ſaid he, "yet not I, "but Chriſt liveth in me," Gal. ii. 20. who is the life of all God's 'people.

'Chriſt ſaid to the Jews, "That the dead are raiſed, even Moſes "ſhewed at the buſh, when he calleth the Lord, the God of Abra- "ham, and the God of Iſaac, and the God of Jacob; for he is not "the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live unto him," Luke 'xx. 37, 38. So "none of us liveth to himſelf, and no man dieth "to himſelf; for whether we live, we live unto the Lord, and whe- "ther we die, we die unto the Lord. Whether we live therefore or "die we are the Lord's. For to this end Chriſt both died and roſe, "that he might be Lord both of the dead and living," Rom. xiv. '7, 8, 9. For all died in Adam; and Chriſt by the grace of God 'taſted death for every man, that they might come out of the death 'in Adam to the eternal life in Jeſus Chriſt: who is alſo a quicken- 'ing ſpirit; for as in Adam all died, even ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be 'made alive. So Chriſt that died and roſe again, is Lord both of the

'living

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'living and of the dead; for the living live to the Lord, and die in 'him, and are bleſſed.

'All Chriſtendom ſay, that they believe in God and in Chriſt, and 'that they believe Moſes and the prophets, and preach Chriſt, 'Moſes, and the prophets; ſo their words and writings are preached 'and printed, and ye ſay ye believe them. But what life do ye 'live? Are ye through the law dead to the law, that ye may live 'unto God? Are ye crucified with Chriſt? Doth Chriſt live in 'you? Is the life that ye now live in the fleſh by the faith of the 'Son of God, and ye do not live, but Chriſt liveth in you, who 'gave himſelf for you? Is this your preſent life? for "the juſt "live by the faith" which Chriſt is the Author and Finiſher of; 'by which holy, divine, precious faith they have victory over that 'which is vile, unholy, and not divine; and in this faith they pleaſe 'God, and have acceſs to God and his Son, who fulfilleth the law 'and the prophets. For the law and the prophets were until John, 'and ſince that the kingdom of God hath been preached, and men 'preſs into it; and the leaſt in the kingdom of God is greater than 'John, though he was the greateſt prophet born of a woman. See 'whether ye are in the kingdom that ſtands in peace and righteouſ-'neſs and joy in the Holy Ghoſt, or not. Chriſt, the image of the 'inviſible God, the firſt-born of every creature, was before any 'creature; for by him were all things created that are in heaven and 'in the earth, viſible or inviſible, whether they be thrones, or do-'minions, or principalities, or powers, "all things were created "by him and for him, and he was before all things, and by him all "things conſiſt; and he is the head of the body, the church, and "is the beginning, the firſt-born from the dead." Here ye may ſee 'that all things were made by Chriſt Jeſus, and all things were 'created for Chriſt Jeſus, and by him all things conſiſt and have their 'being, who is the firſt-born from the dead, and dieth no more. 'It pleaſed the Father that in him all fulneſs ſhould dwell, and by 'Chriſt to reconcile all things unto himſelf, whether they be things 'in heaven or things in the earth. "In him are hid all the trea-"ſures of wiſdom and knowledge," who is the head of all prin-'cipality and power; for "all power in heaven and earth is given to "him," the firſt-born of every creature, and the firſt-born from the 'dead, who liveth for evermore in his power over all, the Lamb 'ſlain from the foundation of the world. While the world's ſpirit 'rules in men's hearts, they do not know Chriſt, nor the beginning 'nor ending of the work of God. Chriſt was outwardly crucified 'and ſlain without the gates of Jeruſalem by the diſobedient Jews; 'and they that hate the light of Chriſt, diſobey his goſpel, quench 'his Spirit, and are erred from his faith, "crucify to themſelves "Chriſt afreſh." So Adam and Eve, and their children that diſ-'obeyed God, did ſlay the Lamb; the blind Jews, that diſobeyed 'God, crucified Chriſt Jeſus; and the outward Chriſtians, that live 'and walk not in Chriſt, but in ſin and evil, though they make an 'outward profeſſion of Chriſt, yet crucify to themſelves Chriſt afreſh. 'As to Chriſt himſelf, he is "aſcended far above all principalities,

"thrones,

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" thrones, powers, and dominions;" ſo that they cannot put him to
' death, or crucify him any more, as to himſelf: but what the kil-
' lers, crucifiers, and perſecutors do now upon the earth, is againſt
' Chriſt in themſelves, and in his members; as Chriſt ſaid to Saul,
" Why perſecuteſt thou me?" Acts ix. 4. For what is done to his
' members, Chriſt takes as done to himſelf, Matth. xxv. 40. and
' 45. And they that did not viſit Chriſt, but perſecuted him in his
' members, perſecuted Chriſt in themſelves firſt.

' The ſerpent, that enemy to man and woman, the deſtroyer, the
' god of the world, and prince of the air, that ruleth in the hearts
' of the diſobedient, got in by diſobedience. But Chriſt bruiſes
' his head, breaketh his power to pieces, and deſtroys the devil
' and his works; and through death deſtroys death, and the devil,
' the power of death. So Chriſt, the light and life, hath all power
' in heaven and earth; and openeth the priſon-doors, and the eyes
' of the blind, and takes captive him that hath led into captivity,
' and gives gifts unto men. So Chriſt bindeth the ſtrong man of ſin,
' and ſpoils his goods, and caſts him out; Hallelujah! For the
' ſtrong man of ſin is the god of the world, and his houſe is that
' whole world that lieth in wickedneſs. And this God of the world
' hath kept his houſe, and his goods have been in peace; until a
' ſtronger than he come, and binds, and caſts him out; and then
' deſtroys him and his goods. So Chriſt, the Son of God, who is
' ſtronger than the devil, having deſtroyed the devil and his works,
' ſetteth up his own houſe. All believers in the light are the chil-
' dren of light, are of the Son of God's ſpiritual houſe, and the Son
' of God is over his houſe for evermore: glory to God in the higheſt,
' through Jeſus Chriſt, Amen!

' God ſpake by the mouth of his holy prophets concerning Chriſt
' Jeſus, his Son, the holy One: ſo they were holy men, and not
' unholy, that God ſpake by. All that name the name of the Lord
' Jeſus Chriſt, are to depart from iniquity.

' G. F.'

' Kingſton upon Thames, the
' 11th month, 1687.'

Chiſwick. Hammerſmith.

I returned to London towards the latter end of the eleventh month 1687, viſiting friends in the way at Chiſwick and Hammerſmith, where I had two meetings, one upon a feaſt-day, and the other on occaſion of a marriage; at which were many people of other denominations, amongſt whom I had a very ſeaſonable opportunity of opening the way of truth.

London.

Being come to London, I viſited meetings in and about the city, as the Lord led me! in whoſe ſervice I continued labouring till the middle of the firſt month 1687-8. At which time I went towards Enfield, and viſited friends there and thereabouts, and at Barnet, Waltham-Abbey, and other places; where I had many meetings, and very good ſervice, in which I ſpent ſeveral weeks. I then returned to London, where I continued labouring in the work of the goſpel till after the yearly-meeting, which this year was about the beginning of the fourth month. A precious meeting it was. A very

Enfield. Barnet. Waltham-Abbey. London. Yearly-meeting.

refreshing season friends had together; the Lord vouchsafing to honour our assemblies with his living glorious presence in a very plentiful manner. At the conclusion of the meeting I felt a concern upon my spirit to give forth the following paper, to be dispersed amongst friends. 1687. London. Yearly-meeting.

'ALL you believers in the light, that are become children of the 'light, walk as children of the light, and of the day of Christ, 'as a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid. Let your light so shine, 'that people may see your good works, and glorify your Father, 'which is in heaven. For a good tree bringeth forth good fruit; 'therefore be ye trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, 'having fruits unto holiness; and then your end will be everlasting 'life. Such are the wells and cisterns that hold the living water, 'which springs up in them to eternal life. Ye may all drink water 'out of your own cisterns, running water out of your own wells; 'and eat every one of his own fig-tree, and of his own vine; having 'salt every one in yourselves, to season every one's sacrifice, accept-'able to God by Jesus Christ; like wise virgins, that have oil in 'their lamps, follow the Lamb, and enter in with the bridegroom. 'Now is the time to labour, while it is day (yea, the day of Christ) 'to stir up every one's pure mind, the gift of God that is in them; 'and to improve your talents, that Christ hath afforded you, that ye 'may profit; and to walk every one according to the measure that 'Christ hath given you; for "the manifestation of the Spirit of "God is given to every one to profit withal." Consider what you 'have profited in spiritual and heavenly things, with the heavenly 'Spirit of God. Be not like the wicked and slothful, that hid his 'talent; from whom it was taken, and he cast into utter darkness. 'A dwarf, or one that had any blemish, was not to come nigh to 'offer upon God's altar; therefore mind the word of wisdom, to 'keep you out of that which will corrupt and blemish you; and that 'ye may grow in grace, in faith, and in the knowledge of our Lord 'Jesus Christ: and feeding upon the milk of the word, may grow 'by it, that ye may not be dwarfs; and so offer your spiritual sacri-'fice upon God's holy altar. For the field or vineyard of the sloth-'ful grows over with thorns and nettles, and his walls go down. 'Such are they that are not diligent in the Spirit of God, and the 'power, which is the wall, a sure fence. The Spirit of God will 'weed out all thorns, thistles, and nettles out of the vineyard of the 'heart. And you that are keepers of others vineyards, see that 'you keep your own vineyards clean with the Spirit and power of 'Christ. Sanctify yourselves, and sanctify the Lord in your hearts, 'that ye may be a holy people to the Lord, who saith; "Be ye "holy, for I am holy:" that ye may be the holy members of the 'church of Christ, that is clothed with the sun, and hath the moon 'under her feet; the changeable world, with all her changeable 'worships, religions, churches, and teachers. Be ye new and 'heavenly Jerusalem's children; for new and heavenly Jerusalem, 'that is above, is the mother of all the children of light, that are 'born of the Spirit. These are they that have been persecuted, and

1688. ‘ have ſuffered by the falſe church, myſtery Babylon, the mother of ‘ harlots.

London. Yearly-meeting. ‘ And now all heavenly Jeruſalem's and Sion's children, that are ‘ from above, labour in the goſpel, the power of God, the ſeed in ‘ which all nations, and all the families of the earth are bleſſed; ‘ which ſeed, Chriſt, bruiſes the ſerpent's head, deſtroys the devil ‘ and his works, and overcomes the whore, the falſe church, the ‘ beaſt, and the falſe prophet. He takes away the curſe, and the ‘ vail that is ſpread over all nations, and over all the families of the ‘ earth, and brings the bleſſing upon all (if they will receive it) ſay- ‘ ing, “ In thy ſeed ſhall all nations and all the families of the earth “ be bleſſed.” This is the goſpel of God preached to Abraham, be- ‘ fore Moſes wrote his five books; and was preached in the apoſtles ‘ days, and is now preached again; which brings life and immor- ‘ tality to light; and is the goſpel of peace, life, and ſalvation to ‘ every one that believes it. So all nations, all the families of the ‘ earth muſt be in Chriſt, the ſeed, if they be bleſſed, and be par- ‘ takers of the bleſſing in the ſeed. This goſpel was revealed by ‘ Chriſt to his apoſtles, who preached it; which is not of man, nor ‘ from man. Now, God and Chriſt hath revealed the ſame goſpel ‘ unto me, and many others in this age (I ſay the goſpel, and the ‘ ſeed, in which all nations and families of the earth are bleſſed;) in ‘ which goſpel I have laboured, and do labour, that all may come ‘ into this bleſſed ſeed, Chriſt, who bruiſes the head of the ſerpent, ‘ that in it they might have peace with God. This everlaſting goſ- ‘ pel is preached again to them that dwell upon the earth; and they ‘ that believe it, and receive it, receive the bleſſing, the peace, joy, ‘ and comfort of it, the ſtability in it, and the life and immortality ‘ which it brings to light in them and to them. Such can praiſe the ‘ everlaſting God in his everlaſting goſpel.

‘ And friends, all ſeek the peace and good of all in Chriſt: for ‘ truth makes no Cains, Corahs, Balaams, nor Judaſſes; for they ‘ come to be ſuch, that go out of the peaceable truth. Therefore ‘ walk in the peaceable truth, and ſpeak the truth in the love of it, ‘ as it is in Jeſus.

G. F.’

Eſſex. Waltham-Abbey. Hodſdon. Enfield. Southſtreet. Ford-Green. Winchmore-hill.

Some time after the yearly-meeting I went to my ſon Mead's in Eſſex, and abode ſome weeks; often viſiting friends meetings near, and ſometimes at Barking. After I had been a while there, I went to viſit friends at Waltham-Abbey, Hodſdon, Enfield, South-ſtreet, Ford-Green, and Winchmore-hill; where I had ſeveral very ſer- viceable meetings; the Lord opening many deep and weighty things through me, for the informing the underſtandings of inquirers, and building up thoſe that were gathered into the truth, and eſtablish- ing them therein.

London.

In the ſeventh month I returned to London, having been near three months in the country for my health's ſake, which was very much impaired; ſo that I was hardly able to ſtay in a meeting the whole time, and often after a meeting was fain to lie down upon a bed. Yet did not my weakneſs of body take me off from the ſervice of

of the Lord; but I continued to labour in and out of meetings in the work of the Lord, as he gave me opportunity and ability. 1688. London.

I had not been long in London, before a great weight came upon me, and a ſight the Lord gave me of the great buſtles and troubles, revolution and change, which ſoon after came to paſs. In the ſenſe whereof, and in the movings of the Spirit of the Lord, I wrote, "A "general epiſtle to friends, to forewarn them of the approaching "ſtorm; that they might all retire to the Lord, in whom ſafety is," as followeth:

'MY dear friends and brethren every where, who have received 'the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to whom he has given power to be-'come his ſons and daughters; in him ye have life and peace, and 'in his everlaſting kingdom, that is an eſtabliſhed kingdom, and 'cannot be ſhaken, but is over all the world, and ſtands in his 'power, and in righteouſneſs and joy in the Holy Ghoſt, into which 'no unrighteouſneſs, nor the foul unclean ſpirit of the devil in his 'inſtruments can enter. Dear friends and brethren, every one in 'the faith of Jeſus, ſtand in his power, who has all power in hea-'ven and earth given to him, and will "rule the nations with his "rod of iron, and daſh them to pieces like a potter's veſſel," that are 'not ſubject and obedient to his power: whoſe voice will ſhake the 'heavens, and the earth, that that which may be ſhaken may be re-'moved, and that which cannot be ſhaken may appear. Stand in him; 'and all things ſhall work together for good to them that love him.

'And now, dear friends and brethren, though theſe waves, ſtorms, 'and tempeſts be in the world, yet you may all appear the harmleſs 'and innocent lambs of Chriſt, walking in his peaceable truth, and 'keeping in the Word of power, wiſdom, and patience; and this 'Word will keep you in the day of trials and temptations, that will 'come upon the whole world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. 'For the Word of God was before the world, and all things were 'made by it: it is a tried Word, which gave God's people in all ages 'wiſdom, power, and patience. Therefore let your dwelling and 'walking be in Chriſt Jeſus, who is called the Word of God; and 'in his power, which is over all. Set your affections on things that 'are above, where Chriſt ſits at the right hand of God (mark) on 'thoſe things which are above, where Chriſt ſits; not thoſe things 'that are below, which will change and paſs away. Bleſſed be the 'Lord God, who by his eternal arm and power hath gathered a 'people to himſelf, and hath preſerved his faithful to himſelf through 'many troubles, trials, and temptations: his power and ſeed, Chriſt, 'is over all, and in him ye have life and peace with God. There-'fore in him all ſtand, and ſee your ſalvation, who is firſt and laſt, 'and the Amen. God Almighty preſerve and keep you all in him, 'your ark and ſanctuary; for in him you are ſafe over all floods, 'ſtorms, and tempeſts: for he was before they were; and will be 'when they are all gone.

G. F.'

London, the 17th of the
8th month, 1688.

About

1688. London.

About this time great exerciſe and weights came upon me (as had uſually done before great revolutions and changes of government) and my ſtrength departed from me; ſo that I reeled, and was ready to fall as I went along the ſtreets; and at length I could not go abroad at all, I was ſo weak for a pretty while; till I felt the power of the Lord to ſpring over all, and had received an aſſurance from him, that he would preſerve his faithful people to himſelf through all.

In the time that I kept within, I wrote a paper, ſhewing; "Moſes, "as a ſervant, was faithful in all his houſe, in the Old Teſtament; "and Chriſt, as a Son, is over his houſe, in the New Teſtament."

'THE houſe of Iſrael was called God's vineyard, in Iſa. v. 7. and 'all the Iſraelites were called the houſe of Iſrael. Iſrael ſigni-'fies, "a prince with God, and a prevailer with men," Gen. xxxii. '28. When Peter preached Chriſt to the houſe of Iſrael, he ſaid; "Let all the houſe of Iſrael know aſſuredly, that God hath made "the ſame Jeſus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Chriſt," 'Acts ii. 36. So they were all called the houſe of Iſrael. And it 'is ſaid, "Moſes was faithful in all his houſe (to wit, this houſe "of Iſrael) as a ſervant; for a teſtimony of thoſe things which were "to be ſpoken after: but Chriſt, as a ſon, over his own houſe; "which houſe are we, if we hold faſt the confidence, and the re-"joicing of the hope firm unto the end," Hebr. iii. 5, 6. Here it 'is manifeſt, that Moſes was faithful in all his houſe, as a ſervant, 'viz. in the houſe of Iſrael, in the Old Teſtament: but Chriſt Jeſus, 'the Son of God, is over his houſe in his New Teſtament and cove-'nant; and all his true believers are of his houſe. The apoſtle tells 'the Epheſians (who were a church of Chriſt) they were "fel-"low-citizens with the ſaints, and of the houſhold of God," Eph. 'ii. 19. And the ſaints are called "the houſhold of faith," Gal. vi. '10. Peter, in his general epiſtle, tells the church of Chriſt, they 'were "a choſen generation, a royal prieſthood, a holy nation, a "peculiar people, 1 Pet. ii. 9. And that as lively ſtones, they were 'built up "a ſpiritual houſe, an holy prieſthood, to offer up ſpiri-"tual ſacrifices, acceptable to God by Jeſus Chriſt," ver. 5. The 'apoſtle ſaith to the church of Chriſt at Corinth: "If our earthly "houſe of this tabernacle were diſſolved, we have a building of God, "an houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," 2 Cor. v. 1. 'And Chriſt ſaid to his diſciples; "Let not your hearts be troubled: "ye believe in God, believe alſo in me. In my Father's houſe "are many manſions; (a manſion is a dwelling or abiding-place) "if it were not ſo, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place "for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, "and receive you unto myſelf, that where I am, there ye may be "alſo," John xiv. 1, 2, 3. The Pſalmiſt ſaith; "Thoſe that be "planted in the houſe of the Lord, ſhall flouriſh in the courts of our "God: they ſhall bring forth fruit in old age; they ſhall be fat and "flouriſhing," Pſal. xcii. 13, 14. Again; "Holineſs becomes "thine houſe, O Lord, for ever," Pſal. xciii. 5. Iſaiah alſo ſaid by 'way of prophecy; "It ſhall come to paſs in the laſt days, that the "mountain of the Lord's houſe ſhall be eſtabliſhed in the top of the "mountains, and ſhall be exalted above the hills, and all nations

"ſhall

" ſhall flow unto it," Iſa. ii. 2. Is not that a great houſe? Is not " this mountain Chriſt, who is over his houſe in the New Teſta- ' ment and new covenant? To this mountain and houſe all the chil- ' dren of the New Teſtament or new covenant flow in theſe latter ' days; ſo that it is come to paſs, which was propheſied of by Iſaiah. ' For he ſaid; " Many people ſhall go and ſay, Come ye, and let us " go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the houſe of the God of Ja- " cob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his " paths: for out of Zion ſhall go forth the law, and the word of the " Lord from Jeruſalem. And he ſhall judge among the nations, " and ſhall rebuke many people; and they ſhall beat their ſwords " into plow-ſhares, and their ſpears into pruning-hooks: nation " ſhall not lift up ſword againſt nation, neither ſhall they learn war " any more. O houſe of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the " light of the Lord," ver. 3, 4, 5. Here ye may ſee, they that come ' to the mountain of the houſe of God, and to God's teaching, they ' muſt walk in the light of the Lord; yea, the houſe of Jacob. Ja- ' cob ſignifies a ſupplanter: he ſupplanted profane Eſau, who is ' hated, and Jacob is loved. Now theſe two births muſt be known ' within: they that walk in the light of the Lord, and come to ' Chriſt, the mountain of the houſe of the Lord, eſtabliſhed above ' all mountains and hills, break their ſwords into plow-ſhares, and ' their ſpears into pruning-hooks: and in Chriſt, this mountain ' and houſe of the Lord, there are no ſpears nor ſwords to hurt one ' another withal. Chriſt, the Son of God, is over his houſe and great ' family, the children of the light, that believe in it, and walk in it, ' the children of the day of Chriſt, his holy and royal prieſthood, that ' offer up ſpiritual ſacrifice to God by him. All ſuch are of Chriſt's ' (the ſpiritual man's) houſe; who are born of God, and led by his ' Spirit: they are of the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings houſe ' and family, which he is over; and are of the houſhold of the holy, ' divine, pure, and precious faith, which Chriſt is the author and ' finiſher of. And they that be of the Son's houſe, are pure, righ- ' teous, and holy, and can do nothing againſt the truth, but for it, ' in their words, lives, and converſations; and ſo are a choſen gene- ' ration, a holy nation, a peculiar people, that they ſhould ſhew forth ' the praiſe of him who hath called them out of darkneſs into his ' marvellous light. Theſe are Chriſt's lively ſtones, that build up a ' ſpiritual houſe, which he (Chriſt, the ſpiritual Man, the King of ' kings, and Lord of lords) is over.

1688. London.

G. F.'

' London, the 10th
' month 1688.'

Some time after this, my body continuing weak, I went with my ſon Mead to his houſe in Eſſex; where I ſtaid ſome weeks. In which time I writ many things relating to the ſervice of truth, ſome were printed ſoon after; others were ſpread abroad in manuſcript; and amongſt other things, a few lines to this purpoſe: Eſſex.

1988. Gooſes.

'THAT, while men are contending for thrones here below, Chriſt is on his throne, and all his holy angels are about him, who is 'the beginning and the ending, the firſt and laſt, over all. And that 'the Lord will make way and room for himſelf, and for them that 'are born of his Spirit, which are heavenly Jeruſalem's children, to 'come home to their free mother.'

A few words alſo I writ concerning the worlds teacher's, and the emptineſs of their teaching. Which were thus:

'DOTH not that which is called Chriſtendom live in talking of 'Chriſt's, of the apoſtles, and prophets words, and the letter of 'the Scriptures? And do not their prieſts miniſter the letter, with 'their own conceptions thereupon, for money, though the holy 'Scriptures were freely given forth from God, Chriſt, the prophets, 'and apoſtles? Yet the apoſtle ſaith, "The letter killeth, but the "Spirit giveth life," 2 Cor. iii. 6. The miniſters of the New Teſta-'ment are not miniſters of the letter, but of the Spirit; and they 'ſow to the Spirit, and of the Spirit reap life eternal. But people's 'ſpending time about old authors, and talking of them, and of the 'outward letter, doth not feed their ſouls. For talking of victuals 'and cloaths doth not cloath the body, nor feed it. No more are 'their ſouls and ſpirits fed and cloathed, except they have the bread 'and water of life from heaven to feed them, and the righteouſneſs of 'Chriſt to cloath them. Talking of outward things and ſpiritual 'things, and not poſſeſſing them, may ſtarve both their bodies and 'their ſouls. Therefore quench not the Spirit of God, which will 'lead to be diligent in all things.

With this I writ another ſhort paper, ſhewing, "The hurt they "did, and the danger they run into, who turned people from the in-"ward manifeſtation of Chriſt in the heart."

'THE Jews were commanded by the law of God, "not to re-'move the outward land-mark," Deut. xix. 14. They that did 'ſo, or that cauſed the blind to wander, were curſed in the old cove-'nant, Deut. xxvii. 17. In the new covenant the apoſtle ſaith; "Let him be accurſed that preacheth any other goſpel, than that "which he had preached," Gal. i. 8. The goſpel that he preached "was the power of God unto ſalvation, to every one that believeth," 'Rom. i. 16. And the goſpel that was preached to Abraham was, 'That in his "ſeed all nations, and all the families of the earth 'ſhould be bleſſed." In order to bring men to this bleſſed ſtate, 'God poureth out of his Spirit upon all fleſh; and Chriſt doth en-'lighten every one that cometh into the world; and the grace of 'God, which bringeth ſalvation, hath appeared unto all men, and 'teacheth Chriſtians, the true believers in Chriſt; and God doth 'write his law in the true Chriſtians hearts, and putteth it in their 'minds, that they may "all know the Lord, from the greateſt to "the leaſt;" and he giveth his word in their hearts to obey and do,

'and

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‘ and the anointing within them; ſo that they need not any man to ‘ teach them, but as the anointing doth teach them. Now all ſuch ‘ as turn people from the light, Spirit, grace, word, and anointing ‘ within, remove them from the heavenly land-mark of their eternal ‘ inheritance, and make them blind, and cauſe the blind to wander ‘ from the living way to their eternal houſe in the heavens, and from ‘ the new and heavenly Jeruſalem. So they are curſed that cauſe the ‘ blind to wander out of their way, and remove them from their ‘ heavenly land-mark.

‘ G. F.’

I writ alſo a paper to ſhew, by inſtances taken out of the holy ſcriptures, that “ many of the holy men and prophets of God, and of “ the apoſtles of Chriſt, were huſbandmen and tradeſmen: by “ which people might ſee how unlike to them the world's teachers “ now are.”

‘ RIGHTEOUS Abel was a ſhepherd, “ a keeper of ſheep,” ‘ Gen. iv. 2. Noah was an huſbandman, and he was a “ juſt “ man, and perfect in his generation, and walked with God,” Gen. ‘ ix. 20. and vi. 9. Abraham, the father of the faithful, was an ‘ huſbandman, and had great flocks of cattle; juſt Lot was an huſ- ‘ bandman, and had great flocks and herds, Gen. xiii. Iſaac was an ‘ huſbandman, and had great “ flocks and herds of cattle, and ſtore “ of corn,” Gen. xxvi. 12. 14. And the promiſe was with Iſaac: ‘ for the Lord ſaid to Abraham, “ In Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be called,” ‘ Gen. xxi. 12. Jacob was an huſbandman, and his ſons “ keepers “ of flocks of cattle,” Gen. xlvi. 32. 34. and God loved Jacob. ‘ Moſes kept ſheep, Exod. iii. 1. The Lord ſpake to him, when he ‘ was keeping ſheep, ver. 4. and ſent him to Pharaoh, to bring God's ‘ people, or ſheep, out of Egypt. And by the hand and power of ‘ the Lord, he and Aaron his brother brought them out of Egypt, a ‘ land of anguiſh, bondage, darkneſs, and perplexity. And Moſes ‘ kept the Lords people, or ſheep, forty years in the wilderneſs: a ‘ meek ſhepherd of God he was, and kept his great flock of ſheep; ‘ though ſome of them were ſcabbed with the leproſy of contention ‘ and murmuring, and were deſtroyed in the wilderneſs.

‘ David (though he afterwards came to be a king) was a keeper of ‘ his father's ſheep in the wilderneſs, 1 Sam. xvii. 15. 28. The Lord ‘ called him from the ſheep-cotes to feed his ſheep, the houſe of Iſ- ‘ rael, and to defend them from the ſpiritual wolves, bears, and ‘ lions; and he did it to purpoſe, who was a man after God's own ‘ heart.

‘ Eliſha was a plowman, 1 Kings xix. 19. He was called from ‘ the plow, to teach God's people, the children of Iſrael, to plow up ‘ the fallow-ground of their hearts, that they might bring forth ſeed ‘ and fruits to God their Creator.

‘ The word of the Lord came to Amos, when he was among the ‘ herdſmen of Tekoa, Amos i. 1. Amaziah, the prieſt of Bethel, ‘ ſaid to Amos, “ Propheſy not again any more at Bethel: for it is “ the king's chapel, and it is the king's court,” chap. vii. 13. Amos

‘ anſwered,

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anſwered " I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's ſon; but I " was an herdſman, and a gatherer of ſycamore-fruit: and the Lord " took me as I followed the flock. And the Lord ſaid unto me, Go, " propheſy unto my people Iſrael," ver. 14, 15. Here ye may ſee, the Lord made uſe of a poor man, and called him from following the outward flock, and from gathering of outward fruits, to gather his fruits, and to follow his people or flock, the children of Iſrael.

Chriſt called Peter, and Andrew his brother, when " caſting " their net into the ſea (for they were fiſhers): and he ſaid unto " them, Follow me, and I will make you fiſhers of men," Matth. iv. 18, 19. Chriſt likewiſe called James and John his brother, when they were in a ſhip, with Zebedee their father, " mending their " nets; and they immediately left the ſhip, and their father, and " followed him," ver. 21, 22. He gave them power (a net that will hold, and not want mending) and made them fiſhers of men, to fiſh them out of the great ſea, the world of wickedneſs. We read, when Peter, Thomas, Nathaniel, the ſons of Zebedee, and other diſciples went a fiſhing together, and that night caught nothing, in the morning Jeſus appeared, and ſaid, " Caſt the net on the right ſide " of the ſhip, and ye ſhall find." They did ſo, and catched ſo great a multitude, they were not able to draw them to the ſhore. When thereupon one of the other diſciples ſaid to Peter, " It is the Lord;" Peter, hearing that, " girded his fiſher's coat unto him," John xxi. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. This was after Chriſt was riſen. So here ye may ſee, Peter had not laid aſide his fiſher's coat all the while that he had been preaching before Chriſt's death.

Jeſus ſaw Matthew " ſitting at the receipt of cuſtom, and he " ſaid unto him, follow me. And he aroſe, and followed him," Matth. ix. 9. And Chriſt employed Matthew to gather his people, that were ſcattered from God; another manner of treaſure than the outward cuſtom of the Romans. Luke was a phyſician, whom Chriſt made a phyſician ſpiritual; which was better than outward.

Paul was a tent-maker; and being of the ſame craft with Aquila and Priſcilla, " he abode with them at Corinth, and wrought; (for " by their occupation they were tent-makers)," Acts xviii. 3.

G. F.

Gooſes, the 1ſt
month 1688-9.'

It was now a time of much talk, and people too much buſied their minds, and ſpent their time, in hearing and telling news. To ſhew them the vanity thereof, and to draw them from it, I writ the following lines:

'IN the low region, in the airy life, all news is uncertain; there is nothing ſtable: but in the higher region, in the kingdom of Chriſt, all things are ſtable and ſure, and the news always good and certain. For Chriſt, who hath all power in heaven and in earth given unto him, ruleth in the kingdoms of men: and he, who doth inherit the heathen, and poſſeſs the utmoſt parts of the

'earth with his divine power and light, rules all nations with his rod 1689.
'of iron, and "dashes them to pieces like a potter's vessels, the Gooses.
'vessels of dishonour, and the leaky vessels that will not hold his
'living water of life; and he doth preserve his elect vessels of mercy
'and honour. His power is certain, and doth not change, by which
'he doth remove the mountains and hills, and shakes the heavens
'and the earth. Leaky, dishonourable vessels, the hills and moun-
'tains, and the old heavens and the earth, are all to be shaken, re-
'moved, and broken to pieces, though they do not see it nor him
'that doth it; but the elect and faithful both see it, and know him
'and his power that cannot be shaken, and changeth not.

'G. F.'

'The 5th of the 1st month,
'1688-9.'

About the middle of the first month, 1688-9, I went to London, London.
the parliament then sitting, and being then about the bill of indul-
gence. Though I was weak in body, and not well able to stir to
and fro, yet so great a concern was upon my Spirit on behalf of truth
and friends, that I attended continually for many days, with others,
at the parliament-house, labouring with the members, that the thing
might be done comprehensively and effectually.

In this and other services I continued till towards the end of the
second month, when being much spent with continual labour, I got
out of town for a little while, as far as Southgate and thereabouts. Southgate.
While I was there I wrote a letter to Peter Hendricks, a friend, at
Amsterdam, in which I inclosed an epistle to friends at Dantzick, in
Poland, who at this time were under great persecution. And I
wrote unto them to encourage and strengthen them in their testi-
mony, and to comfort them in their sufferings for the truth. I also
wrote a paper to their persecutors, the magistrates of Dantzick, lay-
ing before them the evil of persecution, perswading them to Chris-
tian moderation, and 'to do unto others, in matters of religion, as
'they would be done unto.'

'To Peter Hendricks at Amsterdam; and to friends at Dantzick,
'who are under persecution.

'Dear friend P. H.

'WITH my love to thee and thy wife, J. Clause, and J. Roe-
'loffs, and all the rest of friends every-where in Christ Jesus,
'who reigns over all. I am glad to hear friends are well in all those
'provinces and places every-where, except Dantzick, and that you
'were so diligent in spreading my papers to the strengthening of
'friends. I have lately printed the Life of William Caton, but have
'not made a collection of his books. I think to send some of them
'to you, which you may translate and print if you will; they may be
'serviceable among friends, especially them that knew him.

'Concerning friends at Dantzick, whom the Lord hath sup-
'ported with his eternal arm and power to this day, I hope by the
'same arm and power he will support them, and in it they will feel

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'his bleſſed preſence with them in all their ſufferings; who is over 'the cruelty of their perſecutors, who will hardly let them breathe 'outwardly or inwardly, in the common air of their native ſoil. 'Which ſhews their immorality, inhumanity, and unchriſtianity, 'and that they want the counſel of a Gamaliel amongſt them; 'whoſe actions are below the law of God, to "do unto others as "they would have others do unto them;" God will not bleſs the 'doings of ſuch. However I deſire that friends may mind the 'Lord's power that is over all, be valiant for his truth, and keep up- 'on their rock and foundation Chriſt Jeſus, that ſtands ſure in the 'time of the heat of perſecution which is ſo hot upon you, that they 'will not ſuffer you to have ſo much as your houſes to work and 'ſleep in, nor to meet nor ſerve God in. The Lord beholds all ſuch 'actors and their actions. Therefore look over all to him, who is 'able to deal with them, and reward them according to their works. 'God Almighty preſerve you all in Chriſt Jeſus, in whom you have 'reſt, life, and peace, Amen.

'G. F.'

'Southgate, the 28th of the
'2d month, 1689.'

'To the magiſtrates of Dantzick:

'Chriſtian Shroder, preſident of the council, Emanuel Dilger, 'N. Gadecken, and N. Fraterus, deputy of the council, and 'the reſt of the magiſtrates and prieſts.

'WE have ſeen your order, and your breathing out perſecution 'againſt that little flock, the lambs of Chriſt, that live under 'your juriſdiction in the city of Dantzick, and that you have im- 'priſoned and baniſhed two by the hangman out of the government 'of your city; and others you threaten to do the ſame to, with 'great puniſhment if they return. Likewiſe you threaten thoſe with 'puniſhment they rent their houſes of, if they let them have their 'houſes either to live in, or meet in to ſerve and worſhip the Lord 'that made them. Truly, I am heartily ſorry for both your ma- 'giſtrates and prieſts, that go under the name of Chriſtians, and 'ſhew ſuch immoral, inhuman, unchriſtian actions, below the 'royal law of God, which is "to do to others as you would have "them do unto you." For would you think it was moral, human, 'or chriſtian, or according to the law of God, if the king of Poland, 'who is of another religion than you, ſhould baniſh you out of your 'city by the hangman, and call you murderers of ſouls? Could you 'ſay but this was according to the law of God, "to do unto you as "you would have done unto others?" If you ſay, you have the 'ſword, the horn, and the power; bleſſed be the Lord that hath 'ſhortened your ſword, your power, and your horn, that it reaches 'no further than your juriſdiction of Dantzick; and you do not 'know how long God may ſuffer you to have your horn, your power, 'and your ſword. We are ſure you have not the mind nor Spirit 'of Chriſt; and the apoſtle ſaith, "They that have not the Spirit

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" of Chriſt are none of his," Rom. viii. And Chriſt bids Peter " put up his ſword ;" they that draw the ſword concerning him, to ' defend him and his worſhip and faith, ſhould periſh with the ' ſword. Peter and the apoſtles never drew the outward ſword after, ' but ſaid, their weapons were ſpiritual not carnal, and they did not ' wreſtle with fleſh and blood. Chriſt never gave any ſuch command, ' that they ſhould baniſh any by the hangman, that were not of their ' religion, nor would not receive it. Are not you worſe than the ' Turks, who let many religions be in their country, yea Chriſtians, ' and to meet peaceably ? Yea, the Turkiſh patroons let our friends ' that were captives meet together at Algiers, and ſaid, " It was " good ſo to do." You are worſe than thoſe barbarous people at ' Salee, who do not profeſs Chriſtianity ; for you profeſs Chriſt in ' words, but in works deny him. Did you ever find, either in ſcrip- ' ture or hiſtory, that any perſecutors proſpered long ? You are ' worſe than they are in the Mogul's country, who they ſay permits ' ſixty religions in his dominions ; and many others might be men- ' tioned, which you are worſe than them all in your cruelty and per- ' ſecution of God's people only for meeting together in the name of ' Jeſus, and ſerving and worſhipping God, their Creator. No, they ' muſt not breathe in their natural air, neither natural or ſpiritual, in ' your dominions. I pray, where had you theſe commands from ? ' Neither from Chriſt nor his apoſtles. Do not you profeſs the ſcrip- ' tures of the New Teſtament to be your rule ? But I pray you, ' what ſcripture have you for this practice ? It is good for you to be ' humble, to do juſtice, love mercy, call home your baniſhed, and ' love and cheriſh them ; yea, though they were your enemies, you ' are to obey the command of Chriſt, and love them. I wonder how ' you and your wives and families can ſleep quietly in your beds, that ' do ſuch cruel actions, without thinking the " Lord may do to you " the ſame !" You cannot be without ſenſe and feeling, except you ' be given over to reprobation, and your conſciences ſeared with a hot ' iron. But Chriſtian charity doth hope that you are not all in that ' ſtate ; but that there may be ſome relenting or conſideration of your ' actions among ſome of you, either according to the law of God or ' his goſpel.

' From him that deſires your temporal and eternal good and ' ſalvation, and not deſtruction, Amen.

' G. F.'

' Middleſex, the 28th of the ' 2d month, 1688.'

' Peter, Thou may'ſt tranſlate this into High Dutch, and ſend ' them ; and you may print it, if you will, and ſend it abroad ; ' and tranſlate that part of the letter that is to friends into ' High Dutch, and ſend to them.'

London yearly meeting.

Having ſtaid in the country about three weeks, I returned to London a little before the yearly meeting, which was in the third month this year, and was a very ſolemn, weighty meeting; the Lord, as formerly, viſiting his people, and honouring the aſſembly with his glorious

1689. London yearly meeting.

glorious preſence, to the great ſatisfaction and comfort of friends. After the buſineſs of the meeting was over, it was upon me to add a few lines to the epiſtle, which went from the meeting to friends, after this manner:

'Dear friends and brethren,

'WHO have known the Lord's eternal arm and power, that hath preſerved you upon the heavenly rock and foundation, and 'hath built your houſe upon it; you have known many winds, 'tempeſts, and ſtorms that have riſen out of the ſea, where the beaſt 'roſe, and many raging ſtorms that have riſen by apoſtates of ſeveral 'ſorts; but the ſeed that buiſes the ſerpent's head, and is the foun-'dation of God's people, ſtands ſure. Dear friends and brethren, 'though there be great ſhakings in the world, the Lord's power is 'over all, and his kingdom cannot be ſhaken. Therefore, all ye 'children of God, children of the light, and heirs of his king-'dom, a joyful, peaceable habitation keep in; keeping out of all 'the heats, contentions, and diſputes about things below. "Lay "hand on no man, nor nothing ſuddenly;" leſt they ſhould be 'puffed up with that which fades, and ſo come to loſs; but mind 'the Lord's power that keeps open your heavenly eye, to ſee things 'preſent and to come, and in that ye will ſee and handle the word of 'life. Dear friends every-where, have power over your own ſpirits. 'As God hath bleſſed you with his outward things, have a care of 'truſting in them, or falling into difference one with another about 'theſe outward things that are below, which will paſs away. But 'all live in the love of God, and in that live in peace with God, and 'one with another. Follow the works of charity, and overcome 'the evil with the good to all; for what good have all the tinklers 'done, with their cymbals and ſounding braſs? They always bred 'confuſion, and never did good in any age; tinkling with their 'cymbals, and ſounding with their braſs, to draw out the ſimple to 'follow them. It is good for all the children of God to keep in their 'poſſeſſions of life, and in the love of God that is everlaſting. As 'for all the tumults of the world, and the apoſtates from the truth, 'the Lord's power is over them all, Chriſt reigns, and the Lord ſaith, "No weapon that is formed againſt thee ſhall proſper," Iſa. liv. 17. 'Friends, you are not unſenſible how many weapons have been 'formed againſt us who are ſons and daughters of God, and the 'Lord hath reſtrained them according to his promiſe; they "have "not proſpered." The Lord ſaid, "Every tongue that ſhall riſe "up in judgment againſt thee, thou ſhalt condemn;" ſo God hath 'given ſuch a power to his children to condemn all the tongues that 'ſhall riſe up in judgment againſt them, and this is the heritage of 'the ſervants of the Lord, "Their righteouſneſs is of me," ſaith the 'Lord. You are not inſenſible of the many tongues that have riſen 'up againſt us in judgment, yea of apoſtates and prophane; but in 'and with the truth, the power of God, according to the promiſe of 'God, "Every tongue that riſeth againſt thee thou ſhalt condemn." 'It is not one tongue only thou ſhalt condemn; but every tongue 'that ſhall riſe up in judgment againſt thee thou ſhalt condemn.

'The Lord giveth this power to his ſervants and children to judge 1689.
'the evil tongues, and he doth reſtrain the weapons formed againſt London yearly meeting.
'them, ſo that they ſhall not proſper againſt his children that he
'hath begotten. Praiſes and honour be to his holy name for ever!
'Amen!

'G. F.'

Soon after this the yearly meeting began at York, which, becauſe of the largeneſs of that county, and for the conveniency of friends in the northern parts, had for ſome years been held there. And inaſmuch as there had been ſome hurt done in that place, by ſome that were gone out of the unity of friends, it was upon me to write a few lines to that meeting, to 'exhort them to keep in pure heavenly love, 'which brings into and keeps in the true unity.' Which was thus:

'Dear friends and brethren in Chriſt Jeſus,

'WHOM the Lord by his eternal arm and power hath preſerved 'to this day, all walk in the power and Spirit of God, that is 'over all, in love and unity; for love overcomes, builds up, and 'unites all the members of Chriſt to him the Head. Love keeps 'out of all ſtrife, and is of God. Love, or charity, never fails, but 'keeps the mind above all outward things, and ſtrife about out-'ward things. It overcomes evil, and caſts out all falſe fears. It is 'of God, and unites all the hearts of his people together in the 'heavenly joy, concord, and unity. The God of love preſerve you 'all, and eſtabliſh you in Chriſt Jeſus, your life and ſalvation, in 'whom ye have all peace with God. So walk in him, that ye may 'be ordered in his peaceable, heavenly wiſdom, to the glory of God, 'and the comfort one of another, Amen.

'G. F.'

'London, the 27th of the
'3d month, 1689.'

Being much wearied and ſpent with many large meetings, and much buſineſs with friends during the time of the yearly meeting, and finding my health much impaired thereby, I went out of town with my daughter Rouſe to their country-houſe near Kingſton, and tarried there moſt of the remaining part of the ſummer. In which time I ſometimes viſited friends at Kingſton, and wrote divers things for the ſervice of truth and friends. One was an epiſtle to friends at Barbadoes; as followeth: Kingſton.

'To all friends in Barbadoes that are convinced of God's truth.

'MY deſires are that ye may live and walk in his peaceable truth, 'and ſhew forth that ye are children of the light and of the 'truth; for the heavenly, gentle, peaceable wiſdom is juſtified of 'her children. But debate, ſtrife, wilfulneſs, laying open one an-'other's nakedneſs and weakneſs, is not the practice of heavenly wiſ-'dom's children (but of Ham's) nor from the Spirit of Chriſt; neither 'ſuch as bite and tear one another; that is from a devouring ſpirit,

1689. Kingston.

'not the Spirit of Jeſus, which covers that which is uncomely, and 'can forgive. My friends, you profeſs that truth which is beyond 'all the world's ways, therefore ſee that you excel them in the hea- 'venly gentle wiſdom, that is eaſy to be intreated; for the wiſdom 'of the world is not eaſy to be intreated, and ſometimes will not be 'intreated at all. Pray ſee you excel the world in wiſdom, in virtue, 'in kindneſs, in love that is over hatred, in meekneſs, humility, 'ſobriety, civility, and modeſty, in temperance and patience, and 'in all morality and humanity; which will not act any thing below 'men nor unmanly. Shew forth true chriſtianity, and that ye are 'the converted and tranſlated believers in Chriſt, dwelling in the 'love of God that beareth all things, endureth all things, is not 'puffed up, and envies not. For they that are out of this love 'of God, and Chriſtian charity, are nothing but as a tinkling 'cymbal and as ſounding braſs, and are diſcontented, mur- 'murers and complainers, full of doubts, queſtions, and falſe jea- 'louſies. Keep that ſpirit out of the camp of God; for do not you 'read in the ſcriptures, both of the New and Old Teſtament, that 'the end of ſuch was miſery? Therefore, in the love of God, build 'up one another; for love edifies the body of Chriſt, and he com- 'mands his believers to love enemies, and to love one another; by 'this they are known to be the diſciples of Chriſt. But to live in 'envy, ſtrife, and hatred, is a mark that they are no diſciples of 'Chriſt; "for he that loveth not his brother abides in death, and "whoſoever hates his brother is a murderer, and ye know that no "murderer hath eternal life abiding in him. But they that love the "brethren are paſſed from death to life," 1 John iii. 14, 15. And, "If a man ſay, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for "he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath ſeen, how can he "love God, whom he hath not ſeen? And this commandment have "we from God, that he who loveth God love his brother alſo," 'chap. iv. 20, 21. Therefore "love one another;" for love is of 'God, and hatred is of the devil, and every one that loveth is born of 'God, and knows God. All are children of God by creation, there- 'fore in that ſtate they are to love their neighbours as themſelves, 'and "to do unto all men as they would have them do unto them." 'Secondly, God pouring his Spirit upon all fleſh (or all men and 'women) all that are led by the Spirit of God are the ſons of God, 'heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Chriſt, and are in fellowſhip in 'the everlaſting goſpel, and in unity in the Spirit, the bond of 'peace. They that go out of this unity, out of the bond of peace, 'and do not keep it, break the King of kings peace; but they that 'keep in the unity and fellowſhip in the Spirit, and walk in the 'light, have fellowſhip one with another, and with the Father and 'the Son. It is not every one that talks of the light of the world, 'of righteouſneſs, of Chriſt, and of God, but he that "doth the "will of God." Therefore, my friends, ſtrive to excel one another 'in love, in virtue, in good life and converſation; and ſtrive all to 'be of one mind, heart, and judgment in the Spirit of God; for in 'Chriſt all are one, and are in peace with him. The Lord God 'Almighty preſerve you in him, your rock and foundation, that is

'heavenly and ſtands ſure; that ye may be valiant for the truth upon earth, for the Lord and his glorious name; that ye may all ſerve him in your generation, and in his new creation in Chriſt Jeſus, Amen. 1689. Kingſton.

'And now that you are come into ſo much favour with the magiſtrates and powers, that they let you ſerve the office of a conſtable, &c. without ſwearing or taking any oaths, hereby Chriſt's doctrine and command, and his apoſtle's is ſet up. I therefore deſire that you may double your diligence in your offices, in doing that which is juſt, true, and righteous; ſo that ye may excel and exceed all that are tied or bound by oaths to perform their offices; and you can do it upon your Yea and Nay; ſo ſay and ſo do, according to Chriſt's doctrine and command. For Adam and Eve, by diſobeying the command of God, fell under condemnation; and they that diſobey the command of Chriſt, in taking oaths and ſwearing, go into evil, and fall into condemnation, Mat. v. and James v. My love in the Lord is to you all.

'G. F.'

'Kingſton upon Thames, the 10th
'of the 5th month, 1688.'

I ſtaid at Kingſton till the beginning of the ſeventh month, where not only friends came to viſit me, but ſome conſiderable people of the world, with whom I diſcourſed about the things of God. Then leaving Kingſton, I went to London by water, viſiting friends as I went, and taking Hammerſmith-meeting in my way. Having recovered ſome ſtrength by being in the country, when I was come to London I went from meeting to meeting, labouring diligently in the work of the Lord, and opening the divine myſteries of the heavenly things, as God in his Spirit opened them to me. But I found my body would not long bear the city; wherefore, when I had travelled amongſt friends there about a month, I went to Tottenham-High-Croſs, and from thence to Edward Man's country-houſe near Winchmore-hill, and to Enfield; ſpending three weeks amongſt friends thereabouts, and had meetings at all thoſe places. Then, being a little refreſhed in the country, I returned to London; where I tarried, labouring in the work of the miniſtry, till the middle of the ninth month; at which time I went with my ſon Mead to his houſe in Eſſex, and abode there all the winter. During which time I ſtirred not much abroad, unleſs ſometimes to the meeting to which that family belonged, which was about half a mile from thence; but I had meetings often in the houſe with the family and thoſe friends that came thither. Many things alſo I wrote while I was there, ſome of which follow. One was an epiſtle to the quarterly and yearly meetings of friends in Pennſylvania, New-England, Virginia, Maryland, the Jerſeys, Carolina, and other plantations in America. Which was thus:

Hammerſmith.

London.

Tottenham-High-Croſs.

Winchmore-hill.

Enfield.

'My

1689. Gooſes.

'My dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

'WHO, by believing in his light, are become children of his 'light and of his day; my deſires are, that you may all walk 'in the light and in the day, and keep the feaſt of Chriſt, our 'paſſover, who is ſacrificed for us, not with old leaven, neither with 'the leaven of malice and wickedneſs; but let all that be purged 'out, that ye may be a new lump, keeping the feaſt of Chriſt, our 'paſſover, with the unleavened bread of ſincerity and truth. Let 'no leavened bread be found in your houſes, nor in your meetings, 'nor in the camp of God, or houſhold of faith, which are the 'houſhold of Chriſt; but all that ſour, old leaven, which makes 'people's hearts ſour, and burn one againſt another, muſt be purged 'out of the camp of God, and kept out. For the feaſt of Chriſt, our 'paſſover, muſt be kept in the New Covenant with his heavenly un-'leavened bread of life. The Jews feaſt in the Old Teſtament was 'kept with outward unleavened bread; and now in the New Teſta-'ment, in the goſpel-day, our feaſt is to be kept with the heavenly 'unleavened bread of ſincerity and truth. Therefore, friends, I de-'ſire you ſeriouſly to conſider, and to keep this feaſt which the 'apoſtle directed the church of Chriſt to keep. Do not you ſee 'Chriſtendom, ſo called, keep their feaſts with the leavened bread of 'malice and wickedneſs? which makes them ſo ſour, and their 'hearts ſo to burn one againſt another, that they have deſtroyed, and 'do deſtroy one another about religion. Therefore all live in the 'love of God, which keeps above the love of the world; ſo that 'none of your hearts may be choaked or ſurfeited with theſe out-'ward things, or with the cares of the world which will paſs away; 'but mind ye the world and the life that is without end, that ye 'may be heirs of it. And, friends, you ſhould ſtrive to excel all, 'both profeſſor and prophane, in morality, humanity, and Chriſ-'tianity, modeſty, ſobriety, and moderation, and in a good, godly, 'righteous life and converſation; ſhewing forth the fruits of the 'Spirit of God, and that you are the children of the living God, 'children of light and of day, and not of the night. And ſerve 'God in newneſs of life; for it is the life, and a living and walking 'in the truth, that muſt anſwer the witneſs of God in all people, "that they, ſeeing our good works, may glorify our Father which "is in heaven." Therefore be valiant for God's holy pure truth, 'and ſpread it abroad among both profeſſors and profane, and the 'Indians. And you ſhould write over once a year, from all your 'yearly meetings, to the yearly meeting here, concerning your dili-'gence in the truth, and of its ſpreading, and of people's receiving 'it, both profeſſors and prophane, and the Indians; and concerning 'the peace of the church of Chriſt amongſt yourſelves. For, bleſſed 'be the Lord, truth doth get ground in theſe parts, many are made 'very loving to friends, and the Lord's power and ſeed is over all: 'in which God Almighty keep all his people to his glory, Amen.

'G. F.'

'Gooſes, the 28th of the 11th
'month, 1689.'

'While

1689. Gooſes.

While I was in the city I had a concern upon my ſpirit with reſpect to a twofold danger that attended ſome who profeſſed truth; one was of young people's running into the faſhions of the world, and the other was of old people's going into the earth. And that concern coming now again weightily upon me, I was moved to give forth the following as a reproof to ſuch, and an exhortation and warning to all friends to beware of and keep out of thoſe ſnares.

'To all that profeſs the truth of God.

'MY deſires are that you walk humbly in it; for when the Lord firſt called me forth, he let me ſee that young people grew up together in vanity and the faſhions of the world, and old people went downwards into the earth, raking it together; and to both theſe I was to be a ſtranger. And now, friends, I do ſee too many young people that profeſs the truth grow up into the faſhions of the world, and too many parents indulge them; and amongſt the elder ſome are declining downwards and raking after the earth. Therefore, take heed that you are not making your graves while you are alive outwardly, and loading yourſelves with thick clay, Hab. ii. 6. For if you have not power over the earthly Spirit, and that which leadeth into a vain mind, and the faſhions of world, and into the earth; though you have often had the rain fall upon your fields, you will but bring forth thiſtles, briars, and thorns, which are for the fire. Such will become brittle, peeviſh, fretful ſpirits, that will not abide the heavenly doctrine, the admonitions, exhortations, and reproofs of the Holy Ghoſt, or heavenly Spirit of God; which would bring you to be conformable to the death of Chriſt, and to his image, that ye might have fellowſhip with him in his reſurrection. Therefore it is good for all to bow to the name of Jeſus, their Saviour, that all may confeſs him to the glory of God the Father. For I have had a concern upon me, in a ſenſe of the danger of young people's going into the faſhions of the world, and old people's going into the earth, and many going into a looſe and falſe liberty, till at laſt they go quite out into the ſpirit of the world as ſome have done. The houſe of ſuch hath been built upon the ſand on the ſea-ſhore, not upon Chriſt the Rock; that are ſo ſoon in the world again, under a pretence of liberty of conſcience. But it is not a pure conſcience, nor in the Spirit of God, nor in Chriſt Jeſus; for in the liberty in the Spirit there is the unity, which is the bond of peace; and all are one in Chriſt Jeſus, in whom is the true liberty: and this is not of the world, for he is not of the world. Therefore all are to ſtand faſt in him, as they have received him; for in him there is peace, who is the Prince of Peace, but in the world there is trouble. For the ſpirit of the world is a troubleſome ſpirit, but the Spirit of Chriſt is a peaceable Spirit: in which God Almighty preſerve all the faithful, Amen.

'G. F.'

'Gooſes, the 1ſt of the 2d month, 1690.'

1690. Another I wrote while I was here concerning the Enſign which Iſaiah propheſied the Lord ſhould ſet up for the Gentiles, which I ſhewed was Chriſt. Of which follows a copy :

Gooſes.

' THE Lord ſaith, " They ſhall not hurt nor deſtroy in all my " holy mountain ; for the earth ſhall be full of the knowledge " of the Lord, as the waters cover the ſea," Iſa. xi. 9. " And in that " day there ſhall be a root of Jeſſe, which ſhall ſtand for an enſign " of the people ; to it ſhall the Gentiles ſeek, and his reſt ſhall be " glorious," ver. 10. " And he ſhall reign over the Gentiles, and " in him ſhall the Gentiles truſt," Rom. xv. 12. This Enſign is ' Chriſt, who was propheſied of by the prophet; which prophecy ' the apoſtle, who was a miniſter to the Gentiles, ſheweth was ful- ' filled in the New Teſtament. In this day of Chriſt, Iſaiah ſaith, " The Lord ſhall ſet his hand again the ſecond time to recover the " remnant of his people, which ſhall be left, from Aſſyria and from " Egypt, &c. And he ſhall ſet up an Enſign for the nations, and " ſhall aſſemble the outcaſts of Iſrael, and gather together the diſ- " perſed of Judah from the four corners of the earth," ver. 11, ' 12. This is in the day of Chriſt, and his goſpel of life and ſalva- ' tion, which is preached to every creature under heaven, who " enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world," both Jews ' and Gentiles, that by his heavenly divine light they may ſee Chriſt, ' their Enſign and Captain of their ſalvation ; ſo Chriſt is one Enſign ' both to the Jews and Gentiles. Iſaiah ſaith, " The Redeemer " ſhall come to Sion," &c. Iſa. lix. 20. And, " This is my co- " venant with them, ſaith the Lord, my Spirit that is upon thee " (to wit, Chriſt) and my words, which I have put in thy mouth, " ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy " ſeed, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeed's ſeed, ſaith the Lord, " from henceforth and for ever," ver. 21. " Ariſe, ſhine, for thy " light is come, and the glory of the Lord is riſen upon thee," chap. ' lxi. 1. " And the Gentiles ſhall come to thy light," ver. 3. " And the abundance of the ſea ſhall be converted unto thee," ver. 5. ' (the ſea is the world). " The Lord ſhall be thy everlaſting light," ' ver. 20. And, " Thou ſhalt call thy walls, ſalvation, and thy " gates, praiſe," ver. 18. And the Lord ſaith, " I will make the " place of my feet glorious," ver. 13. " Heaven is his throne, " and earth is his footſtool," chap. lxvi. 1. " And he that puts his " truſt in me, ſaith the Lord, ſhall poſſeſs the land, and ſhall inherit " my holy mountain," chap. lvii. 13. Which mountain is eſta- ' bliſhed above all the mountains and hills, Iſa. ii. 2. The Lord ' ſaith (ſpeaking of Chriſt) " I have put my Spirit upon him, he " ſhall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles," Iſa. xlii. 1. " I will " give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles; " to open the blind eyes, to bring out the priſoners from the priſon, " and them that ſit in darkneſs, out of the priſon-houſe. I am the " Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, " neither my praiſe to graven images," ver. 6, 7, 8. So Chriſt the ' Light is come, and the glory of the Lord is riſen, and the Gentiles ' are come to the light of Chriſt. This prophecy of Iſaiah con-

' cerning

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‘ cerning Chriſt, many of the Gentiles witneſs fulfilled, that “ ſalva-
“ tion is come to the Gentiles,” Rom. xi. 11. God gave his glory
‘ to his ſon; and Chriſt ſaith, “ The glory which thou gaveſt me,
“ I have given them (namely his believers and followers) that they
“ may be one, even as we are one,” John xvii. 22. Here you may
‘ ſee the promiſes and prophecies are fulfilled in Chriſt Jeſus, whom
‘ God hath given for an Enſign both to the Jews and Gentiles, and
‘ the Captain of their Salvation; and he doth enlighten every one
‘ that cometh into the world: that with his heavenly divine
‘ light they might ſee Chriſt, the Lord from heaven, their
‘ Captain and Enſign, and truſt in him, their Conqueror; who
‘ bruiſes the ſerpent's head, and deſtroys the devil and his works:
‘ and Chriſt and his followers overcome the dragon, beaſt, and falſe
‘ prophet. Therefore all Jews, Gentiles, and Chriſtians, that come
‘ to believe in Chriſt, are to ſtand to their Enſign, Chriſt, who is alſo
‘ the Captain of their Salvation, above all enſigns and captains be-
‘ low, for he is from above; therefore all are to truſt in him, for he
‘ is certain and able to ſave to the utmoſt. He is the ſame Enſign
‘ and Captain to-day as he was yeſterday, and ſo for ever, the Firſt
‘ and Laſt, the Beginning and Ending, the Lord of lords, and King
‘ of all kings upon the earth; and there is nothing certain to be
‘ truſted in below Chriſt Jeſus, who is from above. You ſee in the
‘ ſcriptures, there were many ways and religions among the heathen,
‘ as there were many ſects among the Jews when Chriſt came; and
‘ now there are many ſects or religions among the Chriſtians, who
‘ believe from the ſcriptures “ that he is come,” as the Jews believed
“ he was to come.” But they that cloſe their eyes, and ſtop their
‘ ears to the light of Chriſt, are not like to ſee Chriſt who hath en-
‘ lightened them, to be their Enſign and the Captain of their Salva-
‘ tion, that ſee not with the heavenly eye, nor hear with the hea-
‘ venly ear, to ſee and hear their heavenly Enſign and Captain of
‘ their Salvation, to convert and heal them; that they might follow
‘ him, and be of his holy camp, his heavenly ſoldiers, to whom he
‘ gives ſpiritual arms and armour, the helmet of ſalvation, the breaſt-
‘ plate of righteouſneſs, the armour of light, and the ſhield of faith,
‘ (which will quench all the fiery darts of Satan and give victory)
‘ and the ſword of the Spirit, the word of God, which ſhall cut,
‘ hammer down, and burn up all the ſtrong-holds of Satan. Alſo
‘ he cloatheth his ſoldiers with fine linen, white and clean, his
‘ righteouſneſs, and ſhoeth them with the everlaſting goſpel of peace,
‘ the power of God; which cloaths and ſhoes will never wax old.
‘ And all that are ſhod with the everlaſting goſpel, the power of God,
‘ will never wax old; but will ſtand all ſtorms and tempeſts in the
‘ world. They that are ſhod with the goſpel, the power of God,
‘ can in it tread upon ſerpents, vipers, and ſcorpions, and all the
‘ venomous beaſts upon the earth, and all the thorns, briars, bram-
‘ bles, thiſtles, ſharp rocks, and mountains, and never be hurt, nor
‘ never wear out their ſhoes; for their feet were always beautiful
‘ upon the mountains. Moſes, a captain, the ſervant of the Lord,
‘ ſaid unto the people of Iſrael, “ I have led you forty years in the
“ wilderneſs; your cloaths are not waxen old upon you, and thy

“ ſhoe

1690. Gooſes. " ſhoe is not waxen old upon thy foot," Deut. xxix. 5. Here ye ' may ſee, the Jews in the Old Teſtament, their cloaths and their ' ſhoes did not wax old: but they, who are Chriſt's followers, whom ' he ſhoeth with his everlaſting goſpel of peace, and cloatheth with ' his fine linen, his righteouſneſs, and arms with his armour, are ' cloathed, ſhod, and armed, with that which will never decay, wax ' old, canker, ruſt, corrupt, nor grow blunt. Now all (whether ' Chriſtians, or Jews, or Gentiles) that hate the light of Chriſt, cloſe ' their eyes, and ſtop their ears to it, are not like to ſee Chriſt their ' enſign and captain of their ſalvation, but are blind. As no out- ' ward captain would liſt a company of blind and deaf men, and ' cloath and arm them with outward armour, ſo ſuch as are blind ' and deaf, whoſe eyes are cloſed, and ears ſtopped to the heavenly ' light of Chriſt, he is not like to cloath with his fine linen, and ' arm with his heavenly and ſpiritual armour; nor are they like to ' be ſpiritually and heavenly diſciplined, and to ſee and know his ' holy, ſpiritual, living camp, nor to follow him, while they are ' deaf and blind, and hate his light, which is the life in Chriſt. For ' it is the light, that ſhines in the heart, which gives the knowledge ' of the glory of God in the face of Chriſt Jeſus; who is the enſign ' and captain of mens ſalvations, and who hath brought, and doth ' bring many ſons unto glory: praiſes, honour, and glory be unto the ' Lord over all, who liveth for ever, Amen.

G. F.'

" Gooſes, the 14th of the
' 2d month, 1690.'

London. Kingſton. London. Yearly meeting. A week after this I returned to London; and after a little ſtay there, went to viſit friends at Kingſton, where I ſtaid not long; but came back to London, and remained in the Lord's work, till after the yearly meeting, which was in the fourth month this year; in which the wonted goodneſs of the Lord was witneſſed, his bleſſed preſence enjoyed, and his heavenly power livingly felt, opening the hearts of his people unto him, and his divine treaſures of life and wiſdom in and unto them; whereby many uſeful and neceſſary things, relating to the ſafety of friends, and to the honour and proſperity of truth, were weightily treated of, and unanimouſly concluded.

After the meeting, I wrote the following paper to friends, to be added to the epiſtle, which from the yearly meeting was ſent into the ſeveral counties.

' ALL friends every where, that are alive to God through Jeſus ' Chriſt, and are living members of Chriſt the holy head; be ' ſtill, and ſtand ſtill in the Lord's camp of holineſs and righteouſ- ' neſs, and therein ſee the ſalvation of God, and your eternal life, ' reſt, and peace. In it you may feel and ſee the Lord's power is ' over all; and how the Lord is at work in his power, ruling the ' nations with his rod of iron, and breaking (in the nations) the old ' leaky veſſels and ciſterns to pieces, like the potter's veſſels, that ' will not hold his living water of life, who are erred from the Spi- ' rit. But bleſſed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, who by ' his

1690. London. Yearly meeting.

'his eternal arm and power hath ſettled all his people upon the living, holy rock and foundation, that ſtands ſure; whom he hath drawn by his Spirit to his Son, and gathered into the name of Jeſus Chriſt, his only-begotten Son, full of grace and truth: who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him. Whoſe name is above every name under the whole heaven, and all his living members know, there is no ſalvation given by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jeſus; and he, their ſalvation, and their living head is felt in the midſt of them in his light, life, ſpirit, grace, and truth, and his word of patience, wiſdom, and power: who is his people's prophet, that God hath raiſed up, in his New Teſtament and covenant, to open to them; and their living ſhepherd, that hath purchaſed, redeemed, and bought them with his precious blood. Chriſt, the living One, feeds his living ſheep in his living paſtures of life, and his living ſheep know their living ſhepherd's voice, with his living bread and water, and follow him; and will not follow any of the world's hirelings, nor thieves, nor robbers, nor climbers, that are without Chriſt, the door. Likewiſe Chriſt's living children know Chriſt, the biſhop of their ſouls, to overſee them with his heavenly and ſpiritual eye, that they may be preſerved in his fold of life, and go no more forth. Alſo they know Chriſt, their holy prieſt, that by the grace of God taſted death for them, and for every man, and is a propitiation for their ſins; and not for theirs only, but for the ſins of the whole world: and by the one offering up of himſelf he hath perfected for ever them that are ſanctified. Such an high prieſt becomes Chriſt's ſheep in his new covenant and teſtament, who is holy, harmleſs, and ſeparate from ſinners, and is made higher than the heavens; who is not made a prieſt after the order of Aaron, with his tithes, offerings, &c. but he makes an end of all thoſe things, having aboliſhed them, and is made an high-prieſt after the power of an endleſs life, who ever liveth to make interceſſion for his people; and is able to ſave to the uttermoſt, all that come to God through him. He is the one holy mediator betwixt God and man, who ſanctifies his people, his church, that he is head of, and preſents them to God without ſpot, or wrinkle, or blemiſh, or any ſuch thing; and makes them an holy, royal prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual, holy ſacrifices, acceptable to God by Jeſus Chriſt, who is King of all kings, and Lord of all lords in the earth. So an holy, heavenly king, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him; and rules in all the hearts of his ſheep and lambs by his holy, divine, precious faith, that is held in all the pure conſciences of his people: which holy faith, Chriſt, the holy one, is the author and finiſher of. By this holy faith all the juſt live, in which holy, divine, precious faith all the juſt and holy ones have unity; and by it quench all the fiery darts of Satan; and have acceſs to the pure God, in which they pleaſe him. Chriſt, who is ſet on the right hand of the throne of the Majeſty in the heavens, in his New Teſtament and new covenant, is the miniſter of the ſanctuary and true tabernacle, which the Lord hath pitched, and not man. Therefore all the lambs and ſheep of Chriſt muſt feel this holy miniſter in their

1690. London. Yearly meeting.

'temple and ſanctuary, who miniſters ſpiritual, holy, and heavenly 'things to them in their ſanctuary and tabernacle. For all the ta- 'bernacles and ſanctuaries, that are built or pitch'd by man, men 'make miniſters for them; and ſuch miniſters are of men and by 'men, with their worldly ſanctuaries and tabernacles of mens pitch- 'ing, by mens hands.

'And now, dear friends and brethren every where, that are of the 'flock of Chriſt: Chriſt our paſſover is ſacrificed for us. Therefore 'let us all keep this heavenly feaſt of our paſſover in his new teſta- 'ment and covenant, not with old leaven, neither of malice nor 'wickedneſs; but let all that be purged out, with the ſour old lea- 'vened bread, that all may become a new lump: and ſo keep this 'heavenly feaſt of Chriſt, our heavenly Paſſover, with the unleavened 'bread of ſincerity and truth, Amen.

'G. F.'

Tottenham-High-Croſs. Ford-Green. Enfield. Cheſſ hunt. Waltham-Abbey. Enfield. Tottenham. Winchmore-Hill. Hertford. Ware. Edmonton. Tottenham. London.

I ſtaid in town between three weeks and a month, after the yearly meeting, and then went to Tottenham-High-Croſs, where was a meeting on firſt day, which I was at; and then went to Edward Man's at Ford-Green near Winchmore-Hill: and the firſt day following to the meeting at Enfield; where the Lord gave me many precious openings to declare to the people. Afterwards, moving to and fro amongſt friends thereabouts, I viſited the meetings at Cheſſ-hunt, Waltham-Abbey, Enfield, Tottenham, and Winchmore-hill frequently; the Lord being with me, and opening many deep and weighty truths, divine and heavenly myſteries to his people through me, to their great refreſhment, and my joy. After ſome time I went to Hertford, to viſit friends there; and was at their meeting on a firſt day. And having ſomething more particular upon me to the ancient friends of that place, I had a meeting with ſome of them the next day, and imparted to them what the Lord had given me for them. Then paſſing to Ware, I made a little ſtay amongſt friends there, and was at their meeting. After which, returning, amongſt friends about Edmonton ſide and Tottenham, and taking meetings as I went, I came back to London in the end of the ſeventh month.

I remained at London till the beginning of the ninth month, being continually exerciſed in the work of the Lord, either in public meetings, opening the way of truth to people, and building up and eſtabliſhing friends therein, or in other ſervices relating to the church of God. For the parliament now ſitting, and having a bill before them concerning oaths, and another concerning clandeſtine marriages, ſeveral friends did attend the houſe, to get thoſe bills ſo worded, that they might not be hurtful to friends. In this ſervice I alſo aſſiſted, attending on the parliament, and diſcourſing the matter with ſeveral of the members.

Tottenham. Ford-Green. Tottenham. Enfield. Winchmore-Hill.

Having ſtaid more than a month in London, and much ſpent myſelf in theſe ſervices, I went to Tottenham, and ſome time after to Ford-Green. At which places I continued ſeveral weeks, viſiting friends meetings round about at Tottenham, Enfield, and Winchmore-Hill. In this time ſeveral things came upon me to write: whereof

whereof one was an epiſtle " to friends in the miniſtry;" as fol- 1690.
loweth:

'ALL friends in the miniſtry every where, to whom God hath Ford-Green.
'given a gift of the miniſtry, and who uſe to travel up and
'down in the gift of the miniſtry, do not " hide your talent, nor
" put your light under a buſhel; nor cumber yourſelves, nor en-
" tangle yourſelves with the affairs of this world." For the natural
'ſoldiers are not to cumber themſelves with the world; much leſs
'the ſoldiers of Chriſt, who are not of this world; but are to mind
'the riches and glory of the world that is everlaſting. Therefore
'ſtir up the gift of God in you, improve it, and do not ſit down,
'Demas like, and embrace this preſent world, that will have an end;
'leſt ye become idolaters. Be valiant for God's truth upon the
'earth, and ſpread it abroad in the day-light of Chriſt, you who
'have ſought the kingdom of God, and the righteouſneſs thereof,
'and have received it and preached it; which " ſtands in righteouſ-
" neſs, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt:" As able miniſters of
'the Spirit ſow to the Spirit, that of the Spirit ye may reap life ever-
'laſting. Go on in the Spirit, plowing with it in the purifying
'hope; and threſhing, with the power and Spirit of God, the wheat
'out of the chaff of corruption, in the ſame hope. For he that
'looks back from the ſpiritual plow into the world, is not fit for the
'ſpiritual and everlaſting kingdom of God; and is not like to preſs
'into it, as the faithful do. Therefore you that are awakened to
'righteouſneſs, and to the knowledge of the truth, keep yourſelves
'awakened in it: then the enemy cannot ſow his tares in your
'field; for truth and righteouſneſs is over him, and before he was.
'My deſires are, that all may fulfil their miniſtry, that the Lord
'Jeſus Chriſt hath committed to them; and then by the blood (or
'life) and teſtimony of Jeſus you will overcome the enemy that op-
'poſes it, within and without. All you that preach the truth, do it
'as it is in Jeſus, in love; and all that are believers in Jeſus, and
'receivers of him, he gives them power to become the Sons of God,
'and joint-heirs with Chriſt; whom he calleth brethren; and he
'gives them the water of life, which ſhall be a well in them, ſpring-
'ing up to eternal life; that they may water the ſpiritual plants of
'the living God. So that all may be ſpiritual planters, and ſpiritual
'waterers; and may ſee with the ſpiritual eye the everlaſting, eter-
'nal God over all to give the increaſe, who is the infinite fountain.
'My deſires are, that you may be kept out of all the beggarly ele-
'ments of the world, which is below the ſpiritual region, to Chriſt
'the head; and may hold him, who bruiſeth the head of enmity,
'and was before it was; that ye may all be united together in love,
'in your head, Chriſt, and be ordered by his heavenly, gentle,
'peaceable wiſdom to the glory of God. For all that be in Chriſt,
'are in love, peace, and unity. In him they are ſtrong, and in a
'full perſuaſion; and in him, who is the firſt and laſt, they are in
'a heavenly reſolution and confidence for God's everlaſting honour
'and glory, Amen.

'From

1690. Ford-Green.

'From him, who is tranſlated into the kingdom of his dear Son, 'with all his ſaints, a heavenly ſalutation. And ſalute one an- 'other with a holy kiſs of charity, that never faileth.

'G. F.

'Ford-Green, the 25th of the '9th month, 1690.'

Another epiſtle I wrote ſoon after, more particularly to the friends in the miniſtry, that were gone into America: after this manner.

'DEAR friends and brethren, miniſters, exhorters, and admo- 'niſhers, that are gone into America and the iſlands there- 'away. Stir up the gift of God in you, and the pure mind, and 'improve your talents; that ye may be the light of the world, a city 'ſet upon an hill, that cannot be hid. Let your light ſhine among 'the Indians, the Blacks and the Whites; that ye may anſwer the 'truth in them, and bring them to the ſtandard and enſign, that 'God hath ſet up, Chriſt Jeſus. For from the riſing of the ſun to 'the going down of the ſame, God's name ſhall be great among the 'Gentiles; and in every temple, or ſanctified heart, "incenſe ſhall "be offered up to God's name." And have ſalt in yourſelves, that 'ye may be the ſalt of the earth, that ye may ſalt it; that it may 'be preſerved from corruption and putrefaction: ſo that all ſacrifices 'offered up to the Lord may be ſeaſoned, and be a good ſavour to 'God. All grow in the faith and grace of Chriſt, that ye may not 'be like dwarfs; for a dwarf ſhall not come near to offer upon God's 'altar; though he may eat of God's bread, that he may grow by 'it. And friends, be not negligent, but keep up your Negroes- 'meetings and your family-meetings; and have meetings with the 'Indian Kings, and their councils and ſubjects every where, and 'with others. Bring them all to the baptizing and circumciſing 'Spirit, by which they may know God, and ſerve and worſhip him. 'And all take heed of ſitting down in the earth, and having your 'minds in the earthly things, coveting and ſtriving for the earth: 'for to be carnally minded brings death, and covetouſneſs is idola- 'try. There is too much ſtrife and contention about that idol, 'which makes too many go out of the ſenſe and fear of God; ſo 'that ſome have loſt morality, humanity, and true Chriſtian cha- 'rity. O therefore, be awakened to righteouſneſs, and keep awak- 'ened; for the enemy ſoweth his tares, while men and women ſleep 'in careleſneſs and ſecurity. Therefore ſo many ſlothful ones go in 'their filthy rags, and have not the fine linen, the righteouſneſs 'of Chriſt; but are ſtraggling, and plowing with their ox and their 'aſs, in their woollen and linen garments, mixt ſtuff, feeding upon 'torn food and that dieth of itſelf, and drinking of the dregs of 'their old bottle, and eating the ſour, leavened bread, which makes 'their hearts burn one againſt another. But all are to keep the 'feaſt of Chriſt, our paſſover, with the unleavened bread of ſincerity 'and truth. This unleavened bread of Life from heaven makes all 'hearts and ſouls glad and joyful, lightſome and chearful, to ſerve 'and love God, and to love and ſerve one another in the peaceable

'truth, and to keep in the unity of God's Spirit, which is the bond 1690.
'of (the Lord of lords, and the King of kings) peace. In this Tottenham.
'love and peace God Almighty keep and preſerve all his people,
'and make them valiant for his truth upon the earth, to ſpread it
'abroad in doctrine, good life and converſation, Amen.

'All the members of Chriſt have need one of another. For the
'foot hath need of the hand, and the hand hath need of the foot:
'the ear hath need of the eye, and the eye of the ear. So that all
'the members are ſerviceable in the body which Chriſt is the head
'of; and the head ſees their ſervice. Therefore let none deſpiſe
'the leaſt member.

'Have a care to keep down that greedy earthly mind, that ra-
'veneth and coveteth after the riches and things of this world; leſt
'ye fall into the low region, like the gentiles or heathen, and ſo
'loſe the kingdom of God that is everlaſting: but ſeek that firſt,
'and God knows what ye have need of; who takes care for all
'both in heaven and in the earth: thanks be unto God for his un-
'ſpeakable gifts, both temporal and ſpiritual!

'G. F.'

'Tottenham, the 11th of the
'10th month, 1690.'

Not long after I returned to London, and was almoſt daily with London.
friends at meetings. When I had been near two weeks in town, the ſenſe of the great hardſhips and ſore ſufferings that friends had been and were under in Ireland coming with great weight upon me, I was moved to write the following epiſtle, as a word of conſolation unto them:

'DEAR friends and brethren in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whom
'the Lord by his eternal arm and power hath upheld through
'your great ſufferings, exerciſes, trials, and hardſhips (more, I be-
'lieve, than can be uttered) up and down that nation, which I am
'very ſenſible of; and the reſt of faithful friends that have been
'partakers with you in your ſufferings: who cannot but ſuffer with
'the Lord's people that ſuffer. My confidence hath been in the
'Lord, that he would and will ſupport you in all your ſufferings;
'and that he would preſerve all the faithful in his wiſdom, that
'they might give no juſt occaſion to one nor other to make them
'ſuffer; and if you did ſuffer wrongfully or unjuſtly, that the
'righteous God would aſſiſt and uphold you; and reward them
'according to their works, that oppreſſed or wronged you. And now
'my deſire is unto the Lord, that in the ſame holy and heavenly
'wiſdom of God ye may all be preſerved to the end of your days, to
'the glory of God, minding his ſupporting hand and power;
'who is God All-ſufficient, to ſtrengthen, help, and refreſh in time
'of need. Let none forget the Lord's mercies and kindneſſes, which
'endure for ever: but always live in the ſenſe of them. And truly,
'friends, when I conſider the thing, it is the great mercy of the
'Lord that ye have not been all ſwallowed up, ſeeing with what
'ſpirits ye have been compaſſed about. But the Lord carrieth his

1690. London.

'lambs in his arms, and they are as tender to him as the apple of 'his eye; and his power is his hedge about his vineyard of hea- 'venly plants. Therefore it is good for all his children to be given 'up to the Lord with their minds and ſouls, hearts and ſpirits, who 'is a faithful keeper, that never ſlumbers nor ſleeps; but is able to 'preſerve and keep you, and to ſave to the utmoſt, and none can 'hurt ſo much as an hair of your heads, except he ſuffer it, to try 'you; for he upholds all things in heaven and earth, by the Word 'of his power: all things were made by Chriſt: and by him all 'things conſiſt (mark, conſiſt) whether they be viſibles or inviſibles, '&c. So he hath power over all; for all power in heaven and earth 'is given to him: and to you, that have received him, he hath 'given power to become the ſons and daughters of God; ſo living 'members of Chriſt, the living head, grafted into him in whom ye 'have eternal life. Chriſt the Seed reigns, and his power is over 'all; who bruiſes the ſerpent's head, and deſtroys the devil and 'his works, and was before he was. So all of you live and walk in 'Chriſt Jeſus; that nothing may be between you and God, but 'Chriſt, in whom ye have ſalvation, life, reſt, and peace with 'God.

'As for the affairs of truth in this land and abroad, I hear, 'that in Holland and Germany, and there-away, friends are in 'love, unity, and peace: and in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Nevis, An- 'tigua, Maryland, and New England, I hear nothing, but friends 'are in unity and peace. The Lord preſerve them all out of the 'world (in which there is trouble) in Chriſt Jeſus, in whom there 'is peace, life, love, and unity, Amen. My love in the Lord 'Jeſus Chriſt to all friends every-where in your land, as though I 'named them.

'G. F.'

'London, the 10th of the
'11th month, 1690.'

THUS,

THUS, reader, thou haſt had ſome account of the life and travels, labours, ſufferings, and manifold trials and exerciſes of this holy man of God, from his youth to almoſt the time of his death: Of which himſelf kept a journal; whence the foregoing ſheets were tranſcribed. It remains, that an account be added of the time, place, and manner of his death and burial; which was thus: 1690. London.

The next day, after he had written the foregoing epiſtle to friends in Ireland, he went to the meeting at Gracechurch-ſtreet, which was large (it being on the firſt day of the week): and the Lord enabled him to preach the truth fully and effectually, opening many deep and weighty things with great power and clearneſs. After which having prayed, and the meeting being ended, he went to Henry Gouldney's (a friend's houſe in White-hart Court, near the meeting-houſe): and ſome friends going with him, he told them, 'He 'thought he felt the cold ſtrike to his heart, as he came out of 'the meeting;' yet added, 'I am glad I was here; now I am 'clear, I am fully clear.' As ſoon as thoſe friends were withdrawn, he laid down upon a bed (as he ſometimes uſed to do, through wearineſs after a meeting) but ſoon roſe again; and in a little time laid down again, complaining ſtill of cold. And his ſtrength ſenſibly decaying, he was fain ſoon after to go into the bed; where he lay in much contentment and peace, and very ſenſible to the laſt. And as, in the whole courſe of his life, his ſpirit, in the univerſal love of God, was ſet and bent for the exalting of truth and righteouſneſs, and the making known the way thereof to the nations and people afar off; ſo now, in the time of his outward weakneſs, his mind was intent upon, and wholly taken up with that: and he ſent for ſome particular friends, to whom he expreſſed his mind, and deſire for the ſpreading friends books, and truth thereby in the world. Divers friends came to viſit him in his illneſs, unto ſome of whom he ſaid, 'All is well: the Seed of God reigns over all, and over death 'itſelf. And though,' ſaid he, 'I am weak in body; yet the power 'of God is over all, and the Seed reigns over all diſorderly ſpirits.' Thus lying in an heavenly frame of mind, his ſpirit wholly exerciſed towards the Lord, he grew weaker and weaker in his natural ſtrength; and on the third day of that week, between the hours of nine and ten in the evening, he quietly departed this life in peace, and ſweetly fell aſleep in the Lord, whoſe bleſſed truth he had livingly and powerfully preached in the meeting but two days before. Thus ended he his day in his faithful teſtimony, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and in peace and good-will to all men, on the 13th of the 11th month 1690, being then in the 67th year of his age.

Upon the 16th of the ſame month (being the ſixth of the week, and the day appointed for his funeral) a very great concourſe of friends, and other people of divers ſorts, aſſembled together at the meeting-houſe in White-hart Court near Gracechurch-ſtreet, about the middle time of the day, in order to attend his body to the grave. The meeting was held about two hours with great and hea-

1690. London. venly ſolemnity, manifeſtly attended with the Lord's bleſſed preſence and glorious power; in which divers living teſtimonies were delivered, from a lively remembrance and ſenſe of the bleſſed miniſtry of this dear and ancient ſervant of the Lord, his early entering into the Lord's work at the breaking forth of this goſpel-day, his innocent life, long and great travels, and unwearied labours of love in the everlaſting goſpel, for the turning and gathering many thouſands from darkneſs to the light of Chriſt Jeſus, the foundation of true faith; the manifold ſufferings, afflictions, and oppoſitions, which he met withal for his faithful teſtimony, both from his open adverſaries and from falſe brethren; and his preſervations, deliverances, and dominion in, out of, and over them all, by the power of God: to whom the glory and honour always was by him, and is and always ought to be by all aſcribed.

After the meeting was ended, his body was borne by friends, and accompanied by very great numbers, to friends burying-ground near Bunhill-fields: where, after a ſolemn waiting upon the Lord, and ſeveral living teſtimonies borne, recommending the company to the guidance and protection of that divine Spirit and power, by which this holy man of God had been raiſed up, furniſhed, ſupported, and preſerved to the end of his day, his body was decently committed to the earth; but his memorial ſhall remain, and be everlaſtingly bleſſed among the righteous.

An epiſtle of dear GEORGE FOX's, writ with his own hand, and left ſealed up with this ſuperſcription, viz. 'Not to be opened 'before the time;' which after his deceaſe being opened, was thought meet to be printed, viz.

'For the yearly and Second days meeting in London, and to 'all the children of God in all places in the world. By 'and from G. F.

'This for all the children of God every-where, who are led by 'his Spirit, and walk in his light, in which they have life, 'unity, and fellowſhip with the Father and the Son, and one 'with another.

'KEEP all your meetings in the name of the Lord Jeſus, that 'be gathered in his name by his light, grace, truth, power, and 'Spirit; by which you will feel his bleſſed and refreſhing preſence 'among you and in you, to your comfort and God's glory.

'And now friends, all your meetings, both mens and wo-'mens, monthly, quarterly, and yearly, &c. were ſet up by the 'power, Spirit, and wiſdom of God; and in them you know 'that you have felt his power, and Spirit, and wiſdom, and bleſſed

'refreſhing

'refreſhing preſence among you, and in you, to his praiſe and 1690.
'glory, and your comfort: ſo that you have been a "city ſet on a London.
"hill, that cannot be hid."

'And although many looſe and unruly ſpirits have riſen betimes 'to oppoſe you and them, in print and other ways, you have ſeen 'how they have come to nought. The Lord hath blaſted them, 'brought their deeds to light, and made them manifeſt to be trees 'without fruit, wells without water, wandering ſtars from the firmament of God's power, and raging waves of the ſea, caſting up 'their mire and dirt; and many of them are like the dog turned to 'his old vomit, and the ſow that was waſhed, turned again to the 'mire. This hath been the condition of many, God knoweth, and 'his people!

'Therefore all ſtand ſtedfaſt in Chriſt Jeſus your head, in whom 'you are all one, male and female, and know his government, of 'the increaſe of whoſe government and peace there ſhall be no end; 'but there will be an end of the devil's, and of all that are out of 'Chriſt, who oppoſe it and him, whoſe judgment doth not linger, 'and their damnation doth not ſlumber. Therefore in God and 'Chriſt's light, life, Spirit, and power live and walk, that is over 'all (and the Seed of it) in love, in innocency, and ſimplicity. In 'righteouſneſs and holineſs dwell, and in his power and Holy Ghoſt, 'in which God's kingdom doth ſtand. All children of new and 'heavenly Jeruſalem, that is from above, and is free, with all her 'holy ſpiritual children, to her keep your eyes.

'As for this ſpirit of rebellion and oppoſition that hath riſen for-'merly and lately, it is out of the kingdom of God and heavenly 'Jeruſalem; and is for judgment and condemnation, with all its 'books, words, and works. Therefore friends are to live and walk 'in the power and Spirit of God that is over it, and in the Seed 'that will bruiſe and break it to pieces. In which Seed you have 'joy and peace with God, and power and authority to judge it; and 'your unity is in the power and Spirit of God, that doth judge it: 'all God's witneſſes in his tabernacle go out againſt it, and always 'have and will.

'Let no man live to ſelf, but to the Lord, as they will die in him; 'and ſeek the peace of the church of Chriſt, and the peace of all 'men in him: for "bleſſed are the peace-makers. Dwell in the 'pure, peaceable, heavenly wiſdom of God, that is gentle and eaſy 'to be intreated, that is full of mercy; all ſtriving to be of one 'mind, heart, ſoul, and judgment in Chriſt, having his mind and 'Spirit dwelling in you, building up one another in the love of God, 'which doth edify the body of Chriſt, his church, who is the holy 'head thereof. Glory to God through Chriſt, in this age and all 'other ages, who is the Rock and Foundation, the Emanuel, God 'with us, Amen, over all, the beginning and the ending. In him 'live and walk, in whom you have life eternal, in him you will 'feel me, and I you.

'All children of New Jeruſalem, that deſcends from above, the 'holy city, which the Lord and the Lamb is the light of, and is 'the temple; in it they are born again of the Spirit: ſo Jeruſalem

1690. London. ‘ that is above, is the mother of them that are born of the Spi-
‘ rit. Theſe that come and are come to heavenly Jeruſalem,
‘ receive Chriſt; and he giveth them power to become the ſons
‘ of God and they are born again of the Spirit: ſo Jeruſalem
‘ that is above, is their mother. Such come to heavenly Mount
‘ Sion, and the innumerable company of angels, to the Spirits of
‘ juſt men made perfect; and to the church of the Living God writ-
‘ ten in heaven, and have the name of God written upon them. So
‘ here is a new mother, that bringeth forth a heavenly and ſpiritual
‘ generation.

‘ There is no ſchiſm, no diviſion, no contention, nor ſtrife in
‘ heavenly Jeruſalem, nor in the body of Chriſt, which is made up
‘ of living ſtones, a ſpiritual houſe. Chriſt is not divided, for in
‘ him there is peace. Chriſt ſaith, " In me you have peace." And
‘ he is from above, and not of this world; but in the world below,
‘ in the ſpirit of it there is trouble; therefore keep in Chriſt, and
‘ walk in him, Amen.

‘ G. F.

‘ Jeruſalem was the mother of all true chriſtians before the apo-
‘ ſtaſy; and ſince the outward chriſtians are broken into many
‘ ſects, they have got many mothers; but all thoſe that are
‘ come out of the apoſtaſy by the power and Spirit of Chriſt,
‘ Jeruſalem that is above is their mother (and none below
‘ her); who doth nouriſh all her ſpiritual children.

‘ G. F.'

Read at the yearly meeting
in London, 1691.

Reader, Pleaſe to note, That theſe following papers and epiſtles (ſome of which being mentioned in the Journal, p. 516, &c. and there omitted) are found meet to be here inſerted; and are as followeth:

A narrative of the ſpreading of truth, and of the oppoſition from the powers which then were, written by George Fox, in the year 1676.

1676. ‘ THE truth ſprang up firſt to us, ſo as to be a people to the Lord,
‘ in Leiceſterſhire in 1644, in Warwickſhire in 1645, in Not-
‘ tinghamſhire in 1646, in Derbyſhire in 1647, and in the adjacent
‘ counties in 1648, 1649, and 1650; in Yorkſhire in 1651, in
‘ Lancaſhire and Weſtmoreland in 1652, in Cumberland, Durham,
‘ and Northumberland in 1653, in London and moſt of the other
‘ parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in 1654.

In

'In 1655 many went beyond sea, where truth also sprang up, 1676.
'and in 1656 it broke forth in America and many other places.

'In the authority of this divine truth friends stood all the cruel-
'ties and sufferings that were inflicted upon them by the long par-
'liament; to the spoiling of goods, imprisonment, and death, and
'over all reproaches, lyes, and slanders; as well as those in Oliver
'Cromwell's time, and all the acts made by him and his parliament;
'his son Richard after him, and the committee of safety; and after
'withstood and out-lasted all the acts and proclamations since 1660,
'that the king came in.

'Friends never feared their acts, prisons, gaols, houses of cor-
'rection, banishment, nor spoiling of goods, nay, nor the loss of
'life itself: nor was there ever any persecution that came, but we
'saw in the event it would be productive of good; nor were there
'ever any prisons that I was in, or sufferings, but it was for the
'bringing multitudes out of prison; though they who imprisoned
'the truth, and quenched the Spirit in themselves, would impri-
'son and quench it without them; so that there was a time when
'so many were in prison, that it became as a bye-word, "truth
"is scarce any-where to be found but in gaols."

'And after the king came in, divers friends suffered much, be-
'cause they would not drink his health, and say, "God bless the
"king;" so that many friends were in danger of their lives from
'rude persons, who were ready to run them through with their
'swords for refusing it, until the king gave forth a proclamation
'against drinking healths; for we were and are against drinking
'any healths, and all excess, both before his coming in and af-
'ter; and we desire the king's good, and that the blessing of God
'might come upon him and all his subjects, and all people upon the
'face of the earth; but we did desire people not to drink the king's
'health, but let him have his health, and all people else; and to
'drink for their own health and necessity only: for that way of
'drinking healths, and to excess, was not for the king's health, nor
'their own, nor any others; which excess often brought forth quar-
'relling, and destroying one another: for they destroyed the creation
'and one another; and this was not for the king's wealth, nor health,
'nor honour, but might grieve him to have the creatures and his
'subjects destroyed; and so the Lord's power gave us dominion over
'that also, and all our other sufferings. But,

'Oh! the number of sufferers in the commonwealth's and Oliver
'Cromwell's days, and since; especially those who were haled be-
'fore the courts for not paying tithes, refusing to swear on their ju-
'ries, not putting off their hats, and for going to meetings on the
'first days; under pretence of breaking the sabbath; and to meet-
'ings on other days of the week; who were abused both in meet-
'ings and on the highways.

'Oh! how great were the sufferings we then sustained upon these
'accounts! for sometimes they would drive friends by droves into
'the prison-houses like penfolds, confine them on the first days,
'and take their horses from them, and keep them for pretended

'breach

1676. ‘ breach of their ſabbath, though they would ride in their coaches
‘ and upon their fat horſes to the ſteeple-houſes themſelves, and yet
‘ puniſh others. And many friends were turned out of their copy-
‘ holds and cuſtomary tenements, becauſe, in obedience to the com-
‘ mand of Chriſt and his apoſtle, they could not ſwear; and as
‘ they went to meetings, they have been ſtoned through the ſtreets,
‘ and otherwiſe cruelly abuſed. Many were fined with great fines,
‘ and lay long in priſon for not putting off their hats, which fines
‘ friends could never pay, though they kept them in priſon till they
‘ had ſatisfied their own wills, and at laſt turned them out, after
‘ keeping them a year or more in priſon.

‘ Many books I gave forth againſt tithes, ſhewing how the prieſt-
‘ hood was changed that took them; and that Chriſt ſent forth his
‘ twelve, and afterwards ſeventy diſciples, ſaying unto them, “ Freely
“ ye have received, freely give.” So all who do not obey the doc-
‘ trine and command of Chriſt therein, we cannot receive them.

‘ I was alſo moved to give forth ſeveral books againſt ſwearing, and
‘ that our Yea and Nay might be taken inſtead of an oath, which if
‘ we broke, let us ſuffer the ſame puniſhment as they who broke
‘ their oaths. And in Jamaica the governor and the aſſembly
‘ granted the thing; it is alſo granted in ſome other places;
‘ and ſeveral of the parliament-men in England have acknowledged
‘ the reaſonableneſs thereof. The magiſtrates, after ſome time,
‘ when they ſaw our faithfulneſs in Yea and Nay, they who were
‘ moderate, both before and ſince the king came in, would put
‘ friends into offices without an oath; but the cruel and
‘ envious would fine friends to get money of them, though they
‘ could not pay them any.

‘ Thus the Lord's power hath carried us through all, and over all,
‘ to his everlaſting glory and praiſe; for God's power hath been our
‘ hedge, our wall and our keeper (the preſerver of his plants and
‘ vineyard) who have not had the magiſtrates ſword and ſtaff to
‘ help us, nor ever truſted in the arm of fleſh, but have gone with-
‘ out theſe, or Judas's bag, to preach the word of life, which was
‘ in the beginning before they were; which word reconciles to God.
‘ And thouſands have received this word of reconciliation, and are
‘ born again of the immortal Seed, by the Word of God; and are
‘ feeding upon the milk of the word, which lives and abides for
‘ ever.

‘ Many have ſuffered death for their teſtimony, in England
‘ and beyond the ſeas, both before and ſince the king came in; which
‘ may be ſeen in an account given to the king and both houſes of
‘ parliament; being a brief, plain, and true relation of the late and
‘ ſad ſufferings of the people of God in ſcorn called Quakers, for
‘ worſhipping and exerciſing a good conſcience towards God and
‘ man.

‘ By reaſon whereof eighty-nine have ſuffered till death, thirty-
‘ two of which died before the king came into England, and fifty-
‘ ſeven ſince, by hard impriſonment and cruel uſage. Forty-three
‘ have died in the city of London and Southwark ſince the Act
‘ made againſt meetings, &c. about 1661, of which a more parti-

'cular account was given, with the names of the ſufferers to the 1676.
'king and parliament, about 1663.

'And though divers laws were deſigned againſt us, yet never 'could any of them juſtly touch us, being wreſted and miſapplied 'in their execution by our adverſaries, which ſome have been made 'to confeſs. All thoſe laws that were made, and the oath which 'they impriſoned us for, becauſe, in obedience to the command of 'Chriſt Jeſus, we could not ſwear at all, were not originally in-'tended againſt us; and yet we ſuffered by the ſeveral powers, and 'their laws, both ſpoiling of goods and impriſonment, even to 'death. And the governor of Dover caſtle, when the king aſked 'him if he had diſperſed all the ſectaries meetings? ſaid, that he 'had; but the Quakers, the devil himſelf could not; for if he did 'impriſon them, and break up their meetings, they would meet 'again; and if he ſhould beat them or knock them down, or kill 'ſome of them, all was one, they would meet, and not reſiſt again. 'Thus the Lord's power did ſupport and keep them over their per-'ſecutors, and made them to juſtify our patience and lamb-like na-'ture. This was about 1671.

'Since the king came in, three acts have been made againſt us, 'beſides the proclamations, by which many have ſuffered impri-'ſonment and baniſhment, and many to death. And yet for all 'theſe acts and proclamations, perſecutions, ſufferings, baniſhments, 'faithful friends are as freſh as ever in the Lord's power, and valiant 'for his name and truth.

'Some weak ones there were, when the king came in, who did 'take the oath; but after they had ſo done, they were ſore troubled 'for diſobeying the command of Chriſt and the apoſtle, and went 'to the magiſtrates, condemned themſelves, and offered to go to 'priſon.

'Thus the Lord, in his everlaſting power, hath been the ſupport 'and ſtay of his people; and ſtill his Seed reigns, his truth is over 'all, and exceedingly ſpreads unto this year 1676.

'A warning to the magiſtrates and people of the city of Olden-'burg:

'Friends,

'HAVE you ſeen and felt the judgments of God upon your 1677.
'city, the Lord ſending lightning from heaven, that deſtroyed Amſterdam.
'and burnt it? As I paſſed thro' your city on a firſt day of the week, 'which you call your ſabbath, I ſaw ſome drinking, ſoldiers play-'ing at ſhuffleboard, and others with their ſhops open, and trading, 'when they ſhould have been waiting upon God, and worſhipping 'him; and your people were light and vain, without any ſenſe of 'God's judgments, or repentance. O therefore repent, leſt the all-'ſeeing God, who ſees all your actions, and is over all, bring ſwift 'judgment upon you in his wrath, fury, and indignation. Repent, 'and lay aſide all manner of evil, wickedneſs, ungodlineſs, and un-'righteouſneſs: for the day of the Lord will come upon all that do

1677. Amſterdam.

‘ evil, all the workers of iniquity. This mighty day of the Lord ‘ will find them all out, and will burn as an oven; burn up all the ‘ proud and wicked, and neither leave them root nor branch. ‘ Therefore all ye magiſtrates, prieſts, and people, ſearch in ‘ yourſelves to find out the cauſe, and what evil you have com- ‘ mitted, that has brought the wrath, vengeance, and judgments ‘ of God upon you and your city, in burning of it. All return, ‘ and come to the light of Chriſt in your hearts, to God's ‘ ſpirit, to the grace and truth in your hearts, that comes by ‘ Jeſus Chriſt; that with it ye may ſearch your hearts. Do not ‘ grieve, nor vex, nor quench God's good Spirit in your hearts; ‘ walk not deſpitefully againſt the Spirit of grace, nor turn from it ‘ into wantonneſs; and yet make a profeſſion of God and Chriſt in ‘ words, when your hearts are afar off, living in pleaſures, and wan- ‘ tonly upon the earth, ſporting yourſelves, killing the juſt, cru- ‘ cifying to yourſelves Chriſt afreſh, and putting him to open ‘ ſhame; ſo diſhonouring God, Chriſt, and chriſtianity, yet making ‘ a profeſſion and a trade of the ſcriptures; keeping people always ‘ learning, that they may be always paying.

‘ Ceaſe from man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils, and look unto ‘ the Lord, all ye ends of the earth, and be ſaved; for the Lord ‘ God of heaven and earth is come to teach his people himſelf by ‘ his light, Spirit, grace, and truth, and to bring them off all the ‘ world's teachers. God hath raiſed up Chriſt Jeſus his prophet, ‘ whom people ſhould hear; and ſaith, “ This is my beloved Son, “ hear ye him:” and Chriſt ſaith, “ Learn of me, I am the way, “ the truth, and the life; and no man comes to the Father, but by “ me.” There is no ſalvation by any other name under the whole ‘ heaven, but by the name of Jeſus, who ſaith, “ I am the good “ Shepherd, and have laid down my life for my ſheep, and my ſheep “ hear my voice and follow me, and will not follow the hireling:” ‘ for Chriſt feeds them in the paſtures of life, that will never wither. ‘ God hath anointed Chriſt Jeſus to preach, if you will hear him; ‘ and God hath given Chriſt for a counſellor and a leader, if you ‘ will be led and counſelled by him; and God hath given Chriſt for ‘ a biſhop to overſee you, and a king to rule you, if you will be ‘ overſeen and ruled by him. You that will not have Chriſt to rule ‘ over you, who never ſinned, nor was guile found in his mouth, ‘ you may read his ſentence in the New Teſtament upon ſuch. Is ‘ not Chriſt a ſufficient teacher, whoſe blood was ſhed for you, and ‘ taſted death for every man? Doth not Chriſt ſay to his miniſters, “ Freely ye have received, freely give?” And the apoſtle ſaith, “ We “ covet no man's gold, ſilver, or apparel.” They laboured with their ‘ hands, and kept the goſpel without charge. Have they that are ‘ called miniſters amongſt you done the ſame, and kept this com- ‘ mand of Chriſt Jeſus? Let them be examined, and examine them- ‘ ſelves. Have you not trimmed your outſides? but look within ‘ with the light and Spirit of Chriſt Jeſus, and ſee if your inſides be ‘ not black and foul. For Chriſt Jeſus, who doth enlighten every ‘ man that cometh into the world with the life in himſelf, ſaith, “ Believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light.”

1677. Amſterdam.

'With the light ye may ſee all the evil and ungodly deeds that ye have committed, all your ungodly words you have ſpoken, and all your ungodly thoughts ye think; that ye may turn from them to Chriſt, from whence the light comes: who is your Saviour and Redeemer, who hath given you a light to ſee your ſin, and that you are dead in Adam; that with the ſame light you may ſee Chriſt, the quickening Spirit, who makes you alive to God, and ſaves you from your ſin. But if you hate the light, which is the life in Chriſt, the Prince of life; and love the darkneſs and the prince of darkneſs more than the light or the life in Chriſt, becauſe it will reprove you; Chriſt tells you, "This light will be your condemnation," John iii. Therefore be warned now in your day. While you have time, turn to the Lord. Do not quench the Spirit of the Father, by which he draws to his Son; nor hate the light of Chriſt; for if you do, you hate the life in Chriſt, and ſo remain under condemnation from God and Chriſt with the light, who now ſpeaks to his people by his Son, as he did in the apoſtle's days; the ſame God, that was the ſpeaker by the prophets to the fathers, and ſpeaker to Adam and Eve in paradiſe: and happy had Adam and Eve, and the Jews, and all Chriſtians been, if they had kept to this ſpeaker, and not have followed the ſerpent, that falſe ſpeaker, and his inſtruments. And now God is the true ſpeaker by his Son, who bruiſes the head of the ſerpent, the falſe teacher, the head of all falſe ways, falſe prophets, falſe churches, and falſe religions and worſhips. So God in Chriſt is bringing people to the pure undefiled religion, that will keep them from the ſpots of the world, into the new and living way Chriſt Jeſus; and to the Church in God, which Chriſt is the head of, as he was in the apoſtles days; and to worſhip God in the Spirit and truth, which worſhip Chriſt ſet up above ſixteen hundred years ſince. Therefore muſt all people come to the grace and Spirit of truth in their own hearts, to know the God of truth, who is a Spirit, and in the Spirit and truth to worſhip, ſerve, honour, and glorify the living God, who is over all, and worthy of all, bleſſed for evermore, Amen!

'Ye magiſtrates and officers, read this in all your aſſemblies, and cauſe all your prieſts to read it in their churches; that they and you, and all people may hear and fear the God of heaven, as you will anſwer it at the great and terrible day of judgment, and vengeance of the Lord God Almighty. This is in love to your ſouls, and for your temporal and eternal good.

'G. F.'

'Amſterdam, the 19th of the
'7th month, 1677.'

An

1677. Harlingen in Friesland.

'An epiſtle concerning true faſting, true prayer, true honour, and 'againſt perſecution, and for the true liberty in Chriſt Jeſus; 'that all may have a care that the apoſtle hath not beſtowed his 'labour in vain upon you in your obſerving of days, months, 'times, feaſts, and years, and of coming under the beggarly ele- 'ments, and the yoke of bondage again, and of bringing and 'forcing people into them.

'WHERE did ever Chriſt or his apoſtles command any be- 'lievers or Chriſtians to obſerve holy days or feaſt-days? Let 'us ſee where it is written in the New Teſtament, in the four evan- 'geliſts, the epiſtles, or the Revelation, that ever Chriſt or his 'apoſtles commanded Chriſtians to obſerve the time called Chriſtmas, 'or a day for Chriſt's birth? or to obſerve the time called Eaſter, 'or Whitſuntide, or Peter's, Paul's, Mark's, or Luke's, or any other 'ſaint's day?

'You, that profeſs yourſelves to be reformed churches from the 'Papiſts, Jews, and Heathens, and the ſcriptures to be your rule, 'and are profeſſors of the new covenant, where do you prove out of 'the New Teſtament, that the apoſtles and the primitive church 'practiſed or forced any ſuch thing, or that Chriſt and his apoſtles 'gave any ſuch command to the churches, that they ſhould practice 'and obſerve any ſuch days? Let us ſee where this command is 'written. Did not the apoſtle ſay to the Galatians in the fourth 'chapter; "But now, after that ye have known God, or rather ye "are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly "elements, whereunto ye deſire again to be in bondage? Ye obſerve "days, and months, and times, and years; I am afraid of you, leſt "I have beſtowed upon you labour in vain." And in the third of 'Galatians it is ſaid, "O fooliſh Galatians, who hath bewitched "you, that you ſhould not obey the truth," &c. And in Galatians 'the fifth, the apoſtle exhorts them to "ſtand faſt in the liberty "wherewith Chriſt hath made them free:" and moreover ſaid, "Be "not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

'Doth not this manifeſt there were ſome teachers that were draw- 'ing the church of the Galatians into theſe beggarly elements, and 'bringing them again into bondage, in obſerving of days, months, 'times, and years? It was the apoſtle's work to bring them out of 'thoſe bondages and beggarly elements; therefore when they were 'going back again into obſerving days, months, times, and years, he 'was afraid that he had "beſtowed his labour upon them in vain:" 'and he exhorts them to "ſtand faſt in the liberty wherewith Chriſt "Jeſus hath made them free, and not to be entangled again with "the yoke of bondage:" and again ſignifies, "that they had been "once entangled with that yoke of bondage and beggarly elements." 'But O! how are people, called Chriſtians, ſince the apoſtles days, 'gone again under this yoke of bondage, and theſe beggarly ele- 'ments, in obſerving days, months, times, and years, let their prac- 'tice declare. Nay, do not both Papiſts and Proteſtants force peo- 'ple to obſerve days, months, and times? And therefore is not the 'apoſtle's labour and travail beſtowed upon Chriſtendom in vain,

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'which was to bring people from under such beggarly elements 'and that yoke of bondage (which the law did require) to "stand "fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, and not "to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage?" It was and is 'Christ that hath made and doth make his people free from these 'beggarly elements; therefore the redeemed are to "stand fast "in that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free." This 'liberty all true Christians are to stand fast in; they are made free 'by Christ, and not by man; for man, without the Spirit and mind 'of Christ, seeks to force and compel Christ's followers, such as he 'hath made free from the yoke of bondage, to outward things that 'the law commanded, to the observing of days, months, times, 'feasts, and years. From such weak, beggarly elements, those that 'know God, or are known of God and Christ, are to stand fast in 'their liberty, and not come under nor be entangled with the yoke 'of bondage again, seeing he hath made them free. For they that 'are in such things, and would force others to them, are gone 'from that which gives the knowledge of God, and have not stood 'fast in the liberty wherewith Christ makes free.

'Concerning prayer, we do not read that ever Christ or his 'apostles did seek by force to compel any to fast or pray 'with them. But Christ taught them how they should pray, and 'be distinct from the hypocrites. His words are as followeth: "When thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are; for "they love to stand praying in the synagogues, and in the corners "of the streets, that they may be seen of men, &c. But when "thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy "door, pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father, that "seeth in secret, will reward thee openly. But when you pray, use "not vain repetitions, as the heathen do; for they think that they "shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like "them; for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of be-"fore ye ask him," &c. As the apostles and saints did, so do we; 'we pray in secret, and we pray in publick, as the Spirit gives us 'utterance, which helps our infirmities, as it did the apostles and 'true Christians; after this manner we pray for ourselves, and for 'all men both high and low.

'Concerning fasting, Christ saith, "Moreover when ye fast, be "not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance; for they disfigure "their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. But when "thou fastest, anoint thy head, and wash thy face, that thou appear "not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret; and "thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly."

'You may see in Isaiah lviii. what the true fast the Lord requires 'is, where it is said to the prophet, "Cry aloud, and spare not, "lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their trans-"gression, and the house of Jacob their sins; yet they seek me "daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righte-"ousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God; they ask of "me the ordinances of justice, they take delight in approaching

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" to God. Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? " Wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no know- " ledge? Behold, in the day of your fast ye find pleasure, and exact " all your labours. Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to " smite with the fist of wickedness; ye shall not fast as ye do this " day, to make your voice to be heard on high. Is it such a fast " that I have chosen? A day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to " bow down his head as bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes " under him? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to " the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen, saith the " Lord; to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy bur- " dens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every " yoke?" So this fast that the Lord requires, is not to lay yokes, to ' oppress, and lay heavy burdens, and to make fast the bands of wick- ' edness; but to loose and break such things.

' Further, Concerning the true fast the Lord requires, " Is it " not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor, " that are cast out, to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that " thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thy own " flesh? (Do you keep this true fast?) Then shall thy light break " forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily: " and thy righteousness shall go before thee, the glory of the Lord " shall be thy rereward. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall " answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am: If thou " take away from the midst of thee the yokes, the putting forth of " the finger, and speaking vanity; and if thou draw out thy soul to " the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light arise " out of obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day. And the " Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, " and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, " and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not," &c.

' Here is the practice of the true fast the Lord requires of his ' people; and to them that observe this fast, the Lord saith, " When " they call, he will answer." You may see what glorious and happy ' comforts they receive from the Lord, that keep this true fast; ' but such as fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fists ' of wickedness, " to make their voices to be heard on high, to " afflict their souls for a day, to bow down their head as a bul- " rush, and loose not the bands of wickedness, nor undo every heavy " burden, break off every yoke, and let the oppressed go free, " that does not deal his bread to the hungry, clothe the naked, " and bring the poor to his house, but hides himself from his own " flesh;" such fasts and fasters the Lord doth not accept, neither ' hath he chosen them. These appear to men with their disfigured ' faces, hanging down their heads as a bulrush for a day, like the hy- ' pocrites, to fast, as Christ speaks in Matth. vi.

' Is it not the command of Christ, that in their fast they should ' not appear unto men to fast? And now you, that would force us ' to shut up our shops on fasting-days, or for a day, does not this ' fast appear to men? and is not this the fast, that the Lord saith in ' Isaiah, he " doth not accept?" for he saith, " Is this the fast " that I have chosen, a day for a man to afflict his soul, and bow

" down

" down his head as a bulruſh," &c. " Wilt thou call this a faſt, 1677.
" and an acceptable day to the Lord?" Iſa. lviii. Harlingen in Friesland.

' Therefore all God's people are to keep the true faſt of the Lord ' from debate and ſtrife, and the fiſts of wickedneſs; that " faſt " that breaks the bands of wickedneſs, undoes every heavy burden, " breaks every yoke, lets the oppreſſed go free, deals bread to the " hungry, clothes the naked, and brings the poor that are caſt out " to his own houſe." Every one that keeps this true faſt, their ' health ſhall grow, and when they call, the Lord will hear them; " he will be their guide continually, ſatisfy their ſouls in drought, " make their bones fat, and they ſhall be like a watered garden, " and like a ſpring of water, whoſe waters fail not." Now you, ' that keep not this true faſt, when you call upon the Lord on your ' own faſting days, does the Lord anſwer you, and ſay, " Here I am?" ' Doth the Lord guide you continually? Are your bones made fat ' by him, and your ſouls ſatisfied in drought? Are you like a wa- ' tered garden, and like a ſpring whoſe waters fail not? You that ' keep not this true faſt, do you not want theſe waters which fail not? ' ſo your ſouls are not ſatisfied in drought, but your bones are lean, ' and you hear not the voice of the Lord, who ſaith, " Here I am:" ' ſo you loſe the heritage of Jacob, and ride not upon the high-places ' there; but come under. Therefore every man and woman, ſhut ' your hearts againſt all manner of evil whatſoever, and trade not ' with Babylon's merchants of confuſion; but keep the ſupernatural ' day of Chriſt, that is ſprung from on high, that is kept by be- ' lieving and walking in the light of Chriſt, and being grafted into ' him. This will bring you to the true faſt, from feeding upon any ' evil, and to the true praying in the Spirit, as Chriſt and the apo- ' ſtles have taught. The fruit of the Spirit is love, &c. The birth ' of the Spirit is not a perſecuting birth; but he that is born of the ' fleſh will perſecute him that is born of the Spirit, becauſe he will ' not follow the birth of the fleſh, with its weak, beggarly elements, ' that entangles with its yoke of bondage, and its obſerving of days, ' months, times, faſts, feaſts, and years; which the birth of the ' Spirit is to ſtand faſt againſt in the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath ' made it free.

' Do you not know that the Turks keep their ſabbath on the ' ſixth day, the Jews upon the ſeventh day, and the Chriſtians ' meet together on the firſt day of the week? And that day, which ' the Turks keep, the Jews and Chriſtians ſhops are open; and that ' day the Jews keep, Chriſtians and Turks ſhops are open; and the ' firſt days, that the Chriſtians keep, both Jews and Turks ſhops are ' open? The Turk does not force the Jews nor the Chriſtians to ſhut ' up their ſhops on their meeting-days, but lets them have their ' liberty in Turky. And where do you read that ever the Turks ' forced any Chriſtians to obſerve any of their holy days, faſts, or ' feaſts? If not, ſhould not Chriſtians be beyond the Turks in giv- ' ing liberty to all tender conſciences to ſerve God, ſeeing Chriſt and ' the apoſtles command not nor force people to obſerve holy days, or ' times, or months, or years, but ſhould pray always in the Spirit, ' and faſt always from ſtrife and debate, from all manner of ſin and ' evil; and that will keep down the fiſt of wickedneſs, and the bond

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‘ of iniquity? Why ſhould not people of a tender conſcience have
‘ their liberty to exerciſe their conſciences towards God, that they
‘ may have a “ good conſcience always, towards God and man,”
‘ to perform that which God requires, and “ to do unto all men as
“ they would have them to do unto them, and to love their neigh-
“ bours as themſelves;” ſeeing ſo many debauched, evil and ſeared
‘ conſciences, as with an hot iron, have liberty in their looſe lives
‘ and converſations, and in their looſe words, whoſe tongues are at
‘ liberty to ſwear and curſe, and their ſpirits at liberty in drunken-
‘ neſs and uncleanneſs? Let the magiſtrates look and ſee how this
‘ evil ſeared conſcience hath its liberty to be exerciſed in all manner
‘ of evil things all Chriſtendom over; which is a great ſhame and
‘ diſhonour to God, Chriſt, and Chriſtianity, yea, and humanity.
‘ Therefore why ſhould not God's people have liberty to exerciſe
‘ their good and tender conſciences towards God and man? The
‘ myſtery of faith, which Jeſus Chriſt is the author and finiſher of,
‘ is held in a pure conſcience; and ſhould not the work of the true
‘ Chriſtian magiſtrate be to encourage the exerciſe of this pure con-
‘ ſcience towards God and man, and to diſcourage the exerciſe of
‘ this evil ſeared conſcience, that diſhonours both God and Chriſt,
‘ and true Chriſtianity? If not, how are they a praiſe to them that
‘ do well, and a terror to evil doers?

‘ Concerning the not putting off our hats to men. Many, under
‘ the name of Chriſtians, have taken offence at us becauſe we could
‘ not put off our hats, and bow down to them; which we find no
‘ command from Chriſt or his apoſtles for, but rather to the contrary.
‘ For Chriſt ſaith, “ I receive not honour of men” (mark, he did
‘ not receive honour of men): and further, “ How can ye believe,
“ which receive honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour
“ that comes from God only?” Now Chriſt declares it to be a mark
‘ of unbelievers, that ſeek “ honour one of another,” and ſeek not
‘ that “ honour that comes from God only;” and is not the putting
‘ off the hat, and bowing with it, an honour to men, which they
‘ ſeek one of another, and are offended if they have it not? Do not
‘ the very Turks mock at the Chriſtians in their proverb, ſaying,
“ The Chriſtians ſpend much of their time in putting off their
“ hats, and ſhewing their bare head to one another?” Should not
‘ thoſe be beyond Turks, that bear the noble name of Chriſtian,
‘ above ſeeking honour one of another, and perſecuting them that
‘ will not give it, when all true believing Chriſtians ſhould ſeek the
‘ honour that comes from God only? which is the duty of all true
‘ believers in Chriſt Jeſus, for he would not receive honour of men.
‘ And “ he that believeth on the Son of God, hath everlaſting life:
“ and he that believeth not the Son, ſhall not ſee life, but the wrath
“ of God abideth upon him,” John iii. 36. Is not the Turks pro-
‘ verb a reproach to the Chriſtians, who ſay, “ That the Chriſtians
“ ſpend much of their time in putting off their hats, and ſhew-
“ ing their bare head one to another?” Have you not fined and
‘ impriſoned many, becauſe they would not put off their hats to
‘ you, and ſhew you their bare heads? In many of your courts they
‘ ſhall not have right and juſtice, nor liberty and freedom in cities

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'or ſtates, though they have truly ſerved their time, and are honeſt and civil men, unleſs they will put off their hats, and ſhew you their bare head? Have you not made a law againſt ſuch, that they muſt forfeit two gilders if they do it not? Do not you ſeek to compel and force them to do it, and fine ſuch as do not, as at Lanſmeer in Waterland? Is not this the honour that you ſeek one of another? Did not the Phariſees and Jews do the ſame?

'As for your ſaying, "The apoſtle commands to honour all "men; and ſuch as rule well are worthy of double honour:" If this "honouring all men" were to put off their hats to all men, and ſhew all men their bare heads, then this command you break yourſelves, for you do not this to all men generally; and if they that rule well, muſt have double hat-honour, then they muſt put off their hats twice, and ſhew them their bare heads. If this hat-honour, and ſhewing the bare head, be an invention of men, and not from God, and ye cannot prove it by ſcripture, yet ſay, "It is your rule;" then you act beſide the rule, and compel people to act contrary to your rule. For where did ever the prophets, Chriſt, or the apoſtles command any ſuch thing? Let us ſee a command, a practice, and an example for it. Nebuchadnezzar, who was a perſecutor, and caſt the three children of Iſrael into the fire with their hoſe, cloaks, and hats, we do not read that he was offended at them becauſe they did not put off their hats, and ſhew him their bare heads; but becauſe they would not bow to his image. And is it not ſaid in the margin of the bible, where it is ſaid, "Honour all men," "Have all men in eſteem?" Then they that rule well, are worthy of double eſteem; and this eſteem muſt be truly in the heart, without any envy, malice, or hatred. As all men are the workmanſhip of God, they are to be eſteemed in the heart with the Spirit of God; and they that rule well, are worthy of double eſteem: here is true honour from the heart, both to God and man, his workmanſhip. For people may put off their hats and ſhew their bare heads one to another once or twice to the officers and magiſtrates, and yet be full of envy, malice, hatred, and murder in their hearts one againſt another; and give them that honour, as you call it, and yet ſpeak or wiſh evil towards them, when they have turned their backs of them. The true honour or eſteem in the heart to all men, as they are God's creation, is without any evil wiſh or thought in the heart to any, and they that rule well have the double eſteem, whom God hath placed over people. There is no evil in the heart, that gives this reſpect, eſteem, or honour, and brings them to love their neighbours as themſelves, and to "do unto all men as they would "have them do unto them," in that they eſteem all men, and have a double eſteem for them that rule well. This is beyond all the honour of putting off the hats once to all men, and twice to them that are worthy of the double honour, as you may call it. But we would aſk Chriſtians, that practiſe this hat-honour, and ſhewing one another their bare heads, Who invented this honour, ſeeing they cannot prove that ever Chriſt or the apoſtles did command or practiſe any ſuch thing, or Moſes in the time of the law? Do not

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'ſay or think that we had this practice of not putting off our hats 'from the Turk; for we were moved by the Spirit of the Lord, 'before ever we heard of the Turks proverb and practice, to leave 'the honour that is below, and ſeek the honour that comes from 'above, when we came to be true believers in Chriſt Jeſus.

'Concerning perſecuting, impriſoning, and baniſhing God's peo-'ple, in whom Chriſt is manifeſt, and dwells in their hearts, doth 'not Chriſt tell you, that in ſo doing you impriſon him? Then 'do you not baniſh him, and perſecute him out of your cities and 'corporations? And how can you enter into and have a ſhare in 'his kingdom, though you may profeſs him in words? Are not 'ſuch to go into everlaſting puniſhment, that do not viſit Chriſt in 'priſon? Then what will become of you, that baniſh and impriſon 'him, where he is manifeſt in his members, nor ſuffer them to meet 'together to enjoy him amongſt them, according to his promiſe? 'Therefore you, that will not let Chriſt reign in his people, and 'have his liberty in them in your cities and countries, to exerciſe 'his offices, you will not have your liberty in heaven. You that 'will not let Chriſt reign in your hearts, nor ſuffer him to reign in 'his people here upon the earth, in this world, in your kingdoms, 'you will not reign with Chriſt in heaven in his kingdom, nor in 'the world without end.

'You, that baniſh the truth out of your cities or countries, or his 'people for its ſake, you baniſh the truth and Chriſt out of your 'hearts from ruling there; ſo you yourſelves are not the temples of 'God. When you have baniſhed Chriſt and his truth out of your 'own hearts, you baniſh ſuch, in whom he rules, out of your eſtates 'and country; then ſee what judgments the Lord doth bring upon 'you, when you are left to yourſelves; yea, fears and troubles, one 'judgment after another, comes upon you, till you are even filled 'with them. But the baniſhed, the ſufferers for truth and Chriſt's 'ſake, have a peaceable habitation in the truth, which the devil is 'out of, and cannot get into; which habitation will outlaſt all the 'habitations of the wicked and perſecutors, though they be never 'ſo full of words without life and truth. The life and the truth 'will outlaſt all airy notions; and Chriſt the Lamb and his patient 'Seed, will overcome the devourer with his impatient Seed; and 'they that have the garment, the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, which is 'the fine linen, will find it to outlaſt all the rags and inventions of 'men. Chriſt ſaith to his learners, "Be of good chear, I have "overcome the world, the perſecuting world." He alſo ſaid to his 'diſciples, "Marvel not if that the world hate you, for it hated "me before you." Therefore let all that profeſs themſelves Chriſ-'tians, lay aſide perſecution about religion, churches or worſhip, 'faſting or praying days; for you have no command from Chriſt 'and his apoſtles to perſecute any. Chriſt, who is the King of 'kings, and Lord of lords, when they called him a deceiver, 'blaſphemed him, and ſaid, "He had a devil," did not perſecute 'any of them for it, nor force or compel any to hear and believe 'him, nor the apoſtles after him; but he bad them, that would 'have been plucking up the tares, "let the tares and the wheat

"grow

" grow together until the harveſt." So you have no command from 1677.
' Chriſt or his apoſtles to perſecute, impriſon, baniſh, or ſpoil the Harlingen in
' goods of any for matter of pure conſcience and religion, worſhip, Frieſland.
' faith, and church in the goſpel-times.

' G. F.'

' Harlingen in Frieſland, the 11th
' of the 6th month, 1677.'

' A warning to the magiſtrates, prieſts, and people of the city of
' Hamburgh, to humble themſelves before the Lord, and not to
' be high-minded.

' Friends,

' YOU have painted and garniſhed the inſide of your outward Amſterdam.
' houſes and high-places; but look within your hearts with the
' light of Chriſt, which he hath enlightened you and every man
' that cometh into the world withal, and with it you may ſee how
' foul your hearts and inſides are with ſin and evil, which Chriſt
' tells you ye ſhould make clean; who told the Phariſees how they
" painted the ſepulchres of the righteous," and they themſelves were
' full of rottenneſs and corruption. Therefore look into yourſelves
' and your own hearts, what you are full of. To paint the ſepul-
' chres of the righteous apoſtles, and make a trade and a profeſſion
' of their words, without the ſame Holy Ghoſt, power, light, and
' truth which they were in, will not ſtand the day of God's ven-
' geance. Therefore repent while you have time, turn to the Lord
' with your whole hearts, and do not think yourſelves ſecure with-
' out a ſenſe of his immediate almighty protection. For it is not all
' your works, nor all your own ſtrength, power, and defence that
' can protect you. It is not for you to look at them, and think
' yourſelves ſecure, and to ſit down in your ſecurity, and let your
' hearts be merry, and at reſt and eaſe. When the Lord brings a
' ſcourge upon you, that you are filled with terrors and fears, re-
' member you were warned, that you were ſet down, but not in the
' true reſt. Then all your own ſtrength and force will ſtand you in
' no ſtead; you will acknowledge that it muſt be God that muſt
' protect you. Therefore take warning; for your prieſts and people
' are too high, are ſwallowed up too much in this world. The
' vanities of it carry your minds away from God; your care is more
' for the world than for God, and more after the riches of this
' world than after the riches of the world that has no end. Know
' you not that all your heaps of outward treaſure muſt have an end,
' and that you muſt leave them all behind you? Therefore I am to
' warn and adviſe you, both high and low, prieſts and people, to
' come to the grace, light, and truth that comes by Jeſus Chriſt;
' to the manifeſtation of the good Spirit of God, which is given you
' to profit withal; that with this grace, truth, light, and Spirit of
' Chriſt, you may turn to him from whence it comes, who ſaith,
" Learn of me;" and God ſaith, " This is my beloved Son, hear
" ye him." So all the children of the new covenant, that walk in
' the new and living way, do hear Chriſt their prophet, that God

' has

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‘ has raiſed up, and anointed to be their teacher and prieſt. So
‘ now, God doth ſpeak to his people by his Son, as he did in the
‘ apoſtles days. The Lord is come to teach his people himſelf by
‘ his grace, light, truth, and Spirit, and to bring them off from
‘ all the world's teachers, made by men ſince the apoſtles days;
‘ who have kept people always learning, that they may always be
‘ paying of them. And he is come to bring them off all the world's
‘ religions, to the religion that he ſet up in the apoſtles days in the
‘ new covenant, which is pure and undefiled before God in his ſight,
‘ and keeps from the ſpots of the world, &c. And the Lord is
‘ come to bring them off all the world's churches, to the church in
‘ God, which Chriſt the heavenly man is head of; and to bring
‘ them off all the world's worſhips, to worſhip God in Spirit and in
‘ truth, which Chriſt ſet up above ſixteen hundred years ſince. So
‘ all men and women muſt come to the Spirit and truth in their
‘ hearts, by which they muſt know the God of truth, who is a
‘ Spirit; and then in the Spirit and truth they will worſhip him,
‘ and know what and who they worſhip. Alſo the Lord is come
‘ to bring his people off all the world's temples, that with the Spi-
‘ rit they may know their bodies to be the temples of the Holy
‘ Ghoſt. And the Lord is come to bring his people off all the
‘ world's croſſes, pictures, images, and likeneſſes; to know that the
‘ power of God is the croſs of Chriſt, which crucifies them to the
‘ world, and brings them up into the likeneſs and image of God
‘ man and woman were in before they fell; and ſo to Chriſt that
‘ never fell. This work muſt all know in their hearts by the light
‘ of Chriſt Jeſus, who “ is the true light that lighteth every man
‘ that cometh into the world.” It is called the light in man and
‘ woman, and the life in Chriſt the Word; who ſaith, “ Believe
“ in the light, that ye may become children of the light.” And
‘ the light lets you ſee all your evil actions that you have commit-
‘ ted, your ungodly ways you have walked in, and your ungodly
‘ words and thoughts. If you hate this light, and love the dark-
‘ neſs, and the prince of it, more than this light, which is the life
‘ in Chriſt, the Prince of life, and will not come to it, becauſe your
‘ deeds be evil, and it will reprove you, Chriſt tells you, “ This
“ light is your condemnation.” Then what is all your profeſſion
‘ good for, when you remain under the condemnation of the true
‘ light, in which you ſhould believe, and ſo become children of light,
‘ and out of condemnation? Therefore every one muſt believe in the
‘ light, if they receive Chriſt Jeſus; and to as many as receive him,
‘ he gives “ power to become the ſons of God.” He that hath
‘ the Son of God, hath life; they that have not the Son of God,
‘ have not life; and if you have not life, what good doth all your
‘ profeſſion of the ſcriptures from Geneſis to Revelations do you,
‘ any more than the Jews, Scribes, and Phariſees, that would not
‘ receive Chriſt the life, upon whom God brought his overflowing
‘ ſcourge. Therefore do you take heed, for your ſtrength will be
‘ no better than theirs, if you have not God and Chriſt's ſupport-
‘ ing power, when God's ſcourge comes upon you, and you are
‘ filled with horrors and fears. My deſires are, that you may all

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'repent, from the higheſt to the loweſt, and not grieve, nor quench, 'nor vex, nor rebel againſt God's good Spirit in you, nor "walk "deſpitefully againſt the Spirit of grace," nor turn from it unto wan-'tonneſs, which would teach you, and bring your ſalvation. If you 'do, how can you eſcape the overflowing ſcourge of the Almighty, 'and the wrath of the Lamb? My deſires are, that you may all 'obey God's good Spirit of truth, which will lead you out of all 'evil into all truth, and reprove you for your own righteouſneſs, 'and for your own judgment and ſin, and bring you to cleave to 'that which is good, to forſake that which is evil, and to turn to 'the Lord, who will receive you in his mercy and kindneſs; by 'which means you may eſcape the overflowing ſcourge in the day of 'vengeance, which dreadful day is coming upon all evil-doers. This is 'a warning to you, both for your temporal and eternal good; for you 'to read in your aſſemblies, and your prieſts in their churches; ſo 'that all people may hear and fear, as you will anſwer it at the ter-'rible and dreadful day of judgment.

'G. F.'

'Amſterdam, the 19th of the
'7th month, 1677.'

'For the embaſſadors that are met to treat for peace at the city of 'Nimeguen in the States dominions.

'CHRIST Jeſus ſaith, "Bleſſed are the peace-makers, for they 'ſhall be called the children of God," Matth. v. 9. ſo all 'Chriſtian men are to forſake evil and do good, to ſeek peace and 'follow it, if they will "love life, and ſee good days," 1 Pet. iii. 11. 'God hath called all true Chriſtians unto peace, 1 Cor. vii. therefore 'all Chriſtians ought to follow this peace, which God calls them to. 'They ſhould let the peace of God rule in all their hearts; which is 'above the peace of this world that is ſo ſoon broken. For the apoſtle 'commands the Chriſtians to let the peace of God rule in their 'hearts; to which all Chriſtians ſhould be ſubject. The practice 'of this ſhould be among all that profeſs Chriſtianity; and this 'peace is above that which Chriſt takes from the earth, Rev. vi. 'which is the peace of the wicked. The apoſtle ſaith to Chriſtians, "Be at peace among yourſelves," 1 Theſſ. v. All Chriſtians ſhould 'obey this command, and be at peace among themſelves; not in 'wars and ſtrife. Further, the apoſtle exhorts Chriſtians to "keep "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." So this unity, this 'bond of peace ſhould be kept (and not broken) by all that bear 'that noble name Chriſtian. They ſhould keep the unity of the 'Spirit of Chriſt in the Bond of the Prince of princes, King of 'kings, and Lord of lords peace, which is the duty of all true 'Chriſtians. Herein they may honour Chriſt, in bringing forth the 'fruits of peace, which are love and charity. For the apoſtle tells 'you, "The fruits of the good Spirit are love, joy, and peace, "long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs," &c. Gal. v.

'The apoſtle exhorts Chriſtians, "If it be poſſible, as much as "lieth in you, live peaceable with all men." This ſhould be the

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‘ endeavour of all Chriſtians. For it is no honour to Chriſt, that ‘ Chriſtians ſhould war and deſtroy one another, that profeſs the ‘ name of Chriſt, who ſaith, “ He came to ſave men’s lives, not “ to deſtroy them.” Chriſtians have enemies enough abroad with- ‘ out them, and therefore they ſhould love one another, as Chriſt ‘ commands, who ſaith, “ By this ye ſhall be known to be my “ diſciples, if ye love one another.” Chriſtians are commanded to ‘ love enemies, much more one another. And Chriſt ſaith, “ As “ the Father hath loved me, ſo I have loved you: continue ye in “ my love,” John xv. 8. “ By this ſhall all men know that ye are “ my diſciples, if ye love one another,” John xiii. 35. But if ‘ Chriſtians war and deſtroy one another, this will make Jews, ‘ Turks, Tartars, and Heathens ſay, you are not diſciples of Chriſt. ‘ Therefore, as you love God, and Chriſt, and Chriſtianity, and its ‘ peace, all make peace, as far as you have power, among Chriſ- ‘ tians, that you may have the bleſſing. You read, Chriſtians were ‘ called the houſhold of faith, the houſhold of God, a holy nation, ‘ a peculiar people; and they are commanded to be “ zealous for “ good works,” not for bad. Chriſtians are alſo commanded not ‘ to bite and devour one another, leſt they be conſumed one of an- ‘ other.

‘ Is it not a ſad thing for Chriſtians to be biting and conſuming ‘ one another in the ſight of the Turks, Tartars, Jews, and hea- ‘ thens, when they ſhould “ love one another, and do unto all men “ as they would have men do unto them?” Such devouring work ‘ as this will open the mouths of Jews, Turks, Tartars, and hea- ‘ thens to blaſpheme the name of Chriſt, the King of kings, and ‘ Lord of lords, and cauſe them to ſpeak evil of Chriſtianity, for ‘ them to ſee how the unity of the Spirit is broken among ſuch as ‘ profeſs Chriſt and Chriſt’s peace. All Chriſtians are to mind ‘ God and Chriſt’s teaching, who teach Chriſtians to love one an- ‘ other, yea, enemies; and perſuade kings and princes to give liberty ‘ to all tender conſciences in matters of religion and worſhip, they ‘ living peaceably under every government: ſo that for the time to ‘ come there may be no more impriſonment and perſecution among ‘ Chriſtians for tender conſciences about matters of faith, worſhip, ‘ and religion, that the Jews, Turks, Tartars, and heathens may ‘ not ſee how Chriſtians are perſecuting one another for religion. ‘ Seeing from Chriſt and the apoſtles Chriſtians have no ſuch com- ‘ mand, but, on the contrary, to love one another; and knowing ‘ that Chriſt ſaid to ſuch as would have been plucking up tares, “ Let “ the tares and the wheat grow together till the harveſt (which is “ the end of the world) leſt they plucked up the wheat;” and at ‘ the end of the world Chriſt would ſend forth his angels, and they ‘ ſhould ſever the wheat from the tares. So Chriſt tells you, it is ‘ the angels work at the end of the world, and not mens work before ‘ the harveſt at the end of the world. Hath not all this perſe- ‘ cution, baniſhing, impriſoning, and putting to death concerning ‘ religion, been the pretence of plucking up tares? and hath not ‘ all this been before the harveſt, before the end of the world? Have ‘ not all theſe been actors againſt the expreſs command of Chriſt,

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'the king of heaven? All kings and rulers, eſpecially thoſe that 'call themſelves Chriſtians, ſhould obey their Lord and Saviour's 'command; "Let the tares and the wheat grow together till the "harveſt;" and the harveſt is the end of the world. Alſo Chriſt 'told ſome of his diſciples, that would have had "fire to come "down from heaven, to deſtroy ſuch as would not receive him (in "their zeal) That they did not know what Spirit they were of:" 'and rebuked them, ſaying, "He came not to deſtroy mens lives, "but to ſave them." Have all ſuch as have deſtroyed mens lives 'concerning religion, and the worſhip of God, known what ſpirit 'they have been of? Have they not done that they ſhould not do? 'That which Chriſt forbad, who ſaith, "Leſt ye ſhould pluck up the "wheat with the tares," and ſaith, "It is the angels work at the "end of the world?" Hath not God ſhewed unto man what is good, 'and his duty, To "love mercy, to do juſtly, and to walk humbly "with his God?" which man is to mind.

'And the apoſtle exhorts Chriſtians to "follow peace with all "men, and holineſs, without which no man ſhall ſee the Lord," 'Heb. xii. 14. Why ſhould Chriſtians war and ſtrive one with 'another, ſeeing they all own in words one King, and Lord and 'Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe command is, that they ſhould "love "one another;" which is a mark that they ſhall be known by, to 'be Chriſt's diſciples, as I ſaid before. And Chriſt, who is the 'King of kings, and Lord of lords, ſaith, "As I have loved you, "ſo love one another," John xv. 12. and John xiii. And the apoſtle 'ſaith, "Chriſtians ought to be patient towards all men," 1 Theſſ. 'v. 14.

'From him who is a lover of truth, righteouſneſs, and peace, 'and deſires your temporal and eternal good; and that in the wiſ- 'dom of God, that is pure, gentle, and peaceable from above, you 'may be ordered, and order all things God hath committed to you, 'to his glory, and ſtop thoſe things among Chriſtians, ſo far as you 'have power, which diſhonour God, Chriſt, and Chriſtianity!

'G. F.'

'Amſterdam, the 21ſt of the
'7th month, 1677.'

THE END.

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